

THE HISTORIANS' HISTORY OF THE WORLD . . .

A COMPREHENSIVE NARRATIVE OF THE RISE AND
DEVELOPMENT OF NATIONS AS RECORDED BY THE
GREAT WRITERS OF ALL AGES

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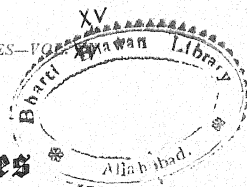
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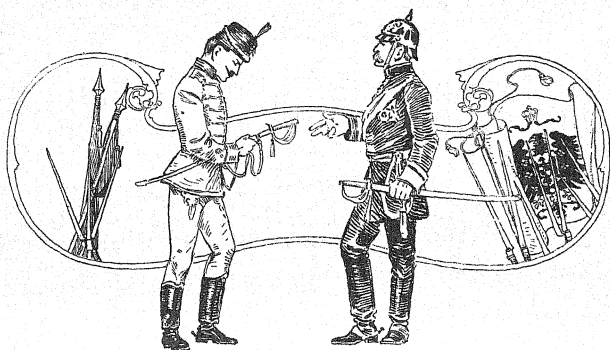
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CHAPTER IV

ABSOLUTISM AND DISASTER

[1848-1866 A.D.]

Two men decided the fate of Austria after the revolution—Prince Felix Schwarzenberg and Alexander Bach. When Prince Schwarzenberg on the 24th of November, 1848, took over the ministry of foreign affairs and thus at the same time the supreme direction of the business of state, he was yet in the prime of life. But his physical strength had long been considerably shaken. The ordinary enjoyments of life no longer tempted him, a quiet uniform line of action seemed to him insupportable. Gradually a stronger and stronger means was needed to draw him from his apathy. His passion, now almost extinguished, only rekindled when the highest stake was involved; only when his boldest throw was to be made did his nature seem to revive.

Most likely but for the revolution he would have died long before at his post at Naples. The revolution gave him back his strength. Once again life seemed worth living. He was able daily to play with danger, to exhibit a placid calm amidst the surrounding excitement, to try his luck at apparently impossible tasks. His first noteworthy act during the year of the revolution was to protest against the count and the ministry and in the name of the army against the peace negotiations which were going on at the time. He accomplished his second characteristic action on the 1st of November, 1848. Though the stability of the imperial diet had already been much weakened by the flight of numerous deputies, and had already been prorogued by the emperor on the 22nd of October, it was still assembled in Kremsier under the presidency of Smolka, and its presence constantly embarrassed the military despots. Though the decrees of the imperial diet had become powerless, they could still spread trouble in the excited provinces and among the suspicious peasantry in every possible way. Prince Schwarzenberg, who had joined the army of his brother-in-law, Prince Windischgrätz, quickly settled the difficulty. He ordered the porter of the imperial diet to close the iron doors and not to allow

anyone to enter the house. These actions let it be seen that the ministry, with Prince Schwarzenberg at its head, would carry on the government with a strong hand.

The events which quickly followed fully realised these expectations; he cleared away all the barriers to absolute power, scattered the diet, and abolished the constitution; for in these institutions he perceived the weakening of the state. Austria, which in the year 1849 was shaking to her very foundations, and resembled a helpless wreck which almost excited the sympathy of the other states, should again become great and powerful. The more difficult the task, the more it attracted him. A diplomat to the core, he had never troubled himself about home politics, and for the last ten years had had only flying glimpses of his own country, so that he looked for the strength and greatness of Austria in her position with regard to foreign powers. What was needed was to obtain for Austria the place of most consideration in the European concert, and to extend her dominating influence over the widest possible area.

His imagination was caught by the impossible ideal of a "state of sixty millions" composed of Austria and Germany, and in which the government of the imperial state would take the prominent part. All other interests were sacrificed by him to this dream. The inner organisation of the state troubled him only in so far as it must afford him the means required for his bold forward policy—namely, money and soldiers. How could a statesman who intended to make foreign powers bend unconditionally to his will, and who repaid any opposition to it with relentless animosity, endure institutions whose development might have compelled him to confine his plans within reasonable bounds? The methods he adopted for their fulfilment, more even than the aims themselves, presupposed an absolute rule. And besides, there was in Prince Schwarzenberg a strong element of military pride. He was rightly called the army diplomatist. Unfortunately, circumstances had so ordained that the army regarded Austria as a newly conquered country and her peoples as stubborn enemies to order, whom only force could constrain to obedience. Neither from this side was there a grant of the smallest privilege to the people to be hoped for.

It was otherwise as regards the second leading minister, Alexander Bach. In opposition to Prince Schwarzenberg, he was not at all imbued with feelings hostile to the conferring of a few limited constitutional rights. It was with no hypocrisy that he had in the first years of his power brought forward one organic law after another, with almost too much haste, and had issued the regulations of the provincial diet. His political insight, which was by no means insignificant, told him that the state would gain in vigour and internal strength by these measures. But it must be owned that no sooner did he think the introduction of even a modified form of constitution would endanger his own position, than he turned round. And therein he was not wrong. The concession to the people of a personal share in the government would have brought the great landed proprietors, the aristocracy, into the foreground.

But the latter pursued Bach with the bitterest hatred. The great German and Slav nobility could not pardon him for having risen by the revolution; moreover, they recognised in him the chief instrument that had harmed their material interests. Bach had followed the legitimate course of insisting on the fact that, notwithstanding the change in the system of government, the great achievement of the revolution, namely, the emancipation of the peasantry from territorial burdens, should hold good. As to the Hungarian aristocracy, they remembered only too well that it was Bach who, in September, 1848, had most warmly defended the Pragmatic Sanction and most sharply attacked the separation of Hungary. Though the old nobility dared not insult the minister in public, as they did the defenceless Pillersdorf, yet they sought every imag-

[1849-1880 A.D.]

inable means to annoy him and show him their contempt. They discovered or exaggerated every touch of vanity which was supposed to belong to the minister; they maliciously described his embarrassments, and were constantly busy announcing his approaching fall. In the soul of Bach political insight struggled with the instinct of self-preservation. In accordance with human nature, the latter was victorious! Instead of preparing for his adversaries the ground whence they might have attacked him, he preferred to cut the ground from under their feet. In fine, he found it more convenient to govern without the interference of impertinent and arrogant representatives of the people—not to bind himself by organic laws, but to announce his intention from time to time and just as it suited him.

The consequences of the absolute government which had lasted for so many years made themselves felt long before that government itself ceased to exist. The political parties, as yet scarcely formed, were destroyed in the bud. The justifiable hope of the political parties thwarting the national ones and thus destroying the rigid isolation of the latter was abandoned forever. On the other hand the national antagonisms revived, more strongly accentuated than they had ever been before, the hatred of the different races, the estrangement of the provinces, and the stupid indifference to their common interests grew and flourished. Towards the end of the revolution a hard school of politics had taught the national parties reciprocal tolerance, had to a great extent banished envy and jealousy, and placed confidence in their place.

The higher the value which the leaders of national parties learned to place on constitutional rights, the more willingly did they relinquish the privileges set apart in small circles. The non-German deputies to the imperial diet even went so far as to concede the use of the German language in the public life of the state, and admitted that every educated man in Austria should speak German. Czech spokesmen gave assurances that from henceforth men of their race would study German more diligently than before. The ten years of absolute rule again transformed these conciliatory dispositions into bitter hatred. The various races, shut out from all participation in political life, retired into their national seclusion, incensed at the withdrawal of the concessions already made, and determined to consider henceforth only the most narrow national interests as the guiding star of their actions. The national agitation in the year of the revolution had been, comparatively speaking, innocent and harmless as compared with the passion and acrimony with which, from that moment, the most extensive claims, all under the guise of inalienable rights forcibly withdrawn, were put forward. The very secrecy imposed on the movement was its best nourishment. Like a band of freemasons, those in the different provinces who were of the same opinion clung to one another. Each was known to the others, and found support in them; strictly secluded from outside influences, they formed a brotherhood among themselves which was founded upon common hatred and defiance.

The German race suffered most. The system of absolute centralisation required thousands of officials who could write German; only a minority of these belonged to the German race. Most of them misused the German language in an unheard-of manner. The non-German peoples did not distinguish well. They considered all these people as "Swabians"—as representatives of German nationality. They expended their hatred upon Germans, generally speaking, and believed themselves to be doubly entitled to do so, on account of the oppression they had been subjected to by the officials who murdered the German language. When Germans and non-Germans were living together in one province the former discovered quickly enough the daily increasing antipathy to them. All nationalities were united in hatred of the Germans

and all considered them their most dangerous opponents. Such was the chief fruit of the ten years' rule of absolutism.^b

The policy of these ten years but left Austria weakened, disorganised, ruined, and powerless in face of the disasters of 1859 and 1866, with the race hatreds more alive than ever, and her diverse nationalities completely alienated by the deceptions which followed 1849. When we peruse the writings and reactionary newspapers of the period we find in them the most hyperbolic eulogies for the policy of Schwarzenberg, the saviour of Austria within and without. In France the *Revue des deux Mondes* published hymns of admiration to the "restorer of the empire of the Habsburgs," to the man of iron who had conquered demagogy: and the work of the man of iron fell to pieces at the first shock.^d

HAYNAU IN HUNGARY

Force of arms had won back Hungary for the dynasty, and for the time the land was governed by force of arms. The dreaded representative of the most inflexible army discipline, General Haynau, remained at the head of affairs there as the imperial representative, free from all subordination to the Vienna ministry. The whole country was divided into military districts, and officers of high position were put in charge of them. Military courts administered justice; at headquarters, questions of finance and administration replaced the plans of action and projects of siege of some few months ago. It was only later, when affairs were in extremest confusion, that the discarded civil officials succeeded in gaining greater effect for their works, and were allowed, to some extent, to represent administrative discipline.

The difficulties which arose in the path of the restoration of law and order were enormous. The masses still held to the revolution, and carelessly hoped that in a short time there would be a complete change of circumstances. Magyar was the only language they knew; but those who could speak Magyar were generally disposed rather to rail against the government than to expound their views and hopes in peaceful and moderate fashion. In filling up the minor government appointments there was little other choice than to give them to men who were strangers to the people of the country and could not make themselves understood, or to fall back upon the Magyar element, which was friendly to the revolution; and, greatly to the astonishment of loyal spirits, this was in fact done in many cases. To this obstinacy of the conquered element was now added the highly impolitic conduct of Haynau and his advisers. So that confusion was increased, hate perpetuated, and misery made irrecoverable. Moreover, the conquest was followed up to the uttermost possibility by incessant arrests and condemnations. Even if the bloody day of Arad were not repeated, the sentences to long years of imprisonment were never ending. More than forty-five ex-officers were condemned by the military tribunal of Arad on December 20th, 1849; twelve other sentences followed on January 16th, 1850; forty-two in February, etc.; and besides the Arad tribunal there were others in Pest, Pressburg, Hermannstadt, and other places, which acted with the same rigour. The consciousness that the power of a military court can reach everyone, the aspect of innumerable arrests upon the most superficial grounds for suspicion—these ensured throughout the land at least outward tranquillity.

There was no attempt at opposition, no overt force opposed to the measures of the authorities; but the inner feeling of the people was anything but peaceful. The proof of this is the foolish credulity with which the most senseless reports were received, provided they favoured the national cause. Invisible hands distributed Kossuth's farewell speech in Orsova and other revolutionary writings. The German theatre in Pest was interdicted, whilst on the con-

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trary the Hungarian National Theatre showed uninterruptedly full houses. In order to be revenged upon this intangible spirit of opposition, the military authorities allowed themselves to be seduced into disciplinary punishments, to carry out which proved impossible, if Hungary was not to be turned into a desert. The suppression of Kossuth-notes, it is true, may be said to have been justified by political necessity. As long as these notes were in circulation in the country the revolution to all appearances was not yet subdued, so that their confiscation was an act of necessity, no matter what private interests were hurt thereby. On the other hand, the order to draft into the army as a punishment all the Hungarian national guards who had taken up arms against the Austrians, was a senseless one. Literally carried out, it would have exiled the entire male population of Hungary, as there was scarcely a Magyar who at some time or other had not been in the national guards, and taken part in the struggle. Had they then no need of an army of their own, in order to watch this force of armed malcontents? And even if this were not the case, who could have tilled the ground and cared for the families left behind? This measure was no sooner announced than it aroused such universal resentment, and promised so many obvious difficulties in its execution, that its repeal immediately followed. First it was confined to those individuals who had used arms after January 5th, 1849; later on the whole national guard was amnestied, and those men already removed were restored to their families. Only the Honveds remained subject to this enforced conscription.

Still stranger was the campaign ordered by Haynau against the shekels of the Hungarian Jews. A contribution of 8,000,000 gulden was demanded from them as a punishment for their revolutionary sympathies, and all the Jewish communities were included without exception in the levy. This entirely arbitrary measure was equivalent to a confiscation of property, and of course bore far more heavily upon the innocent than upon the real revolutionaries, who for the most part had no fortune to surrender. Here, too, after the government had uselessly incurred the indignation of an influential class of people, it was forced to yield to the necessity of the case and repeal the decree.

A decree of Haynau dated March the 12th, 1850, enacted that all Jewish communities and families which could not be proved to have directly or indirectly taken part in the revolution were to be exempt from the penalty. Divided among a smaller number of individuals, the sum demanded was still less attainable; as, moreover, the new administration delayed these odious denunciations and thus innumerable lawsuits were kept hanging over the people's heads, a few months later, in July, 1850, the decree was repealed. Simply for the sake of avoiding the expression of public opinion upon this complete retreat, the government ordered one million to be used for starting a fund for teachers and seminaries for rabbis, but clothed even this order in the form of a wish.

The Vienna ministry had no share whatever in all these political sins. In both the cases quoted it had sent a representation to dissuade General Haynau, had appointed Baron von Gehringer to co-operate as a civil commissioner; he was to settle purely administrative matters, and urged upon the general the extreme advisability of not compromising the government by premature actions and impractical regulations. Haynau, however, regarded himself as the emperor's proxy, and hence as being endowed with unlimited power; and despised the wishes and warnings of the civil administration. He obstinately waved aside every interference, and continued by his measures sorely to injure the common interest of the kingdom. The battle had by degrees become a personal matter—Haynau desired to show the world that he would suffer no minister, least of all Bach, in authority over him; to this purpose he sacrificed every essential interest. In those days Bach's position was not yet

fully assured, and if Haynau had pursued his aim with calculating coolness, he might perhaps have attained it; but in his passion he precipitated matters and suffered defeat.

There were still awaiting numbers of deputies of the Hungarian national assembly, mostly under heavy accusations, languishing in the prisons under sentence. As the inquiry seemed to drag on unjustifiably, the ministry ordered all inquiries into the cases of deputies still under constraint to be completed, and the documents sent to Vienna. These orders were repeated more than once, and still Haynau took no notice. Again urged and admonished, he summoned the subordinate ministers into his presence, informed them of the command of the ministry, which, as he said, interfered with his full power, and recommended them to disregard these messages and close the inquiries, pass sentences, and report them to him, for him to carry out. Thus indeed it happened, after the judges had protected themselves from all responsibility by an order in black and white. In the cases of the twenty-four ex-deputies of the Debreczen assembly the sentence of death by hanging was passed. Haynau however unconditionally pardoned them all, with one exception. Already he had often interpreted orders of the government at his own discretion, executing them late, partially, and at last not at all. But as until now he had only infringed upon the prerogative of the ministry, his disobedience had been unpunished.

Haynau Discharged

This time he had not only compromised the government and compelled it to an involuntary leniency; he had infringed upon the prerogative of the Crown, in whose exclusive gift were all acts of mercy. Immediately after the news of Haynau's action had reached Vienna the council of ministers assembled and unanimously demanded the dismissal of the general, the emperor himself being also convinced that this was essential. The wording of the imperial decision, which appeared in the *Wiener Zeitung* on the 8th of July, was as follows: "In accordance with the suggestion of the ministers of state, his imperial majesty is pleased to deprive Inspector-General Haynau of his post as commander-in-chief of the third army and of the full powers which accompany it"; and on the following day appeared an announcement of the pension allotted to the general, together with an article in the ministerial *Correspondence* formally accusing General Haynau of disobedience.

The effect of this unexpected sentence on the hitherto omnipotent general needs no description. Though he dared not vent his immediate anger on the ministry he could not remain entirely silent. An article of the Vienna *Reichszeitung*, from an official source, was used by the infuriated general as an opening for airing his wrath. In a reply inserted in one of the Pest papers he protested against the reproach of disobedience. He had used his right of pardon only in the emperor's name, and within the limits of the power assigned to him; and therefore in casting suspicion on the obedience of a man like himself, who had destroyed the revolution at its roots, he could see only the attempt to play into the hands of the democracy (demagogues, as it reads in the correction in Haynau's own hand), and once again to call into question the footing of the monarch throughout the country.

The close of this explanation was significant of Haynau's character and of the facts of the situation: "The author of this shameful article represents me as a second Belisarius, without however having the power to deprive me of my eyesight, and without his being favoured with the spectacle of me in misery, leaning on my beggar's staff and guided by my only daughter." Significant also are two other facts: the garrison at Pest parted from their general with

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ceremony, as though they wished to show him that the army took a different view of his behaviour from that adopted by the ministry; the military journal moreover, the *Soldaten-freund*, published a violent article attacking the government, and comparing Haynau's dismissal to the fate of Wallenstein. Neither was Haynau's discharge welcomed by the Magyar population of Pest and other towns; on the contrary, there were many signs of sympathy with the grim despot, shortly before so deeply hated. Many attributed this change of feeling to the last great act of clemency which Haynau had performed while yet in office. Further, the report that Haynau had learned gradually to think more and more favourably of the Magyar country and people, and had represented their interests with partiality in Vienna, may have had something to do with the homage shown him on the eve of departure by the whole population of Pest. But, above all, the root of this changed feeling lay in the conviction that under Haynau's rule there would have been no change in the policy of the government toward Hungary, but that in all essential relations it would have continued as it was.

HUNGARY UNDER ARCHDUKE ALBERT

In fact, no new regulation was resolved upon, even by the ministry. On the 16th of September, 1850, Archduke Albert took General Haynau's place as civil and military governor; but neither then nor at any time was there any alteration in the method of governing. Martial law still held sway. Sympathisers with the Hungarian revolution were persecuted, and all anti-governmental appeals on the part of the people suppressed. The only difference was that there was no more wholesale condemnation; and when sentences of death by hanging were still passed, as on September 22nd, 1850, upon Kossuth and his thirty-five most important adherents, they only concerned men who were outside the pale of military jurisdiction. A very long time elapsed before the national spirit of Hungary was weaned from its ancient but, on the whole, rather obsolescent national institutions and customs, and persuaded to adopt the modern bureaucratic methods; bounties had absolutely to be presented before registers of land could be established upon Hungarian soil; while to ensure the uninterrupted course of justice, there remained no other way than to transplant whole colonies of officials into Hungary; and even these model officials, unacquainted with the language and customs of the country, without influence over the people, and without the respect of the national aristocracy, were not always able to carry out their instructions and preserve outward order. Above all, the new system of taxation and the introduction of the tobacco monopoly bristled with difficulties and were not established in Hungary until the rod and the prison had been called upon to support authority. Even more irritating than the prohibition of free trade in tobacco was the annoyance to which the tobacco cultivators were subjected, and the burdensome superintendence of the revenue officers, who of necessity had to be always pottering about in the exercise of their office, and who were odious wardens to the peasant in kitchen and bar and field.

Still, the government was right to pay no heed to the momentary unpopularity of this economic measure, and to break down all barriers to intercourse, all material differences in the economic treatment of Hungary and the rest of the crown lands. The destruction of the customs line on the Hungarian border is indeed the only, but at the same time a most important, positive regulation, which, in the years immediately following the revolution, was made a means of forcibly drawing Hungary into closer connection with the main country. It had the best results, and promised well for other reforms made in the spirit of centralisation and in the interests of state unity.^c

ABSOLUTISM IN LOMBARDO-VENETIA

The Lombardo-Venetian kingdom was subjected to a yoke of iron under the governor-general, old Radetzky. Its history during these execrated years is that of councils of war pronouncing sentences on sentences against those who ventured to protest. A proclamation of Radetzky's, dated July 22nd, 1851, further aggravated the state of siege. The prisons were filled, and on the 4th of November the priest Don Giovanni Grioli, guilty of publishing national books, was shot at Milan. This whole monotonous and heart-rending series of arrests directed against the patriots must be read in the newspapers of the time.

Moreover, the system of terror reigned from one end of the monarchy to the other. On the least suspicion the most illustrious men were thrown into the cells: witness Count Adam Potocky arrested on the 27th of September, 1851, at Cracow, to the immense consternation of his fellow citizens. On the 22nd of August of the same year a decree had disbanded all the national guards of the empire. At Prague the siege redoubled in vigour. The reaction, not having enough victims within the limit of the empire, endeavoured to find some abroad among the refugees; it threatened Turkey and Switzerland, both guilty of giving too generous an exercise to the right of asylum, and the first care of the Austrian chiefs in occupying neighbouring countries was to seize the subjects of their emperor; witness the Hungarian, Michael Ferringer, arrested in Schleswig, and the Galician, Patacki, arrested at Ham-burg, both of whom were hanged at Vienna on the 5th of February, 1852. The Catholic clergy resumed their mischievous and persecuting supremacy; the war on thought redoubled in rigour. One minister of Francis Joseph even had for an instant the idea of requiring the catalogues of all private libraries, in order to banish from them "bad books." The ex-liberal Bach was associated with all these measures.

AUSTRIAN FINANCE (1849-1859)

The financial situation was deplorable. Austria had only held her own in face of the events of 1848-1849, thanks to the co-operation of the Bank of Vienna; towards the end of 1850 her debt to this bank had reached the enormous total of 231,000,000 florins, and from 1851 to 1853 it remained at a figure varying from 144,000,000 to 125,000,000 florins, to increase again during the Crimean War (1854-1856) to 326,000,000 and 371,000,000 florins. Besides this she incessantly had recourse to credit by means of multiplied loans, under every imaginable form, now giving the concession of the loan to some great banking house, now appealing to the public by way of a national subscription, now promising interest in fiduciary moneys, there promising to pay the interest in coin, etc. To all this we have to add the debt contracted in 1848 for the liberation of the soil. The law of the 7th of September, 1848, had abolished feudal rights, some gratuitously, others under certain conditions. The sum representing the revenue and profit of these burdens and services had been capitalised; it had then been reduced by one-third, regarded as equivalent to the charges which those interested had formerly had to support; and the two remaining thirds formed the amount due to the former lords as purchase and just indemnity. The peasants, formerly the vassals, were to pay the two-thirds of the purchase and a third of the indemnity, a payment which was made by an addition to the land taxes. The provinces and the state were to pay the rest, and this was done through special funds by the mechanism of the provincial treasuries. In 1859 this debt for the liberation of the soil still amounted to 279,172,456 florins in Austrian money (the florin of 100 kreutzers).

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THE CONSTITUTION OF MARCH ABOLISHED

On the 21st of August, 1851, an article of the *Wiener Zeitung* (the official journal) gave notice of the abolition of the constitution of March, 1849, which was the more frank since this constitution was already abolished in fact. This article said: "The final solution of the question of the constitution must be referred to the Throne, it must be placed in the august hands of his majesty. Everything must depend on the maintenance of the full and entire power of the emperor. Austria has been saved from the revolution by the people's attachment to the monarchical principle." In effect, on the 1st of January, 1852, the august hands of his majesty did sign letters patent abolishing the constitution of the 4th of March and the fundamental rights, reducing all the provinces of the monarchy to crown states divided into bailiwicks and circles (whose authorities were assisted by consultative commissions composed of members of the hereditary nobility, land owners, and commercial magnates), facilitating the establishment of entails and the leaving of property in trust, suppressing the jury, etc. It is to be understood that there was no question of a parliament; the provincial diets sufficed under the control of the imperial council, whose members were nominated by the emperor. This régime was to last until 1861.

THE CONCORDAT (1855)

The theocracy must also be restored in all the plenitude of its domination.^d Ever since the year 1830, it had been no secret that between the Vienna cabinet and Rome existed close and intimate relations; that as a result a new clerical era must sooner or later arise for Austria; that from the Danube were being offered, with the ardour of voluntary servitude, conditions that would blossom on the shores of the Tiber into results which, by their astounding magnitude and radiant splendour, would prove to the world that the rulers of the Eternal City still retained their authority over the magnates of the earth.

At last, August 18th, 1855, the work was completed—the work which has cemented the bond between Rome and Austria until this day, the work which was intended by its founders to cement it till the end of all days.

Whatever papistically minded canons could invent; whatever claims to ecclesiastical power they could enforce; with whatever superstitions and creeds they could flatter credulous souls; whatever conditions they could impose as operative in the Catholic Church, or only express in the form of pious wishes for the fruits of their Christian teachings; whatever they could claim as constant inalienable rights of the church and of its visible head, or as only the outflow of that authority in the exercise of which one must show oneself a time-server—in the concordat all is either conceded with the greatest generosity, or, if withheld, withheld only because of the necessities of the times; and all is set forth so clearly as a system, and acknowledged to be so binding in theory, that the right of further concessions, indeed to the complete fulfilment of the ultramontane programme, comes into force and can be employed when considerations of expediency shall no longer exist.

In the concordat we find papistical jurisdiction in conjugal matters handed over to the ecclesiastical judge, and submitted to the canonical legislative power; we find an extension of the bishops' right of jurisdiction over the inferior clergy, which allows the bishops full power of punishment by means of the law of the state, and which changes the personal freedom of the lower clergy to a condition of ecclesiastical discipline; we find a formal exemption of the bishops from the jurisdiction of the courts, the practicability and binding power of which, in the cases of the bishops, according to the concordat, Article 14 *de jure*, is very questionable; we find further the whole educational

system made subordinate to the church under conditions so loosely defined that, in view of the extremely elastic nature of Article 5 of the concordat, it is practically unconditional subjection. The censorship of the church is introduced, and the power of the state is impressed, not only to respect its decisions, but, "with the aid of every means useful for the purpose," to enforce them; and all laws cease, or are suppressed, which were framed to hold within bounds the increase of property in mortmain, and other laws which regulated the miscarriage of property to the church; also a complete solution of the question, so many-sided in Austria, of patronage, a solution acting, as was afterwards shown, to the prejudice of the patrons who suffered damage to their privileges with undiminished continuance in their responsibilities.

With such concessions to Rome, Austria bought the favour of the clergy and sowed discontent among her own people. For the Vienna cabinet this concordat had no other result than to win the favour of members of the holy college at Rome; if that were any gain, the pledges given were clearly advantageous to the country. The interests of Rome and Austria in Italy were, apart from this, identical, and where the interests of both sides are engaged, there is no question of concessions from either. It is therefore unjust to reproach Austria with having prejudiced aims of high policy with this concordat; these aims were already reached and realised before the conclusion of the treaty. Rome is forced to further Austrian policy with the utmost ardour, for every weakness of Austria is at the same time a weakness of the allies of Austria among the clergy.

It is not clear why the statesmen of Vienna should have paid a price for the support of the Romans and for the favour of these gentlemen of the Vatican, as, in so doing, they were purchasing that which they already possessed for nothing. They may have imagined that in so doing they were fulfilling a pious duty, restoring to the church something which it could claim by moral right; or they may have had some other motive. Sentiment may have turned the scale in favour of this understanding; sober considerations of a political nature certainly were not consulted. Politics have nothing to do with the variable moods of the feelings; an injudicious action remains injudicious, no matter how fine the feelings of the heart which have influenced the doer.*

SCHWARZENBERG AND GERMANY

At the commencement of the period of reaction Austria's poverty had not prevented her from making a fairly good figure abroad. In Germany Schwarzenberg had succeeded in securing the maintenance of the federal compact which secured to Austria the preponderance in the Germanic world. Prussia had been held in check by a coalition of princes skilfully grouped round the emperor Francis Joseph. On the occasion of an insurrection in Hesse the elector had implored the support of the diet whilst his subjects demanded that of Prussia. The emperor of Austria had met the kings of Bavaria and Württemberg at Bregenz. A few days later he had had an interview at Warsaw with the emperor Nicholas.

A conflict broke out between Austria, whose troops were occupying Hanau, and the Prussians, who occupied Cassel; and Austria assembled a formidable army on the frontiers of Hesse. On the 26th of November, 1850, she summoned Prussia to evacuate that province within twenty-four hours. Prussia gave way. Manteuffel came to Olmütz (November 29th, 1850) and humiliated his king before the demands of Schwarzenberg. Prussia engaged to co-operate in the re-establishment of the elector, not to act in Holstein save with the concurrence of Austria, and to take part in the conferences opened at Dresden to prepare the future organisation of Germany. The

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Prussian statesmen long preserved the memory of the humiliation of Olmütz, while Schwarzenberg might consider himself Metternich's successor and the arbiter of Europe.¹

After the convention of Olmütz, the re-establishment of the German Confederation, the *Bund*, and of the old diet at Frankfort resulted from the laborious conferences of Dresden. As before 1848 the Gothic assembly held its sittings at Frankfort with its two species of meetings—the *Plenum*, and the *Engere-Rath*, or restricted council; here Austria dominated, seeking to realise the idea she had brought forward at Dresden of entering with all her Italian and Slav provinces into the German Confederation, an idea which was not only combated by Prussia, but which in 1851 excited vigorous protests from France and England. Prussia even declared, through her envoy, in October, 1851, that she renounced the incorporation of her Polish provinces (Posen and East Prussia), in order to compel Austria to do the same. The diet, rendered sterile by the covert but perpetual contest between the two great states, consumed itself in impotent and tedious debates on the unitary idea, failing in all the measures which might have been the symbol of that unity—such as the establishment of a general law relating to the press and to a federal police; but rushing on reactionary measures, such as the suppression (August, 1851) of the fundamental laws of the German people decreed by the parliament of 1848, and the revision in a conservative direction of the constitutions of individual states. It succeeded in scarcely anything but the organisation of a federal army, which it concentrated in the Rhenish provinces, although welcoming with sympathy the Napoleonic *coup d'état* of the 2nd of December, a eulogy on which might be read as early as the 4th of December in the *Wiener Zeitung*. The unitary idea appeared to be more and more compromised. "German unity," an Austrian pamphlet ironically said, "is the squaring of the circle; when one thinks one has it, that is just the moment when one recognises its impossibility. It resembles our cathedrals—there is not one finished."

Schwarzenberg died on the 5th of April, 1852. Count von Buol-Schauenstein succeeded him as minister of foreign affairs; but the emperor suppressed the presidency of the council of ministers, which Alexander Bach, who was only minister of the interior, had hoped for, and announced that he would continue in person the absolutist, centralising, and Germanic policy of Schwarzenberg. The latter had failed in the task of obtaining the admission into the confederation of Austria with all her provinces. He had also failed in another task, which was one side of the same question—that of winning her admission into the *Zollverein*, or customs union, which had been formed in 1834, and was to be renewed in 1854. But here Prussia opposed an invincible resistance, into the details of which it would be tedious to enter. Schwarzenberg had perfectly understood that, if the political form of the confederation was the diet, its commercial form was the *Zollverein*, and that in order to lead Germany it was necessary to be in both. Prussia, however, having the same comprehension of the situation, defended the commercial position, since she had been dislodged from the other at Olmütz; and only consented to a simple alliance between the *Zollverein* on the one hand and Austria on the other, but by no means to an incorporation.

Schwarzenberg's policy was really continued everywhere. Austria pressed her yoke on Italy, seeking besides to bind the destinies of that country to her own by customs treaties with the sovereigns bowed beneath her influence, and by knitting the railways of the peninsula with her own. From their capital, Verona, her generals and police multiplied executions and trials, supported the court of Rome against French influence, created embarrassment on embarrassment for the Piedmontese cabinets, bathed the Romagna in blood by executions, and provoked an insurrection in Milan which, breaking out on the 6th

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of February, 1853, was suppressed in terrible fashion and followed by the sequestration of all the property of Lombardo-Venetian emigrants. In Hungary existed the same system of rule—executions and Germanisation. Francis Joseph made frequent journeys in his states, in the midst of official transports, acclaimed by the Italian nobles or the Magyar magnates, who, like Paul Esterházy, displayed at the receptions at Pest jewelry valued at a fabulous sum. On the 24th of April, 1854, the young sovereign married Elisabeth Amélie Eugénie, daughter of Maximilian Joseph, duke in Bavaria; Francis Joseph was twenty-four years old and the new empress seventeen.

AUSTRIA'S ATTITUDE DURING THE CRIMEAN WAR (1853-1856 A.D.)

It was under these circumstances that war in the East broke out between Russia on the one hand and France, England, Piedmont, and Turkey on the other. The question of the holy places at Jerusalem was for Russia a pretext to try to get hold of the succession of the Sick Man. She counted on the co-operation of Austria, which she had saved in 1849 and which had herself just forbidden the Turkish army, led by Omar Pasha, to attack the Montenegrens. Nicholas had a lively affection for the young Francis Joseph and looked on him as almost a ward and pupil. Only recently, at the grand manoeuvres of Olmütz, he had desired to parade before his beloved Habsburg at the head of the regiment of Austrian lancers which belonged to him, and had afterwards pressed the Austrian emperor in his arms, weeping. He lived on terms of comradeship with the Austrian generals. How then could he expect that Francis Joseph would take part against him, for that England which had so enthusiastically received the rebel Kossuth, and for that France which was governed by a representative of Napoleon I?

It was therefore without hesitation that he gave Prince Menshikoff that celebrated mission of May, 1853, by which he claimed the protectorate over all the Greek Catholics throughout the Ottoman Empire, which amounted to demanding of Turkey the abdication pure and simple of her sovereignty.

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[1854-1855 A.D.]

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There were dangers ahead, whichever side Austria might decide to uphold. The western powers might at any time influence affairs in Italy, to the extent of engaging the full strength of the Austrian Empire; Turkey had a sufficiently powerful military force to be capable of sustaining an obstinate fight; and finally, came the consideration that Germany would actively oppose Austria, directly she declared herself to be in alliance with the powers hostile to Russia, on account of her unquestionable friendship with that country. It was, however, assuredly to the interests of the kingdom that peace should be speedily restored, as the conditions of warfare were paralysing everything.

In fact, what Austria had to consider was that an alliance with Russia might draw down on her an attack from three sides; that neutrality and the maintenance of a passive attitude would mean the continuance of an unendurable situation, whereas she was in a position to bring strong pressure to bear upon Russia with a view to restoring peace. These considerations were decisive for Austria when, on December 2nd, 1854, England and France concluded a treaty which at once came into operation. That it was intended to bring about peace is shown by the subsequent proceedings; the proposals agreed upon at the Vienna congress were once more laid before the Russian ambassador in Vienna, who declared the readiness of the czar to treat for peace on their basis.

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[1853-1854 A.D.]

of February, 1853, was suppressed in terrible fashion and followed by the sequestration of all the property of Lombardo-Venetian emigrants. In Hungary existed the same system of rule—executions and Germanisation. Francis Joseph made frequent journeys in his states, in the midst of official transports, acclaimed by the Italian nobles or the Magyar magnates, who, like Paul Esterházy, displayed at the receptions at Pest jewelry valued at a fabulous sum. On the 24th of April, 1854, the young sovereign married Elisabeth Amelie Eugenie, daughter of Maximilian Joseph, duke in Bavaria; Francis Joseph was twenty-four years old and the new empress seventeen.

AUSTRIA'S ATTITUDE DURING THE CRIMEAN WAR (1853-1856 A.D.)

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[1855-1858 A.D.]

allies and the conquest of the Armenian fortress of Kars by the Russians offered a suitable occasion, since both armies had scored a victory. The Austrian government accordingly once more sent proposals for peace to St. Petersburg in December, 1855; they were treated with consideration, but the peace conference was convened in Paris, instead of in Vienna.

In accordance with the peace concluded in 1856 Russia had to resign her "protectorate" over the Christians in Turkey and to give up the mouths of the Danube; the navigation of the Danube was declared free, and the Black Sea "closed"; that is to say, no war ships of foreign powers should be permitted to make the voyage of the Bosphorus and the Dardanelles. The conference at Paris had given the new French emperor, Napoleon III, the opportunity of successfully assuming the rôle of the arbiter of Europe, of joining with the opponents of Austria, and of crippling the latter's influence."



PUSTERTHAL, TYROL

THE WAR OF ITALIAN INDEPENDENCE (1859 A.D.)

At the sitting of the Congress at Paris, on the 8th of April, Walewski, the French minister of foreign affairs, suddenly called attention to the situation of the States of the Church and of the kingdom of Naples, and to the dangers attendant on the occupation of a great part of Italy by the Austrian armies. The plenipotentiaries of Austria, Buol-Schauenstein and Hübner, declared that they had no answer to make on these subjects, which were foreign to the congress. Cavour asked to be heard, and drew a very striking picture of the occupation of the Roman states by Austria, an occupation which had endured for the last seven years. "The presence of the Austrian troops in the legations and in the duchy of Parma," he added, "destroys the political equilibrium in Italy and constitutes a veritable danger for Sardinia. It is our duty to point out to Europe the existence of a state of things so abnormal as that which results in the indefinite occupation by Austria of a great part of Italy."

Baron von Hübner made a vehement reply. The Russian plenipotentiary, Count Orloff, could but rejoice to see ungrateful Austria called to account in her turn. This was only an exchange of ideas, but the Italian question had been brought forward and Cavour could write to one of his friends, "In three years we shall have war."

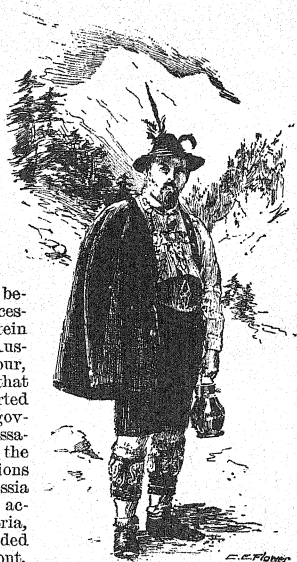
We may pass rapidly over the years 1857 and 1858, which saw the organisation of the Danubian principalities into an administrative union, the signing of the convention for the free navigation of the Danube, and the death of old Radetzky, who was replaced by the archduke Maximilian (January 5th, 1858).

[1858-1859 A.D.]

These two years were, properly speaking, a preparation for the war of Italy, a diplomatic struggle with Piedmont preceding the armed struggle. Europe felt a presentiment of it. After the Crimean War, France had approached sensibly nearer to Russia, who was herself drawing Prussia into her orbit, and in all the conferences of these two years we constantly see Russia, France, and Prussia voting against Austria and England. The Stuttgart interview between Napoleon III and Alexander II in 1857 still further accentuated this situation. Cavour was advancing to his goal with an unheard-of persistency, preparing fleets, armies, finances, alliances, lancing against Austria the collection of the letters of Joseph de Maistre, in which the empire of the Habsburgs is treated as the enemy of the human race, making every effort to conciliate France, even to obtaining the vote, after the Orsini crime, of a disgraceful law against refugees. In July, 1858, he had that famous interview with Napoleon III at Plombières in which war was decided on, and on the 1st of January, 1859, at a New Year's reception, the emperor said to Baron von Hübner, the ambassador of Austria: "I regret that our relations with your government are not so good as they were. I beg you to tell the emperor that my personal sentiments for him are unchanged."

Russia intended to leave Austria to her fate, England sent Lord Cowley to Vienna to try to prevent a rupture between Austria and Piedmont by concessions from the former. Buol-Schauenstein asked if these concessions guaranteed Austria her possessions in Italy. Cavour, sounded by Lord Cowley, answered that the dangers of war could only be averted by the creation of a separate national government for Lombardo-Venetia, the cessation of the occupation of Romagna, and the establishment of constitutional institutions at Parma, Modena, and Florence. Russia then proposed a congress, which was accepted on the 22nd of March by Austria, on the condition that it should be preceded by disarmament on the part of Piedmont. Napoleon III had, or feigned to have, some inclinations towards peace, which entirely deceived Hübner. Buol-Schauenstein, deceived by Hübner, assumed the most arrogant tone towards Piedmont; and finally, on the 19th of April, addressed to her a haughty ultimatum, requiring disarmament within three days.^d

Napoleon's New Year's greeting was immediately appreciated at its right value by the military party in Vienna, whilst the Austrian diplomacy remained on the wrong track till almost the last moment. The immediate victim of imperial brusquerie, Baron von Hübner, to whom in Paris everyone gave the cold shoulder, lived so entirely without the circle of impending events, was so thoroughly out of touch with those who initiated the various movements, that



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he wrote to Vienna that the address was a cordial effusion of the heart, such as might well occur among friends, whereof the brusque and outspoken manner need cause no uneasiness. This exposition of the famous words, "I much regret that our relations with your government are no longer as friendly as formerly," was quite in accordance with the acumen which caused the ambassador to persuade a secret emissary of the military party that the colossal preparations for warfare, of which the latter collected constant proofs during his tour through France, were of no consequence, as the emperor of the French was suffering from softening of the brain. Buol, too, thought that peace might yet be possible, until he was ordered to despatch the ultimatum to Turin. The existing contradictions pointed to war as sooner or later the only issue of the situation. At bottom Buol was also right in his conviction that the existence of constitutional Piedmont was in itself apart from all else an invincible threat against the reign of Austrian absolutism in Italy, and not less right in his proclamation: "Austria has carried the matter to such lengths that it is now an alternative of Austria supreme as far as the Alps, or Italy free as far as the Adriatic."

This was discovered by the Vienna military party, but, startled at themselves and their own rashness, they equalised the profits by frittering the precious time in disconsolate hesitation, after they had precipitated the decision. For there was a moment when in all earnest Napoleon faltered from following his first step by his second; Cavour had to compel him to hold by his resolution, just as in the *coup d'état* his companions, Morny and St. Arnaud, had been obliged to do. To accomplish this the Piedmontese minister used as a handle the ultimatum from Vienna, the peremptory nature of which gave him the opportunity to represent Austria in the light of the peace-breaker, and thus declare existent the *casus federis* for which France had pledged her aid. As a preliminary condition to a peace congress England had proposed the inhibition of the mobilisation of the volunteer corps.

On the 20th of April Napoleon telegraphed to Cavour, "Accept at once; answer by telegraph," and the *Moniteur* accepted in the name of France. Cavour was in despair, when he received news through Naples that the ultimatum dated the 19th, which was to give him breathing time, was on its way from Vienna. On the 23d Baron Kellersperg handed it in at Turin; it contained the peremptory interpellation: "Will Piedmont, within the space of three days, promise to place its army on the footing of peace and dismiss the volunteer corps?—yes or no." With this declaration of war, which left the London proposal formally out of the question, Austria had burned her boats; it now remained only to let the action follow the threat, as thunder follows lightning. The Piedmontese army should have been scattered, before a Frenchman put his foot on Italian soil; the French corps could then have been annihilated as they landed in troops or came down through the mountain passes. Instead of this, Gyulai let three days beyond the term assigned to Piedmont elapse before, on the 29th of April, he crossed the Ticino. Meanwhile the first French soldiers came into Turin and Genoa, but only in quite small divisions; their debouchment troubled Gyulai as little as seven years later the Prussians pushing through the Bohemian mountains disturbed Benedek. In this case strong rainfalls and swollen rivers played the same part as the mists of Chlum played at Königgrätz. Gyulai, without in the least concerning himself about the matter, allowed the allies to concentrate their forces, although it was not till May 20th, at the great reconnaissance at Montebello, that a division of the French under Forey came under fire. On the 30th, at Palestro, there was still only one Zouave regiment to support the Italians. Then on the 4th of June the battle of Magenta was followed by the over-hasty evacuation of Lombardy, and the battle of Solferino on the 24th of

[1859 A.D.]

June led to the meeting of the two emperors at Villafranca, where, on July 11th, the preliminaries of peace, including the loss of Lombardy to Austria, were signed.

THE AVALANCHE

This hurried submission of Austria was in fact due, not so much to the result of the battles—of which Magenta at any rate cannot be considered as decisive, and even Solferino can hardly pass as an overwhelming defeat, since the French had not won a foot of ground—as to the anxiety arising from a just appreciation of the spirit of the country, in addition to the suspicion, carefully fostered by the French, that Prussia would use the continuance of the war to undermine Austria's position in Frankfort. The fear of the disposition of the people took the greater hold, because, with the landing of the French at Lussin-Piccolo in the Quarnero Gulf on the 3rd and the bombardment of Zaras, the war had approached that neighbourhood where from Fiume onwards along the magnificent Marie-Louise road it could draw to it the Croats and the other southern Slavs. Kossuth, Türr, and other émigrés were in Napoleon's headquarters; an army ready to descend on the enemy's coast would assuredly meet with no opposition from the Croats and Serbians, who were much disaffected, and in Hungary would certainly light the flames of insurrection. The universal misery during a decade had for the moment stilled the fierce race-hatred of the Magyars and the southern Slavs, which had reigned in 1849. That the reflections of the headquarters were not without grounds is shown by the remarkable article in the preliminaries, which assured to all those who had been compromised a general amnesty. As it was certain that 6 per cent. of the imperial Austrian troops which had been under fire—that is, 15,000 out of 250,000 men—had been taken prisoners, and that these were almost without exception Hungarians, Croats, or Italians, we may find not only this decision but many others taken by Austria easily comprehensible.

The temper in the hereditary lands disclosed a higher degree of resignation, but a bitterness no less intense. The manifesto of Laxenburg brought little improvement. At an unfortunate moment the preamble greatly irritated diplomatic sensibilities in foreign countries by the words: "Our oldest and most natural allies have obstinately refused to recognise the fact that Austria should face the coming events, the significance of which increases daily, in full and undivided strength." The conclusion set forth a promise which was too indefinite to inspire new life into the general apathy: "The blessings of peace are doubly precious to me, because they will give me the necessary leisure to turn my attention and care more than ever to the successful discharge of the duties I have imposed upon myself, of developing the riches, material and spiritual, of the kingdom, and so increasing its well-being within and its power without, as well as of ensuring the continuance of peace by timely improvements in its laws and government."

But week after week ran by and nothing was done. At the end of July the Linz chamber of commerce addressed the following warning in its annual report to Bruck: "The chamber has repeatedly declared that it confronts a grave and by no means smiling future with confidence, because it relies upon the strength of the nation. These words are doubly true to-day. Day after day it grows plainer and events emphatically prove that the free development of intelligence, of public opinion, of association, of industry in trade, of unions of the people, and of agricultural interests will be given every possible opening. The nation feels the need of a wider, more self-reliant development of its powers; without this it will hardly be able to keep its place in competition with other nations. Upper Austria, because it loves its fatherland, struggles

for progress; for true progress in all directions it will have the necessary spirit of self-sacrifice."

Again, on the 7th of August a semi-official article written in Vienna lamented in the Augsburg *Allgemeine Zeitung*: "The temper in Vienna is both depressed and irritable. Between the emperor and his people a coterie has intruded itself. After all, where are the followers of the concordat policy and its consequences? How wofully in error are those who believe the concordat will be greeted with unanimous joy by the whole body of clergy! There are—apart from the inferior clergy who are delivered by the concordat into the hands of the ambitious and therefore hated bishops—many bishops who shake their heads whenever the concordat is mentioned. Nevertheless all possible efforts are being made to bring about a change of persons in the principal offices, and unhappily not without success—hence the ever-increasing despondency. There must be a change; the sound feeling of Vienna protests with too much energy against the present state of things, and public displeasure manifests itself too unmistakably to remain much longer unattended with result. In this fact lies at the moment the (unhappily) sole hope of improvement."

At last on August 22nd the *Wiener Zeitung* announced the longed-for dismissal of Bach and Kempen. The latter was simply pensioned; the former may have regarded his nomination as ambassador in Rome as an advancement, for this over-salaried post passed as the first in Austrian diplomacy after that of minister of foreign affairs. Bruck's restless but somewhat fruitless ambition accomplished the dismissal of Toggenburg at the same time, and demanded the unwarrantable suspension of the ministry of commerce, whose agenda were distributed among the different departments of finance, foreign and domestic. The avalanche came with a rush, after the first impetus had once been given; but who would have believed that, fully twelve years later, nobody would yet have an idea which direction, once set in motion, it was likely to take?"

THE OCTOBER DIPLOMA (1860 A.D.); THE FEBRUARY PATENT (1861 A.D.)

After some hesitation the emperor undertook a series of reforms tending gradually to introduce the constitutional régime into his states. He first created a strengthened Reichsrath, or imperial council (March 6th, 1860)—that is to say, he added to his ordinary council thirty-eight members taken from among the notables, and representing the different countries of the empire; they were to employ themselves with the finances and general legislation. This assembly, which was purely consultative, had no right of initiative. It was but a small concession in face of the hopes and demands of the peoples. Finally, these were listened to. Goluchowski, a Galician nobleman, and consequently a stranger to the quarrels between Germans and Hungarians, was summoned to the ministry, and with his help the diploma of the 20th of October (*Oktoberdiplom*) was elaborated. This was the charter of the new liberties. The following is a summary of it:

Henceforth the sovereign exercised the legislative power in concert with the diet and with a *Reichsrath* composed of delegates from the diets. The competence of the Reichsrath extended to legislation concerning interests common to all the countries of the empire—finance, commerce, communication, and war. Other matters were the province of the diets. All citizens were equal before the law as regards religious creed, financial burdens, and military service. The number of members of the Reichsrath reached about one hundred; the ministries of the interior, of justice, and worship were suppressed. The diets still remained organised on the principle of privileged castes.

[1861 A.D.]

The task of applying and developing the principles comprised in the diploma of the 20th of October was confided to the minister Schmerling; he completed it by the patent of the 26th of February, 1861. Like Bach or Metternich, his first object was to maintain the preponderance of the Germanic element; he aimed at applying to Austria the parliamentary theories which are suitable only to homogeneous states. He created two chambers. That of the lords comprised princes, great land owners, prelates, and eminent men appointed by the sovereign. The chamber of deputies comprised 343 members elected by the provincial diets and distributed thus: Hungary, 85; Transylvania, 20; Croatia-Slavonia, 9; Dalmatia, 5; Bohemia, 54; Moravia, 22; Silesia, 6; Lower and Upper Austria, 28; Salzburg, 3; Styria, 13; Carinthia, 5; Carniola, 6; 6 for Istria and Trieste, 38 for Galicia, 5 for Bukowina, 12 for the Tyrol and Vorarlberg. The suppressed ministries were restored and the attributes of the central parliament enlarged at the expense of the provincial diets.

The hopes to which the October diploma had given rise among the federalists were reduced to nothing. Yet it could not be imagined that the Hungarians would sell their autonomy so cheaply and consent to deliberate on the interests of their kingdom with the Venetians, the Slovenes, and the Poles. Their deputies were only to sit when the common interests of the whole monarchy were in question; their presence constituted the full Reichsrath; in their absence there was a restricted parliament in which the other groups occupied themselves with questions beyond the competency of their own diets. Thus the centralist minister managed to get rid of the principle of a dual government. On the other hand, he organised all the provincial diets on a uniform model, but with an electoral system scientifically constructed to stifle the Slav majorities under the German minorities. This system replaced the representation of the estates by that of interests; it admitted three *curiæ* of electors: the great land owners, the citizens of the towns, and the peasants of the country districts. The large properties belonging to aristocratic families which held them in fee from the dynasty; the towns where, even in non-German districts, there are numerous Germanic colonies, were especially favoured.

The elective circles were distributed in the most arbitrary fashion: in Bohemia, for example, the Slav towns had a deputy for every 12,020 electors, whilst the German towns had one for every 10,315. In the rural circles the Slavs had a deputy for every 53,200 inhabitants, whilst the German circles had one for every 40,800 electors. The German town of Reichenberg, with 19,000 inhabitants, had three deputies, whilst the Slav town of Prague, with 150,000 inhabitants, had only ten. Certain German towns were constituted as veritable rotten boroughs. The German borough of Parchen, with 500 inhabitants, had a deputy; the Slav town of Kladno, with 8,000 inhabitants, had not a single one. In short, this electoral system was a veritable deception.

After the constitution of February the peoples of the empire were divided as to whether or not they should accept it by sending deputies to the new Reichsrath. Venetia, Hungary, Transylvania, and Croatia refused to let themselves be represented there; 140 deputies (more than a third) were missing out of 343; "We can wait," said Schmerling, proudly. But all his diplomacy was unavailing against the obstinacy of the Hungarians.

"I know only the Hungarian constitution, I can treat only on the basis of the Hungarian constitution," Deák invariably answered to all the proposals of the Viennese statesmen, even when Schmerling had succeeded in attracting the Transylvania deputies to Vienna. The Hungarian diet, convoked at Pest in April, 1861, refused all compromises; some of the rigorous lawyers even affected not to recognise Francis Joseph, because he had never been crowned. In countries possessing historic rights the coronation is not merely a religious

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ceremony; it is a mutual contract in which the sovereign makes an oath acknowledging the historic rights of the kingdom; hence the importance which the Czechs and Magyars attach to it. The legists, not recognising the uncrowned king, wished to vote only a resolution; Deák persuaded them to draw up an address. In this document, remarkable for its lucidity and its logic, he appeals to the historic rights of the kingdom.

"The fundamental condition of our political life and of our national independence," it said, "is the legal autonomy and the independence of our country. Our first duty is to consecrate all our faculties to obtaining that Hungary shall remain Hungary and keep her constitutional rights. We solemnly declare that we can sacrifice to no consideration, to no interest, the rights derived from treaties, laws, royal letters, and coronation oaths." It claimed the execution of the laws of 1848 and of the engagements undertaken in the Pragmatic Sanction. The government of Vienna thought it could daunt the Hungarians by force. The diet was dissolved (August 22nd). The assemblies of the comitats were forbidden, royal commissioners were substituted for the refractory *Obergespanne*; but the Magyars persisted in their resistance, even when Schmerling had succeeded in attracting to Vienna the deputies of Transylvania.

Bohemia was scarcely more satisfied than Hungary. She complained with reason of the iniquity of the electoral system granted by Schmerling; she sent her deputies to the Reichsrath, but only with the reservation of all the rights of the kingdom. After 1863 they ceased to take part in the debates of this assembly. The only liberty for which thanks were due to Schmerling was that of the press; but the Slavs profited little by it. In Bohemia and Moravia, within the space of three years, fourteen Czech journals shared between them sixty-one months of imprisonment, simple or severe (with fasting and irons), and 21,500 florins in fines.

THE POLISH INSURRECTION (1863-1866 A.D.)

The insurrection of Russian Poland in 1863 provoked an intense ferment in Galicia and plunged the Vienna cabinet into serious embarrassments. Its attitude was very ambiguous. Whilst Prussia concluded a military convention with Russia against the insurgents, Rechberg, then minister of foreign affairs, preserved Machiavellian caution towards both parties. Napoleon III, in sympathy with the Poles, had reckoned on Austria for a campaign against Russia and Prussia. He wished to help the Vienna cabinet to resume Silesia and secure to Austria the Danubian Principalities in exchange for Venetia. These projects were neither understood nor liked at Vienna. The government of the emperor Francis confined itself to addressing diplomatic notes to St. Petersburg and finally placed Galicia in a state of siege. This ambiguous conduct irritated to a singular degree not only the Poles but also their congeners of Bohemia and Moravia, who were more inclined to sympathise with the Polish revolution than with the Muscovite autocracy.

The work of Schmerling was not of the kind which is destined to endure. In 1865 the emperor undertook a journey to Pest in order to come to an understanding with the Hungarians; he gave them a new chancellor and dismissed Schmerling. The partisans of parliamentary Germanism lamented, but in the provinces the joy was immense. Prague, Pest, and Lemberg were illuminated. Schmerling was replaced by Belcredi, a Moravian by origin and far less enthusiastic than his predecessor for the hegemony of the German nationality. The diets of the great Slav countries, Bohemia and Galicia, showed themselves grateful for the change of ministry and hastened to react

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against the germanising measures of the preceding cabinet; in Galicia, for instance, the Polish language was introduced into all the schools.^f

On the 20th of September the emperor published a manifesto suspending the constitution of the 26th of February, 1861, in order to arrive at a new organisation which might satisfy all the nationalities. The imperial council, or Reichsrath, was indefinitely prorogued. Count Belcredi's plan was to group the countries according to their language and origin in several states, to give them complete autonomy for their internal affairs, and to reserve such matters as were of common interest to a central parliament; but if the Czechs and Poles applauded this plan the Germans and the Hungarians would not hear of it. The Germans wished to preserve Schmerling's system while perfecting it in the direction of liberty. The Hungarians, in the name of the "continuity of the law," demanded the preliminary re-establishment of the constitution of 1848, with a responsible ministry; then only would the Deákists consent to a revision of the fundamental laws for the purpose of finding out how they might be made to agree with Belcredi's plan. This amounted to dualism already designed, prepared, and superposing itself on the equality of the races in a liberal confederation.

The Hungarian diet met on the 5th of December, 1865. In it Deák had an enormous majority. He obtained the vote of an address demanding the nomination of a responsible Hungarian ministry which should alone be qualified to propose such modifications as were deemed necessary. It was impossible to come to an agreement. Count Belcredi recoiled before the certainty of displeasing the Slavs by accepting the proposed dualism. After long debates, which lasted till February, 1866, the diet was adjourned. Deák repeated Schmerling's phrase, "We can wait." The terrible year of Königgrätz was to abridge this effort, and the Belcredi ministry simply bears in history the name, "ministry of the suspension" (*Sistirung*).^g

THE SCHLESWIG-HOLSTEIN QUESTION (1863-1866)

Prussia had not lost the memory of the humiliation of Olmütz; she aspired only to take her revenge and to place herself at the head of Germany. It must be acknowledged that this rôle suited her better than it did her rival; for, except in the duchy of Posen and in some parts of Silesia, the Prussian state is purely German. King William, crowned 1861, had found in Bismarck the minister of that policy which was to bring Prussia to the apogee of her power. Prussia and Austria both endeavoured to range Germany under their domination, whilst at Dresden Beust was imagining a triad in which the little kingdoms would have formed a counterpoise to the two great empires.

Without here going into all the efforts of Austria to secure the hegemony, let us only remember that she proposed the drawing up of a uniform code of civil procedure for all Germany; this project fell to the ground. In August, 1863, the emperor Francis Joseph convoked the German princes at Frankfurt to elaborate a plan of federal reform; the German sovereigns met in the hall of the Römer; the king of Prussia alone refused to appear. Francis Joseph wished to secure for his dynasty the perpetual presidency of the directory of the German Confederation; he wished to obtain that in case of war Germany should intervene to guarantee him in his possessions situated outside the confederation. This is not the place to relate how the question of Schleswig-Holstein developed. Germany has always coveted this half Danish, half German province, the possession of which secures large outlets for her navy. In 1863 the king of Denmark thought the time had come in which Schleswig, which had hitherto formed a part of Holstein, might be definitely incorporated with

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his kingdom. The diet protested and caused Holstein to be occupied by the federal troops. Rechberg was at this time Austria's minister of foreign affairs, and in 1863 he had declared that it was not his intention to raise the question of nationalities—a question to be dreaded by Austria more than any other power. However, he allowed himself to be drawn by Bismarck into undertaking the seizure in the name of the confederation and in concert with Prussia. Twenty thousand Austrians, co-operating with the Prussian army, attacked the Danes (January 27th, 1864). The two armies, in spite of the heroism of the Danes, gained an easy victory. Rear-Admiral Tegetthoff flew the Austrian flag with honour in the North Sea, and by the Peace of Vienna, on the 30th of October, 1864, King Christian IX yielded all his rights over Schleswig, Holstein, and Lauenburg to the conquerors.

But if it had been easy to win this booty it was less easy to divide it. It was evident that the duchies were too remote from Austria to admit of her usefully possessing them either wholly or in part. Prussia offered to buy her right of possession. On the 14th of August, 1865, the Convention of Gastein was signed. Austria ceded the duchy of Lauenburg to Prussia for 12,500,000 francs. It has been calculated that this was about 149 francs for each inhabitant. Austria kept Holstein while Prussia reserved Schleswig for herself. The small states protested in vain against this immoral convention, which completely disregarded the rights of Germany. A little later Prussia offered 300,000,000 francs for the cession of the duchies; Austria refused, but subjects for chicanery were not lacking to the statesmen of Berlin: they complained of the over-liberal administration of Austria in Holstein, they raised claims to intervene in that administration. Friedrich Giehne thus describes the situation at this time: ^a

Giehne's View of the Situation

After the war cloud in the north seemed for the time to have blown over, one finds oneself again face to face with the Schleswig-Holstein question, which lay behind the cloud, and again one is driven to wonder at the innocence which allowed itself to become responsible for this complication. If the matter be regarded without prejudice, it will appear far simpler. Let us, for example, suppose that some one from the far west of America came over to Europe, some one who had heard absolutely nothing about the matter, and that he was appointed arbitrator; he would put a number of questions, in order to learn how the matter stood, and there would be some such dialogue as the following:

"Has the war against Denmark then been conducted in the name of Prussian claims to Schleswig-Holstein?"

"No; there has been no thought of such a thing; nor indeed in that case would Austria have had any possible reason for participating in the war."

"What then was the actual cause of the war?"

"Well, for one thing, the right of the German Confederation to Holstein; for another, the separation of the Danish succession from that of Schleswig-Holstein, which descends to the duke of Augustenburg."

"So then it appears this claim has been renounced—or is it handed over to Prussia?"

"Neither; but Count Bismarck now declares that the king of Denmark has been the one and only lawful duke of Schleswig-Holstein."

"So then Count Bismarck will, by right of succession, reinstate him in the dukedom?"

"Not so much that, so they seem to say in Berlin; we will rather draw the other conclusion—that rightfully Denmark should retire from the dukedom,

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and consequently endorse by means of this registration the one valid and just course."

"Oh, then Denmark has resigned the dukedom to Prussia?"

"Not so, but to Prussia and Austria jointly; only, Prussia now desires that, in a spirit of benevolent comradeship, Austria should resign her part of the claim and so leave the whole."

"Then Austria's joint claim is not denied by Prussia?"

"By no means; Prussia's claim would in that case also be invalid."

"Good; but where are they then at issue?"

"Why, because Austria can see no reason for blindly giving up her right to Prussia, and Prussia makes this a cause of offence."

"And how has Count Bismarck sought to persuade Austria to renounce her right in favour of Prussia?"

"Until now, only by attacks in the papers, threats of war, of joining forces with Austria's enemies, besides denying Austria entrance to the German Zollverein."

"Well, that is certainly a strange kind of *captatio benevolentiae*. Count Bismarck has taken a radically wrong road for his purpose. He should read the fable of the storm wind, which tries to tear the traveller's mantle from him: the more violently the wind blows, the closer the wanderer wraps his cloak around him. Count Bismarck would in his place do the same; how comes it then that he expects anything else in another?"

THE SEVEN WEEKS' WAR OF 1866

If Bismarck heard such admonitions as this, he did not heed them. The real point at issue was far more vital than any question as to the rulership, or other affairs, of Schleswig-Holstein; it had to do with the leadership of the Germanic nations. Should Austria still aspire to her old-time supremacy, or could Prussia challenge that supremacy and make good the challenge? That was really the question that underlay all the trivialities of the Schleswig-Holstein dispute; and it was a question that could never be definitely settled except by the verdict of war. Each party felt this, and each prepared for the contest. Austria armed, but Prussia was far superior to her in military organisation; she had besides a secure alliance with the young kingdom of Italy, impatient to acquire Venetia, to whom she promised a large subsidy. In vain did Napoleon III attempt to settle the question of the duchies and that of Venetia by means of a congress. He was no more successful than he had been in the affairs of Poland.

The Battle of Königgrätz (1866)

Austria felt both her honour and her military pride to be at stake. General Gablenz was commissioned to convoke the diet of Holstein in order to learn the wishes of the country on its future fate. Bismarck declared that the Convention of Gastein had been violated; he occupied Holstein and mobilised the Prussian army. The small states of Germany declared against Prussia, but she rapidly occupied Hesse, Saxony, and Hanover (June, 1866). Baden, Bavaria, and Württemberg held their own, but struggled feebly; Italy sent her fleet to the Adriatic and her troops to the Quadrilateral. The Prussians entered Bohemia. It was a lightning campaign. Benedek, the commander of the Austrian forces, instead of occupying Saxony, had awaited the enemy beyond the defiles of Bohemia; his lieutenants, Clam-Galatz and Gablenz, were successively defeated at Jicin and Nachod on the 26th and 27th of June; he himself concentrated his troops near Königgrätz (Kralove-Hradec) and the

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village of Sadowa. A great battle was fought on the 3rd of July; it cost the Austrians 20,000 prisoners, 160 cannon, 18,000 dead and wounded; Prague and a great part of Bohemia were occupied by the Prussians, whose officers, disguised as photographers and peddlers, had carefully studied the topography the year before. The road to Vienna lay open and the enemy marched on that capital by way of Moravia.

On the day of the battle itself the most contradictory reports were received and discussed with feverish excitement. It was felt that the destiny of Austria was at stake; men were preparing for bad news; but the dreadful tidings received on the morning of the 4th of July—"the army of the north no longer exists"—surpassed all that had been feared. But to yield, to sue for peace, was out of the question, at least with the Prussians; it was preferable, if Austria's own strength were not sufficient, to continue the fight with foreign assistance, even at the price of the greatest sacrifices.

Where this might be looked for and in what direction the sacrifices had to be made was not far to seek. Italy must be appeased by the abandonment of Venice and an attempt made to involve Napoleon in the war. To give way as regarded Italy was, from the military standpoint, quite possible, since, on the battlefields between the Adagio and the Mincio, the ancient renown of the Austrian arms had been upheld and even a great victory gained with an inferior force. It is true that, according to the agreement of the 8th of April, Victor Emmanuel could not conclude peace without the consent of Prussia; but if Napoleon demanded it, would it be possible to refuse him? If one looked closely at the manner in which the Italians conducted the war, were there not observable distinct traces of disinclination, discord, and a longing for peace? South of the Alps there were at any rate no visible signs of the powerful energy and unity which governed the Prussian plan of campaign. If Moltke's proposals had been listened to, the Italians would have crossed the fortresses of the Quadrilateral which stood in their way or gone round them and directed their advance on German Austria with the utmost speed. Besides this, volunteers under Garibaldi ought, in accordance with the proposal which Usedom addressed to La Marmora on the 17th of June, to have landed on the Dalmatian shores to penetrate into Hungary and entice that country to rebel, a task to which a corps of refugees formed by Klapka in Prussian Silesia would have contributed from the north.

As Usedom rightly stated, blows like those would have struck not merely at the limbs but at the heart of the Austrian monarchy, and would have made the victory of Italy and its result, the acquisition of Venetia, final and irrevocable. However, La Marmora would not listen to those counsels; he thought them dangerous, and besides felt it an insult that he should receive orders from Berlin. He was no longer in Florence when he received Usedom's note and no longer prime minister. He had surrendered that office to Ricasoli and the ministry of foreign affairs to Visconti Venosta, who, up to that time, had been ambassador at Constantinople—that he might himself take command of the army. The important document followed him to the headquarters at Cremona and he received it on the 19th, just as he was on the point of sending the declaration of war to Mantua. However, instead of seriously considering the matter, he put it aside in a bad temper, and even after a second demand he did not consider it worth a reply. He had his own plan of campaign, and saw no occasion to let himself be diverted from it.

However, even in the Italian camp, the voices worthy of note were not at one with him. Whilst he adhered to the opinion that the Austrians must be first enclosed in their fortresses and that then only could further operations with the remaining forces be considered, Cialdini, in conformity with the Prussian plan, wished to press forward over the nether Po, to the east of the

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fortresses. The consideration which the latter general enjoyed was so great and his unyielding nature so well known that La Marmora thought it best to leave him a free hand; thus he gave him the leadership over one of the four divisions which were to take the field, assigned to him his position on the nether Po close to Ferrara, and settled with him that they should mutually support each other by a strong demonstration if Cialdini crossed the Po or La Marmora the Mincio. But they came to no agreement as to what each was to accomplish and who was to be first to attempt the crossing of the river. Each privately reserved the honour for himself.

La Marmora himself commanded three divisions, which were composed of at least one hundred and twenty thousand men, under the leadership of Durando, Cucchiari, and Rocca. Cialdini's one division was at least as strong as two of the others put together; so that the Italian army consisted of more than two hundred thousand men. To these the Austrians under the archduke Albert could not oppose half the number; although the whole army of the south amounted on paper to one hundred and ninety thousand men, less than half of them, perhaps seventy-five or eighty-five thousand, had remained to take the field. Were it only on account of the smallness of this number, La Marmora believed that he had no reason to fear an attack; besides, Nigra announced from Paris on the 15th of July that the Austrians, as he knew on the best authority, would shun a battle. Notwithstanding the vigorous protest of the king, who was keenly sensible of the danger of this supposition, on the 23rd he resolved to cross the Mincio and to leave Cucchiari to observe Mantua on his right, to push with the left wing, Durando's, between Peschiera and Verona, and to advance the centre (under Rocca) towards the west and across the Adige, that he might there join hands with Cialdini, who intended to cross the Po during the night of the 25th.

The Battle of Custozza

Those in the Italian camp had no idea that at this moment Archduke Albert, with the whole of his army, was already on the uplands eastward from Peschiera to Verona, and ready for the battle. The preparations to convey the army quickly across the Adige into this position had been all made with the greatest secrecy, and the measures had succeeded perfectly. The edge of the chain of hills reaches from Valeggio on the Mincio northeastward to Sommacampagna and thence northward to Bussolenga on the Adige, just at the south of Sommacampagna. Villafranca lies in the plain; midway between Sommacampagna and Valleggio is Custozza, on the Tione, a rivulet which here cuts through the upland and runs onward into the plain. Durando and his division had marched north from Valeggio into the upland and were having a fight with the Austrians which somewhat scattered his forces. They did not allow him to cross the Tione, and finally threw him back on the Mincio. The most important and hottest fight and that in which success varied most took place at Custozza, which was several times taken and lost. Whilst the fight at this place was at its fiercest, the greater part of Rocca's corps was close by to the southeast, near Villafranca, which it had reached early in the morning on its way from Goito. However, after having sustained a tremendous charge of the Austrian cavalry, it remained idle the whole day, in spite of the pressing entreaties of Bixio, who commanded one of the divisions, and of the crown prince Humbert, that they might be permitted to strike a blow.

Towards evening, and after the Austrians had taken Custozza by storm, a second attack upon Villafranca was attempted. The Italians repulsed it, but were now compelled to abandon their position and with drums beating marched back to the Mincio. In the afternoon La Marmora himself had entirely lost

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his head; he left the battlefield and went to Goito, two miles and a half from Custozza. It is said that the king had opposed his orders and was perhaps even responsible for Rocca's inaction.

Painful as this defeat must have been to Italian pride, the loss was not great. One only of the four corps was beaten; the three others were entirely or almost entirely unweakened. The enemy's loss amounted to scarcely two hundred—less than that of the Italians. In a total of some eight thousand this is not saying much; besides, the Austrians would feel the diminution much more than their opponents. There was no need whatever for La Marmora to retire farther than the western bank of the Mincio, and if he gave orders to withdraw behind the Po he was chiefly induced to do so by anger. Cialdini had announced that, after the unfortunate issue of the battle at Custozza, he, for his part, would remain on the southern bank of the Po, and that he had begun to effect the return of the troops which had crossed. On more mature consideration, and when it was known that the archduke Albert was not advancing, the retreat was suspended and the army remained at Oglio. Cialdini, who had gone back to Modena, also returned to his former position; and at Parma, on the 29th of July, he personally promised the general in command that he would once more do all in his power to cross.

Notwithstanding this, La Marmora refused to retain command of the army. Meanwhile Cialdini would not accept it. Thus dissension and confusion reigned in the Italian camp and the Austrians were at liberty to withdraw their troops from Venetia unmolested and unobserved by the enemy, and to lead them to join the army of the north. When, after the battle of Koniggratz, the command to do this was issued from Vienna, the Italians were so far away from the enemy that with the best will in the world they would no longer have been able materially to hinder it.

Napoleon's Intervention (1866 A.D.)

Nevertheless, there is no doubt that the retreat of the army of the south naturally implied the renunciation of Venice; for it was to be expected that the Italians, when informed of it, would follow, and even cross the frontiers of German Austria. There was only one means of preventing this, and Francis Joseph availed himself of it. On the 5th of July he ceded his Italian possessions to the emperor Napoleon, and asked him to mediate a peace between him and Victor Emmanuel, not meaning peace with Prussia too; on the contrary, he now intended to fall upon this enemy with all his force and hoped that Napoleon would be on his side in the struggle. But the French emperor was neither prepared nor disposed for war. Thus he only accepted the Austrian invitation under the condition that his mediation should also extend to Prussia. He took as a basis the propositions which he had brought forward in his letter of the 11th of July, and since in these the maintenance of Austrian influence in Germany and (excluding Venice) the integrity of the Austrian monarchy were declared for, Francis Joseph consented, well persuaded that Prussia would refuse to submit to those conditions and thus still force the emperor into a war.

The rejoicing which broke out in Paris in consequence of the turn affairs had taken was on a vast scale. The streets were resplendent with decorations in tricolour. The emperor's triumph was celebrated by a brilliant illumination of the capital—the servile newspapers boasted of the glory and power of France in the most extravagant tone. Napoleon himself hastened to inform Victor Emmanuel of the event. Thus on the 5th he telegraphed: "The Italian army has had an opportunity of showing its valour; therefore further bloodshed is useless, and by agreement with me Italy can easily obtain Venice. I

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am writing to the king of Prussia to propose to him, as well as to your majesty, an armistice which may serve as a preliminary to negotiations for peace."

This news was like a thunderbolt to the sense of honour of all patriotically disposed Italians. Venice was to be united to the mother country, not as having been won by her own strength, but as a present at the hands of a powerful protector; peace was to be concluded, not at the price of her own blood, but by the betrayal of Prussia. To La Marmora himself it was extremely painful that Napoleon should prevent the advance of Prussia at the cost of the honour of Italy. He called it degrading to receive Venice as a present from France, and feared that by this step the army would lose all prestige and Italians would become ungovernable. Even on the 5th itself, Visconti Venosta had it plainly declared in Paris that Italy would not suspend hostilities without the consent of Prussia, and skilfully took advantage of the opportunity to add that the surrender of southern Tyrol was also required. Ricasoli, burning with shame at the thought of the part he was being asked to play, was even determined on war with France, if, as the French diplomats were threatening, the latter were to regard Venice as her own property and forbid the entrance of the Italians; for which purpose, as the French ambassador is said to have scornfully declared, all that was needed was the despatch of one corporal and four men.

In honourable fashion expression was at once given to these resolutions. On the 5th of July itself, Cialdini was ordered to attack the *tête de pont* at Borgoforte on the south bank of the Po, and the following night compelled its evacuation. During the night of the 8th three bridges were thrown across the river, and early in the morning began the crossing of eighty thousand men. The despatch of Garibaldi to Hungary was also resolved in the council of ministers, though this plan was never executed. Cialdini had now to endeavour at any cost to overtake the retreating Austrians; but this was a difficult task, and with the utmost efforts it could only be fulfilled in so far that Medici came up with the enemy on the 21st of July to the north of Bassano, and hurled him back in triumphant battle. At the same time Garibaldi with his volunteers invaded the Tyrol from the western side of the lake of Garda, and the two generals hoped to join hands in Trent.

The Sea-fight at Lissa (1866)

The fleet also was tested to the utmost; within eight days, so Ricasoli demanded of Admiral Persano, the enemy's fleet must be destroyed and Istria occupied. Not without reason did he calculate on a brilliant victory over the Austrians by sea. Enormous sums, about 300,000,000 francs, had been expended on the fleet during the last five years, and twenty-four ironclads could be opposed to the enemy's seven. The Italian fleet was also superior to that of their adversaries in wooden steamboats; only in regard to sailing vessels did the latter have the advantage. But in these triumphant calculations they forgot that number is of much less consequence on sea than on land. They were ignorant of the unpardonable carelessness with which the equipment of their own fleet had been carried out; they did not know the indefatigable attention with which Tegetthoff, the opposing admiral, had studied the lessons of the American war, and how he had trained his men to the resulting new style of warfare. From admiral to sailor, from captain to engineer, each individual man in the Austrian navy was drilled in a fashion quite different from that followed in the Italian, and the superior mobility and adaptability of the ships which was thus acquired practically doubled their number. Thus Tegetthoff was full of bold self-confidence; as early as the end of June he had appeared before Ancona and vainly challenged Persano, who lay there,

to fight. Now he was watching from Polat for the moment when the enemy should give him an opportunity to fight. Persano did not dare to attack him there. When ordered by Ricasoli to put an end to his inaction, he turned towards the island of Lissa, attacked its fortresses on the 18th and 19th of July, and endeavoured, though without success, to land troops there. On the 20th, when he had thus spent the greater part of his coal, he received the news that Tegetthoff was approaching.

In three "wedges"—first the seven iron-clads with the flagship the *Max* at their head, then the large wooden ships led by the *Kaiser*, and last of all the smaller vessels—the Austrians advanced towards the enemy's fleet, which was drawn up in two long lines. In the first row there were twelve ironclads, forming three groups, separated by large spaces; the second, at a considerable distance, was composed of the wooden ships. The middle group was led by the *Re d'Italia*, Persano's flagship, but the admiral himself was not on it; he sailed on board the smaller *Affondatore* towards the hindmost wedge of the Austrian ships, though without accomplishing anything there. Tegetthoff, on the other hand, broke through one of the intervening spaces and attacked the centre group from behind. He threw himself with four ironclads upon the *Re d'Italia*, to whose assistance came only the *Palestro*, whilst the wooden ships of the Italians timidly held back and the other ironclads were wholly occupied with the Austrian wooden vessels. When he had thus surrounded the enemy's ship on all sides he suddenly bore down broadside against her with his *Max* and made a huge rent in her side. In a few minutes the sea rushed in and the proud vessel sank with her whole crew.

The *Palestro* did indeed manage to get away, but a shell had set her bunkers on fire; the flames spread and reached the powder magazine. In vain did the captain order his men to leave the vessel in time; like himself, the sailors chose to perish with their ship. A terrific explosion announced the moment at which brave men met an heroic death. Though the *Kaiser* caught fire and was compelled to retire, no ship was lost on the Austrian side. Tegetthoff brought his vessels safely through the enemy's ranks and took up his position with Lissa behind him. Persano, however, hastened, as fast as his coal supply permitted, to return to Ancona, and in the harbour lost even his *Affondatore*, which was sunk under very suspicious circumstances. Thus the battle of Lissa was a much more distressing defeat than that of Custoza, and the disappointment reacted in so discouraging a manner, whilst the state of the fleet was besides so deplorable, that the ministers could find no admiral who would venture a second attack at sea.

Preliminaries at Nikolsburg

The Prussians, in the mean time, had duly profited by their victory. On the 5th of July, after an armistice which Gablenz had requested on the 4th had been abruptly refused, the advance began which, on the 6th and 7th, brought the victorious armies across the Elbe. The Silesian corps under Mutius alone remained behind to watch Königgrätz and Josephstadt. The occupation of Prague and the north of Bohemia was assigned to the Mühlbe reserve corps, which was coming up from Saxony. The crown prince marched on Olmütz, Frederick Charles on Brünn, Herwarth on Iglau. These movements were not interrupted by Napoleon's offer of mediation. By the night of the 5th of July it had reached the king; and, like that addressed to Victor Emmanuel, it included a proposal for an armistice. If France was not to be driven straight into the Austrian camp, there could be no question of an abrupt refusal. The king therefore immediately replied that he himself had no real objection to offer to the French proposal, but that he must first be

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assured of the assent of Italy and of Austria's approval of the principal Prussian demands.¹

The king of Prussia nevertheless continued to march on Vienna by Olmütz, Brünn, and Iglau. The army of Italy had been recalled with the conqueror of Custoza, the archduke Albert, who had been appointed generalissimo; and it was concentrating on the left bank of the Danube. On the 18th of July the headquarters of the king of Prussia were transported to Nikolsburg, ten miles from Vienna. Resistance was difficult; Albert had only twenty thousand men, partly organised, to oppose to the Prussian armies, increased by reinforcements to two hundred and forty-six thousand. On the 26th the preliminaries of peace were signed at Nikolsburg.²

AUSTRIA AFTER KÖNIGGRÄTZ

The day of Königgrätz was a turning point in the history of Austria. On it not merely the Austrian army, but also Belcredi's suspension policy, had suffered a decisive defeat. "Away with this system!" was the general cry of the German press, which would no longer allow itself to be silenced, even by the state of siege. The government's demands for the straining of every nerve for the fatherland met only passive resistance or defiant disobedience. The agitation in favour of the constitution began in the hereditary countries on the 7th of July with an address of the Salzburg municipal council requesting the summons of the Reichsrath. Vienna answered the imperial manifesto of the 10th with the petition that the capital might not be exposed to the dangers of a contest, but that in regard to governmental and political conditions those changes might be introduced which would be calculated to give men's minds security for the future. But Belcredi would not give way so easily. An address of the Viennese municipal council in favour of a change of ministry received a sufficiently ungracious answer. Indignation increased the more. Above all, it was evident that there was no way out of the situation without a reconciliation with Hungary.³

But it was in vain that Deák wrote on the 17th of July in *Naplo*: "Hungary's desire is immediate peace; the perilous position of the monarchy brooks no delay. A considerable part of the empire is overrun with unfriendly forces; only Hungary has remained free. But Hungary is dead. With Hungary everything, or at least much, may be done. But Hungary can do nothing for herself; her hands are tied. To untie them, and once more to reinvest the land with life, a constitutional government is needed, and nothing else. If Hungary is still to be of real use to the monarchy, it can only be by having at her head a government which shall be the outcome of the national will and in which the nation shall have a guarantee of its rights."

The day after, the old man himself travelled to Vienna, to consult with Belcredi as to the advisability of appointing a responsible ministry. All in vain! The originator of the September patent stood like Archimedes in besieged Syracuse, face to face with the impending catastrophe, beneath which the foundations of the monarchy were loosening and the whole structure giving way in every straining point; none the less full of delight that, peace being concluded, no one under the protection of the state of siege could disturb the circle of his doctrines of suspension.

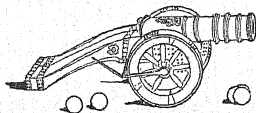
On September 23rd the Peace of Prague with Prussia had not only registered the surrender of Venice, but also, in direct opposition to Bismarck's proposals at Brünn, had proclaimed the complete exclusion of Austria from Germany and stipulated for a war indemnity of 40,000,000 thalers, of which the half at least would be reckoned for Austria's claim on Schleswig-Holstein and for the free maintenance of the Prussian army until its departure. Ac-

cording to Article 4, Austria was obliged to give her consent to a new construction of Germany without taking into account the imperial state; to recognise the northern alliance, and acquiesce in the agreement that the states south of the Main should join in an alliance—further explanation of the national connection of the latter with the northern alliance to be reserved between the two parties.

Ten days later, on the 3rd of October, the "union of the Lombardo-Venetian kingdom with the kingdom of Italy" was sanctioned by the Peace of Vienna, Austria thus publicly declaring her official recognition of the fact. According to Article 5, Italy assumed the whole remainder of the debt of Monte Lombardo-Veneto, as it stood, which had been left to Austria at the Peace of Zurich, as well as the payment of 35,000,000 gulden of silver according to the reckoning of the Venetian share of the national loan of 1854. Count Belcredi, however, found that from these two treaties of peace nothing had resulted save that there was one province less.

Like Benedek's world-historic "plan" during the war, the minister's plan for the reorganisation of the monarchy now faced biting ridicule with despairing resignation. Easy though it was for the count to wrap in impenetrable mystery a plan amounting in the end to an utter want of plan, nevertheless two points shone like stars from out the darkness of the night. Belcredi believed that he had finally rid himself on the flat plain of Königgrätz of the suspended constitution, and, according to his own reckoning, he now needed less than ever to trouble himself about the German burghers. The official paper took a high tone: "Whilst the centralists hold by the constitution of February, no one will deal with them; should they give it up, they would still have no right to demand that they should be met."

The Germans recommended to the generosity, the tender mercies, of the Czechs and Slavs! The Germans represented as the sole victims of the day at Königgrätz—they who had, on the contrary, brought to the Slavs and the reigning clique dominion over the monarchy as a princely post-nuptial gift! The conclusion of the preliminaries of peace and the proclamation of the state of siege in Vienna had scarcely been allowed by the government to get abroad, and the tongues of the German Austrians were scarcely gagged, when ministry and Slavs both prepared to cook their own soup at the devastating fire which had run through the empire. From the 9th to the 11th of August a meeting arranged by the leaders of the Czechs took place in Vienna in the hotel *Zur Stadt Frankfurt*—a meeting that chose pompously to christen itself a "Slav congress"; but, to Belcredi's great vexation, it only demonstrated the utter impossibility of getting the Slav races under one hat, to say nothing of throwing them into the scales as a make weight in favour of a united state, as against the pretensions of the Magyars.^b





CHAPTER V

THE DUAL MONARCHY SINCE 1866

THE ESTABLISHMENT OF DUALISM (1866-1868 A.D.)

THE whole world believed that the decree had been passed for the final dissolution of the Austrian Empire, the complete effacement of what was, far more than Italy, a geographical expression. The *finis Austriae* was echoed in all appreciations, even the most indulgent. Nationalities detesting one another and aspiring in the chaos towards autonomy; an alarming financial and commercial crisis; Germanism and Panslavism begging, each on its own account, for the spoils of the vanquished of Königgrätz; the army humiliated; discouragement; the small sympathy of the modern world, which saw in the crown of the Habsburgs the symbol of absolutism, of clericalism, and the oppression of the peoples,—all seemed to be conjured up to render Felix Austria the most unhappy of countries. All the constitutional forms which had been applied to her had successively failed. Their enumeration was a long one: constitution granted by the emperor Ferdinand, April 25th, 1848; constitution granted by Francis Joseph in May, 1849, and revoked by the patent of the 31st of December, 1851; absolutism of Schwarzenberg and Bach; diploma of the 20th of October, 1860, returning to the constitutional régime; timid federalism of Goluchowski; centralist liberal constitution of Schmerling of the 26th of February, 1861, suspended by the manifesto of the 20th of September, 1865; federalist essays of Belcredi repulsed by Hungary and contemporary with the crisis of Königgrätz. What was there left to try? There remained only the dualism desired by the Hungarians, who had become the arbiters of the empire's destiny and were well aware of the fact.^b

On the 30th of October a new man, the Saxon minister Von Beust, who had become more than dispensable at Dresden, entered the anti-German "count's ministry" (*Grafenministerium*).

The first thing to do was to satisfy the more important half of the realm, namely, Hungary. On the 19th of November the provincial diets, with the exception of that of Transylvania, were opened; but the Hungarian provincial diet of Hungary was informed by an imperial rescript of the main idea of the government in the understanding which was to be arrived at. "The

[1866-1867 A.D.]

country now stands on the threshold of the fulfilment of its wishes," the rescript ran; it offered the appointment of a responsible ministry for Hungary and the establishment of the municipal self-government of the country; the unity of the imperial army, of the customs system, of the indirect taxation were to be preserved; concerning the state debts and the finances a compromise was to be effected. It was announced that in the other provinces also—they were comprehended after the name of the little river which at one place forms the boundary between Hungary and the duchy of Austria, under the designation Cisleithania—the "system of responsible government" must come into force, which was indeed a necessity. In the December of that year Beust himself went to Pest in order to come to an understanding with the leaders of the Deák party. That the government at Vienna, where it was the custom to do everything either too soon or too late, should have wished to grant by an ordinance of the 31st of December, before the reconciliation of Hungary, a general obligation to bear arms, was a folly for which Beust was not responsible and which at once proved itself impracticable.

The ministers persuaded the emperor to summon an extraordinary Reichsrath to conclude the negotiations with Hungary, but Beust's influence induced



VON BEUST (1869-1886)

him to abandon this policy; on the 4th of February Belcredi was dismissed, Beust became minister-president, and the February constitution was restored with the narrow Reichsrath. Hungary now received a responsible ministry, with Count Julius AndrÁssy as the first prime minister.

The Reichsrath met at Vienna on the 22nd of May, 1867. In the beginning of June it presented to the Crown an address demanding a revision of the February constitution and the completion of the reconciliation with Hungary. On the 8th of June the ceremony to which the Hungarians attached so much

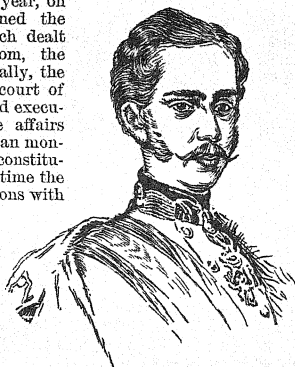
[1867-1868 A.D.]

importance took place at Buda, and amidst all the pomp Francis Joseph was crowned with the crown of St. Stephen. The reconciliation was sealed by the grant of a general amnesty. Kossuth alone refused to take advantage of this act of grace; he protested against the attitude of the Deák party with which the agreement had been made, and preferred to remain in exile till his death, which took place at Turin in 1894.^{ac}

The Reichsrath at Vienna developed an energetic legislative activity. The double task of the year, the establishment and completion of the February constitution and the conclusion of the Ausgleich with Hungary, was successfully accomplished. Before the close of the year, on December 21st, the emperor sanctioned the "fundamental law of the state," which dealt with the representation of the kingdom, the rights of the citizens of the state generally, the establishment of a supreme imperial court of justice, the exercise of governmental and executive power, and the treatment of the affairs affecting all the provinces of the Austrian monarchy, which completed the February constitution in a liberal spirit; and at the same time the difficult and tedious Ausgleich negotiations with Hungary were brought to a conclusion in specific laws. The two halves of the empire were to have common interests as to foreign affairs, war, and, to some extent, finance; and accordingly for these affairs three "common" ministers were appointed (December 24th): Beust, as imperial chancellor for foreign affairs, John, as minister of war, and as finance minister, Von Becke. The four parliamentary bodies of the two halves of the empire appointed Hungary forty and Austria forty delegates, and these delegations were to meet annually, now in Vienna, now in Buda, to control the conduct of common affairs in parliamentary fashion, and to grant the necessary funds. The Ausgleich laws were accepted by the representative bodies in Vienna and Buda. Sanctioned by the emperor the same day as the four "fundamental state laws" of Cisleithania, they formed with them a whole, and accordingly we have now to distinguish in the Habsburg monarchy between Hungarian, Cisleithanian, and common affairs.

By the Ausgleich Hungary had received the lion's share. The country had obtained everything that it could reasonably desire—more, perhaps than it could bear: amongst other things it was at liberty to create a debt of its own; but the first attempt in this direction was not to be an entire success, when the Hungarian minister of finance, ignoring the great money centre, Vienna, addressed himself immediately to the foreign exchanges; not half of the intended railway loan was subscribed for. Transylvania, abandoned by Vienna, was entirely incorporated with the crown of St. Stephen. The German population of the country boldly continued the difficult struggle for their own peculiar civilisation against the Magyar supremacy, the Rumanians were dreaming of their own nationality and future, as were the Poles, the Serbs, etc.

With Croatia an Ausgleich after the pattern of that of Austria-Hungary was concluded in November, 1868; by its terms the Croatian deputies joined the Hungarian diet; but the question of the position of the coast town of Fi-



FRANCIS JOSEPH (1830-)

ume, concerning which no agreement could be arrived at, was reserved. The reconciliation once effected, the relation of the king remained undisturbed in accordance with the chivalrous and loyal character of the nation; the Hungarians were especially gratified to find that the "queen" felt more at home in their country than in Vienna. The majority of the returned refugees also attached themselves honestly and zealously to the king. They could do so the more easily when Francis Joseph, at the end of that year (1868), sanctioned the law which gave the country its own *Honved* or militia army with an archduke, Joseph, as commander-in-chief. The speech from the throne, with which Francis Joseph in person closed the diet, extolled the integrity of the realm of St. Stephen, and the official designations—Austro-Hungarian monarchy, Francis Joseph, emperor of Austria, king of Hungary—left no doubt of the recovered independence.

It was the party of Deák which had won this victory and continued to dominate the situation. On the 17th of December their leader, the most influential of the Hungarian statesmen, gave utterance to a phrase which gained double weight from the fact that he from whose lips it came had never voiced a different language: "The existence of Austria is as important to us as ours is to Austria"; and in an election speech in the beginning of 1869 Count Andrassy pointed out with still more emphatic eloquence how advantageous to Hungary the Ausgleich was. The elections of March, 1869, were also in favour of this party. In the new parliament they had a majority of 90 votes, 30 of them Croatian. Nevertheless, the opposition, which still considered the connection with Vienna too close, had increased from 120 to 170 votes, and the increase had come mainly from the Magyar comitats themselves. On the 23rd of April the king opened the new diet with a speech in which, with much justice, stress was laid on the necessity of internal reforms. With such reforms, school laws, interdenominational laws, abolition of corporal punishment, judicial reform, municipal laws, the now pacified country busied itself; in 1870 a loan of fifteen millions was granted for the purpose of beautifying the capital so that it might not be inferior to Vienna. In a certain sense the centre of the empire was now in Buda.^c

THE REVOCATION OF THE CONCORDAT (1868 A.D.)

On New Year's Day, 1868, the Bürgerministerium, the first parliamentary ministry of Cisleithania, came into office under the presidency of Auersperg. Its first task was to alter the condition of subservience to the Roman church produced by the concordat of 1855. By May it had won the passing of three laws: restoring the civil laws concerning marriage, in place of those of the Catholic church; circumscribing the influence of the clergy in educational matters; and regulating to the disadvantage of the Roman church questions concerning the religion in which the children of mixed marriages were to be educated, conversions to other denominations, etc. These laws, which virtually abolished the concordat, evoked an indignant protest from Rome, and the higher clergy in Austria itself exhorted their flocks to resistance; but this action, far from resulting in an abolition of the laws, roused a strong counter-agitation, and in 1870 the government formally repudiated the concordat.^{ac}

STRUGGLES OF NATIONALITIES WITHIN THE EMPIRE

The ill-will and malice of the higher clergy was only one hindrance among many, and was so formidable only because it was partly united, partly in alliance with the resistance which the separate nationalities opposed to the constitutional state of Cisleithania.

[1867-1868 A.D.]

It was only in the few purely German provinces that the *Bürgerministerium* possessed a firm support. Even of these the Tyrol offered resistance, for here the dominant ecclesiastical influence was joined to narrow provincial patriotism. The officials and the small liberal party, which counted for something only in the few towns of the province, did not form an effectual counterbalance to the sheer weight of ignorance and superstition which burdened the masses. In Galicia, where, in the last case, the Ruthenian population could be counted on against the Polish, conclusions were once more tried in September, 1868, when a visit of the emperor with a great following had just been announced. The provincial diet adopted an address and a "resolution," which declared against the revised constitution and against the fundamental law of December, 1867, and advanced a claim for a very comprehensive autonomy for the "kingdom of Galicia and Lodomeria and the grand duchy of Cracow." The imperial governor, Count Goluchowski, offered only a lukewarm opposition: a telegraph message was sent to the effect that under these circumstances the emperor, whom here also they affected to call the "king," had given up his visit to the country.

Far more serious was the state of affairs in the provinces of the crown of Wenceslaus, especially in Bohemia. Here the hatred of the Czechs was aroused by the assurance that the one and a half million Germans were far superior in prosperity and culture to the two and a half million Czechs. A characteristic token of this national hatred, which drove into the background all other feelings, even those of religion, was the pilgrimage which in July of that year a company of Czechs made to Constance, in order to celebrate in that city the anniversary of the death of Huss, the great heretic, in whom they honoured, not the forerunner of the Reformation and the first martyr in the struggle against a false church, but the enemy of the Germans. As a rule their demonstrations were not so harmless. Already in January, 1868, on the occasion of a visit of the new minister, Herbst, to Prague, the most excited tumults had arisen, and the Germans had had to be protected by an appeal to arms. Every opportunity, as for instance the laying of the foundation stone of a Czech national theatre, had been the signal for similar demonstrations.

It was a graver matter when the over-polite Baron von Beust in a moment of weakness allowed himself to be drawn, on the occasion of a journey of the emperor to Prague, into negotiations with the Czech leaders, behind the back of the minister-president. The views of the Czech party found their sharpest expression in what is known as the Declaration, which the Czech members of the provincial diet caused to be handed to the German majority by three of their number and which bore eighty-one signatures. They set forward under ten heads the view that the relation of Bohemia to its "hereditary king" was a mutually binding legal relation, which could not be altered by one side (as had been done in the February constitution); that no representative body outside Bohemia (as the Viennese Reichsrath) had the right to dispose of Bohemia's rights in her name; that therefore they, before committing themselves to any sort of recognition of the situation created by the *Ausgleich* with Hungary, demanded an agreement between the king and what was, politically and historically, the Bohemian nation; their conviction was that of the Bohemian-Slav nation throughout the provinces of the Bohemian crown, a nation which counted five million souls. The corresponding party in Moravia made the same declaration to the Moravian provincial diet under date of August 25th, asserting the rights of this marquisate; against which claims Silesia, the third province belonging to the "historical" crown of Wenceslaus, protested (19th of September).^c

The following exposition of the aims of the Slavs, set forth by one of their own writers, shows how wide-reaching their projects were:^a

A CZECH'S DEFENCE OF SLAVISM IN 1867

It would be really too absurd seriously to impute it to these people as a crime that they should feel themselves to be Slavs and that they should wish to be thus recognised. The Slav finds himself and his future only in Slavism, exactly as the Saxon and the Prussian find theirs only in Germanism. Therefore the Slavs have made it a dogma that whatever the idiom to which they may happen to belong they will never deny their Slav parentage.

Panslavism, regarded as an idea of our epoch, was never, as a matter of fact, anything but a problem against which the idealogues of all the Slav tribes will break their heads, with perhaps as little success as that of the learned men of old in the search for the squaring of the circle or the philosopher's stone. Nevertheless, these problems of the Middle Ages have given a salutary impulse to men's minds, and therein consists the essential moral value of this idea, nowadays turned into a heresy and almost impossible to realise.

As a political question this word designates to us Slavs a problem whose solution the most idealogical and ardent among us reserves for the most distant future. The work of literary Panslavism is, however, a work of preparation, which is still wholly indirect and which will not fail to turn to the advantage of the whole aggregate of civilisation. There is an endeavour to take advantage of everything which is healthy in the national elements in order to combat the heterogeneous, worn-out, and corrupt elements. An attempt is being made to annul from the literature the divorce which exists between nature and intellect, and to struggle with united forces against the social misery which native and foreign despots have managed to spread amongst the numerous Slav tribes. By a purely scientific necessity, and partly against their will, the Slav philologists have opened for themselves a way to a mutual understanding. Antiquarians and historians have of necessity met and saluted one another half way. The consecration of poetry could not be wanting to this fraternisation, and, as elsewhere, the poets have been followed by philosophers rich in ideas—philosophers who, in harmony with the past and present of the Slavs, each one, be it understood, in accordance with his own personal point of view, have endeavoured to construct for them a new future.

In this manner there has come into existence quite naturally a phalanx of energetic and sympathetic men, who nevertheless exist in Slavism only as a party. Doubtless we cannot refuse to the men of this party a merit which permits them to outstrip others in the field of science; but they are pure theorists only, and the Slavs are careful not to recognise in them more than a mediocre influence on politics and social life. It is only in a domain entirely ideal that their activity is of any importance.

But Slavism, as a political lever, has, above all, the merit of being a means of defence against individual interests. Each section of the Slav peoples has passed through important historic periods. Mighty branches have been separated from the trunk under the pressure of the centuries, and even for science the question of how far the ancient frontiers of the Slav domain once extended is still one on which little light has been thrown. Whatever the past, the residue of the Slav nation is still sufficiently great and sufficiently important; and as there are, even at this hour, branches of that family which are compelled to wrestle for their existence with foreign and hostile elements, it is natural that they should endeavour to escape the fate of those of their brothers who are already lost, and to try all that is possible to safeguard their nationality. Their position, which is entirely defensive, merits, then, the more esteem as they do not endeavour to enrich and aggrandise themselves by spoliation.

[1867-1868 A.D.]

Hitherto the efforts of Slavism have had an essentially civilising character. The western Slavs are even the natural intermediaries and interpreters who are to initiate their eastern brothers into the enlightenment and the ideas of the epoch. Then only will Europe be able to congratulate herself on having escaped the dangers of the new stagnation with which she is evidently menaced. So long as we had not entered on this path we were reproached with being in a lethargy, and treated as barbarians. But since these barbarians have been endeavouring completely to divest themselves of such remains of barbarism as they may still retain, the alarm is sounded throughout the camp, and the cry is everywhere raised—"To arms!"

That such a proceeding endangers only the outposts of Slavism is an evident fact. But the progress of civilisation will none the less continue its march in all the Slav countries; and when a certain maturity shall have been reached, the emancipation of the Slavs through the whole extent of their country will meet with no further obstacles. And for this the Slavs need neither tutelage nor advice. Where there is something for us to take in the domain of foreign civilisations we are the first to appropriate it, and we are only fulfilling our duty if in this natural process we consider our needs and our social relations.

But since it is acknowledged that it is nothing but the dread of a great Slav state which makes the Slavs appear dangerous, we on our part will not hide our frank conviction on this head. With a Slav empire on the one side, France on the other, what will become of Germany? cry the wise prophets. She will remain what she is, we reply without irony; she will remain the fair empire of central Europe, the refuge of speculative science, the *rendezvous* for the literature of the world; only she will be more concentrated politically, more elastic in her social advance, and her free people will place itself in more friendly relations with other free peoples than it has been able to do to this present day when, servile itself, it can awe only those who are still more servile.¹

PARLIAMENTARY ACTIVITY

In face of difficulties like these, and of other difficulties, to describe whose details no human pen possesses sufficient endurance, the new constitutional machine laboured under every sort of hindrance and obstacle. Already in the year 1868 the discussion of the budget had almost produced a ministerial crisis; but finally the financial law was accepted. Thus while the Reichsrath was wasting its breath the seventeen provincial diets deliberated from August to October. An excess of parliamentary tumult echoed through the empire, once so still; and on the 17th of October the Reichsrath resumed its labours in a difficult debate on the military law which settled the war strength of the army at eight hundred thousand men for the next ten years. The ministers had to bring all their influence to bear to pass this measure, and Von Beust especially displayed as a deputy all his arts to show how reassuring was the situation, which was at the same time so little reassuring that it called imperatively for such an army; the minister Berger summed up this political position by saying that at this moment France was struggling to cross the Rhine, Prussia the Main, and Russia the Pruth; while Italy desired to have a piece of Trentino, and even Rumania had an eye on a convenient bit of Austria.²

The pressure of a strong Left party in the house of deputies, the federalistic opposition of the provincial diets, the struggle with the bishops and their followers, proved too much for the government. Anersperg resigned and was replaced by Taaffe. After this change had been effected, the Reichsrath was closed (May 15th). But the difficulties with the nationalities continued.

The new law concerning military service required the inhabitants of southern Dalmatia, who had hitherto been exempted from that duty, to serve in the militia. The Bocchese, or inhabitants of the district round the Bocche di Cattaro, rose in rebellion, and, the first attempt to quell the rising having failed, quiet was restored only by an agreement which granted all their demands. But Taaffe's proposal for a conciliatory policy towards the nationalities generally was rejected by the emperor. Taaffe withdrew from the ministry and the measures taken by his successors only rendered the situation worse.

The protest of the Polish deputies against the attempts to curb their independence took the form of a simple refusal any longer to attend the deliberations of the diet; and in this they were imitated by the Slovenes and the deputies from Görz, Trieste, Istria, and Bukowina, so that the rump parliament which they left was now almost wholly German. It was now decided to adopt a conciliatory policy, and a ministry under Count Potocki was appointed to execute it.^{ac}

The Potocki cabinet, whilst pressing the constitution of December, 1867, tried to elaborate a project which might prove satisfactory to federalism. The upper chamber was to be composed of members elected by the diets, the Reichsrath of members nominated by direct election; the nationalities would have received some satisfaction. These good intentions remained without result. The advent of the Franco-German War still further complicated the situation. Austria was not, from the military point of view, in any condition to afford aid to France and demand of Prussia satisfaction for Königgrätz; she left the preponderance in her government to the Germans, who applauded the success of their Prussian compatriots and celebrated the glory of the new Germany through the medium of journals inspired from Berlin. The Magyars for the most part rejoiced over the victories of Prussia; let the absorption of Cisleithania into a greater Germany be once accomplished, and they would have their hands free to realise all the dreams of Hungarian ambition. It was under these circumstances that the emperor thought himself called upon to summon (February, 1871) to the head of affairs a cabinet designed to assert a federal policy.

Bohemia and the Fundamental Articles

Count Charles Hohenwart, governor of Upper Austria, introduced into this cabinet two Czechs, Jireček in the department of education and Habětinek in that of justice. This fact alone indicated the spirit which was to animate the new ministry; it was evident that the first thing was to satisfy Bohemia. But the task of the Hohenwart ministry was a very difficult one; the Germans had to be deprived of the supremacy which the existing organisation of the electoral system incontestably assured them. A struggle must be begun with the Teutons within and without. One of the chiefs of the German party exclaimed in the Reichsrath itself: "To concede to Bohemia what is granted to Galicia would be to reduce two millions of Germans to the position of the Ruthenians. But it must not be forgotten that these Germans are the blood relatives of a great neighbouring people." Another orator said, "We have not conquered at Sedan to become the helots of the Czechs." Certain newspapers compared Bohemia to Schleswig, and made very plain allusions to Prussia's rôle of liberator.

Nevertheless the minister set to work valiantly: he opened negotiations with Rieger and Palacky, the political chiefs of Bohemia, and laid before the Reichsrath a new law which enlarged the powers of the provincial diets and granted them the initiative in matters of legislation. This bill was of course rejected. A little later he presented a special bill concerning Galicia which

[1871 A.D.]

sanctioned the chief points of the Resolution (of 1868). Questioned as to whether he intended to propose analogous measures for other provinces, he frankly exposed his programme: he declared that if Bohemia could rest satisfied with the concessions which he was preparing for Galicia he would not hesitate an instant to offer them to her.

This was the signal for a general outbreak. The Germans in the Reichsrath voted an address to the emperor (May 26th), declaring that the cabinet had not their confidence. The sovereign answered by proroguing the two Viennese chambers. On the 12th of August the Reichsrath was dissolved and the provincial diets were convoked for the 14th of September following. On the other hand, official negotiations were opened between Vienna and Prague. Rieger, whose rôle in Bohemia was analogous to that of Deák in Hungary, elaborated, in agreement with Count Clam-Martinitz, the programme on which the definitive reconciliation of Bohemia with the constitutional régime was to be concluded. The sovereign and the minister showed themselves to be prepared for the most important concessions. On the 14th of September the diet of Bohemia was opened by a message or royal rescript; this time the Czechs, who had been absent for several years, again put in an appearance, and—thanks to the new elections, in which for the first time the government had not tampered with the suffrages—even in spite of the Schmerling electoral system, they had a majority. The rescript of the 14th of September promised the recognition of the rights of the kingdom of Bohemia with the coronation of the sovereign, and invited the diet to make it known by what means an accord might be established between the kingdom and the rest of the monarchy. "Recognising the political importance of the crown of Bohemia," said the emperor, "mindful of the splendour and glory which that crown has lent to our predecessors, and full of gratitude for the fidelity with which the Bohemian nation has supported our throne, we are ready to recognise the rights of the kingdom and to review that recognition by the coronation oath."

The diets of Bohemia, Moravia, and Carniola welcomed this declaration with enthusiasm, while it excited violent indignation on the part of the Germans. A bill establishing a new electoral system and a law concerning the nationalities were presented to the diet of Prague. The German deputies at once protested, and left the hall of session. Nevertheless a commission was appointed to elaborate the final programme on which to base the relations of the kingdom of Bohemia with the rest of the Austro-Hungarian states. This programme was epitomised in the Fundamental Articles, which the diet voted unanimously; it sent them to Vienna and adjourned to await the sovereign's answer.

According to the Fundamental Articles Bohemia, like Hungary, was to be represented for all the common affairs of the empire by a delegation nominated by the diet of Prague and no longer by the Reichsrath. She was to treat with the other Cisleithanian states only by the intermediary of her delegates. She obtained complete autonomy and recognised as affairs common to the whole monarchy only war, diplomacy, and commerce. A senate composed of members appointed by the emperor was to adjust the disputes which might arise between the different kingdoms or provinces. Finally the representation of the towns and rural communes was to be considerably augmented—an arrangement which would have assured to the Czech nation the preponderance which belongs to it in the kingdom in virtue of history and statistics. The diet of Moravia gave its approbation to the Fundamental Articles and demanded the institution, or rather the re-establishment, of a special chancellor for the countries of the crown of St. Wenceslaus. The Slavs of the monarchy ardently desired the success of a policy which, by drawing Austria towards federalism, would put an end to the German and Magyar hegemony.

On the other hand the programme of Rieger and Clam-Martinitz excited

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to the highest degree the self-love of the Germans and Hungarians. The Hungarians dread Slavism, for they know that the emancipation of the Slavs of Bohemia, Carinthia, and Carniola would give the Serbs and Slovaks a moral strength which might at any moment be turned against the Magyar dominators; as to the Germans of Austria, it is a very small number of them which desires to put into practice the celebrated axiom of Francis II: *Justitia erga omnes nationes est fundamentum Austriae*. Many of them look for a greater Germany, and ask nothing better than the annihilation of that Czech nation which obstinately rears its head between Vienna and Berlin, and which is, as has often been said, a thorn in German flesh (*ein Pfahl in deutschen Fleisch*).^d

AUSTRIA'S FOREIGN POLICY

For the first four years, while Beust was chancellor, the foreign policy was still influenced by the feelings left by the war of 1866. We do not know how far there was a real intention to revenge Königgrätz and recover the position lost in Germany. This would be at least a possible policy, and one to which Beust by his previous history would be inclined. There were sharp passages of arms with the Prussian government regarding the position of the south German states; a close friendship was maintained with France; there were meetings of the emperor and of Napoleon at Salzburg in 1868, and the next year at Paris; the death of Maximilian in Mexico cast a shadow over the friendship, but did not destroy it. The opposition of the Hungarians, together with financial difficulties, probably prevented a warlike policy. In 1870 there were discussions preparatory to a formal alliance with France against the North German Confederation, but nothing was signed. The war of 1870 put an end to all ideas of this kind; the German successes were so rapid that Austria was not exposed to the temptation of intervening—a temptation that could hardly have been resisted had the result been doubtful or the struggle prolonged. The absorption of south Germany in the German Empire took away the chief cause for friction; and from that time warm friendship, based on the maintenance of the established order, has existed between the two empires. Austria gave up all hope of regaining her position in Germany; Germany disclaimed all intention of acquiring the German provinces of Austria.^e

Numerous interviews, of which the Gastein baths were most frequently the pretext, afforded an opportunity for exchange of ideas. It was observed that, in the summer of 1871, these interviews had been very numerous at Ischl, Salzburg, and Gastein. There on several occasions the emperor of Austria had met the German emperor, and Bismarck had interviewed Andrassy. Thus all the German and Magyar influences were united to baffle the hopes of Bohemia; the emperor Francis Joseph thought himself obliged to give way before this coalition. The ministry made a first backward step by declaring that the Fundamental Articles would be submitted to the next Reichsrath; for those who know how that assembly was composed the result of such an expedient could not appear doubtful. Rieger, on a journey to Vienna, put forth a supreme effort to secure the execution of the engagements undertaken by the sovereign. Less fortunate than Deák, he failed. On his return to Prague he was the object of a warm ovation. A singular spectacle was then offered to the world: the Hohenwart ministry resigned (November, 1871); Von Beust, for reasons still not fully known, was relieved of his functions as chancellor, and charged with the ambassadorship in London; Andrassy, the leader of the Hungarian cabinet, was appointed in his place, and thus the Magyar preponderance in the councils of the monarchy was secured.^d The following sketch of Andrassy's policy shows to how great an extent this was so.^e

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Count Julius Andrassy had taken an active share in the re-establishment of Austria in that position as a great power which was closely connected with the dualism; and, in defending this work by the advice he gave to the king, had filled the part of a factor of the first rank. But since the Franco-German War the confidence which he inspired in the king of Hungary had given him the decisive word; from that time he had been the true ruler of Austria-Hungary. It was on the 14th of November, 1871, that appeared the royal autograph which removed Julius Andrassy from the premiership, and appointed him minister of the ruling house and of "common" foreign affairs. The title of chancellor, which does not appear in the *Ausgleich*, he did not assume, and with this title vanished the last traces of Austria's traditional policy; a new period began, where already breathed the spirit of constitutionalism in which, when the barriers hitherto existing should have been torn down, the union of Hungary's interests with those of Austria as a great power might result.

This harmony of interests was of great assistance to Count Julius Andrassy in the realisation of the great plan which he had already announced during his premiership; he wished to convince the monarch that it was not in the West but in the East that Austria had to guard her interests, and in the service of these interests he sought to bring about a permanent alliance with Germany and thus to put an end to the isolated position of Austria-Hungary. Already before this he had been able to take the first step towards the execution of his plan.

Prince Bismarck was well aware that it was not to Beust but to Julius Andrassy that he owed the neutrality of Austria-Hungary. Emperor William and his chancellor were anxious to make the personal acquaintance of the Hungarian statesman; consequently, when, in August, 1871, Emperor William had completed his cure at Gastein, he requested Francis Joseph to present Andrassy to him. The presentation took place at Salzburg. It was here that Andrassy first met Bismarck and here that he began to weave the first threads of the friendship which the efforts of these two great minds towards a common aim afterwards rendered so firm and lasting. The situation of Europe, but also the circumstance that Austria-Hungary perceived her interests in the East, made an alliance with this state, whose interests did not clash with those of the German Empire, very desirable for Germany. It was just at this point that the interests of the two states met, and, since neither of them was planning conquests, but each was merely anxious to confirm the existing state of affairs and secure her own interests, both made their aim the preservation of peace.

With this object, in order to attain to an alliance with Germany, Andrassy endeavoured first of all to arouse confidence in the neighbouring courts. Germany's confidence was already won, but Russia showed a certain aversion for Austria-Hungary: this aversion must be overcome. Then, too, it was a question of awakening confidence, and the more since Andrassy was well aware that the friendship of Germany could only be obtained if he were successful in winning Russia's confidence. Already the latter had rendered Germany great services on two occasions; she could not lightly turn her back on so useful an ally. But if Austria-Hungary could bring Russia's confidence to the point at which she herself stood in her relations to Germany, then the conclusion of an alliance between Germany and Austria-Hungary would be only a question of time; for between two equally friendly powers Germany must prefer as an ally Austria-Hungary—who, like herself, wished only to secure existing conditions and protect her own interests; whilst Russia was bent on acquisitions in the East, and by her eagerness for conquest might easily bring about a European coalition against herself, which it was not, however, to the interests of Germany to forward, since the latter was only anxious to preserve peace.^f

DUALISM IN TRANSLEITHANIA

On the 8th of October, 1867, Hungary opened the subscription list for her first national loan of 150,000,000 francs for the purpose of extending her network of railways. On the 1st of February, 1868, for the first time, the new mechanism of the delegations entered on its functions. The Hungarian delegation sat at Vienna, side by side with the Cisleithanian delegation, and proved, especially in the discussion of the Army law, very tempestuous and very sensitive.

In Hungary itself party strife was very keen. To the Deákist party, whose chief rôle was that of conciliator, and which had the majority, three vigorous parties were opposed: (1) the Left, under the leadership of Keglevicz and Jókai, having for its organ the newspaper called the *Hon* (the "Country"); (2) the left Centre, more constitutional, led by Tisza and Ghyezy, and with the *Hazunk* (the "Fatherland") for its organ; (3) the extreme republican Left, having at its head Böszörményi and Madaraz, and for newspaper the *Magyar Ujsag* ("Magyar News"). On the 25th of March, 1868, the Left and left Centre signed an agreement to afford each other mutual assistance, with the object of obtaining the triumph, by constitutional means, of a programme including the suppression of the delegations and the common ministry and the separation of the army. Great excitement was raised by the election of Kosuth by the electors of Fünfkirchen; Böszörményi was condemned to a year's imprisonment for having published a letter of the celebrated outlaw. Notwithstanding this, the diet ratified his election on the 4th of April; but he did not come to take his seat.

The dream of the ultra-Magyars was that the Hungarian army should be separated from the Austrian army and commanded in Magyar exclusively by Magyar officers. The Army law was therefore discussed with animation, and Deák and Andrassy had constantly to remain at the breach in order to procure its vote on the 8th of August, 1868, by the table of deputies, and on the 11th of August by the table of magnates. On the 23rd of June a law dealing with public education took teaching completely out of the hands of the clergy. The financial laws and a law concerning the comitats were also voted, and on the 9th of December, 1868, the diet separated after having accomplished a truly enormous mass of legislative work. The second meeting of the delegation took place, this time at Pest, from the 16th of November to the 4th of December. During this time Francis Joseph had resided at Buda. The end of the year saw the Ghyezy party drawing near to the Deákists and the Tisza party to that of Jókai.

The elections for 1869 were made with an incredible ardour mingled with corruption and violence; there were sanguinary struggles, arrests, murders. Generals Klapka and Türr, exiles who had profited by the amnesty of 1867, protested against such disgraceful proceedings. The Deákists carried the day, though they lost about thirty votes; there were 270 of them in the parliament which opened on the 23rd of April, whilst the Left had 110 votes and the extreme Left 60. The strife of parties was reproduced in the discussion of the address; each brought forward one of its own, but that of the Deákists was voted on the 3rd of June. A judicial organisation was then voted. The delegations met for the third time, and at Vienna. The Hungarian parliament adjourned on the 22nd of December till the 14th of January, 1870.

The Magyars displayed a savage energy against the nationalities sacrificed by the *Ausgleich*. "The Hungarians," M. Laveleye has remarked, "perceive little besides what is conformable to their desires; towards what is contradictory to them they are blind." The Croats were far from being satisfied with

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the conditions it was intended to impose on them; in 1866 their diet had voted various resolutions declaring that Croatia had abandoned nothing of her autonomy, that she had no intention of sending representatives to the Hungarian diet, but would treat directly with the sovereign. They had refused to send their deputies to the parliament of Pest; the Magyar conquerors had compelled the diet of Agram to dissolve a first time in January, 1867—a second time in May, 1867. This diet refused to vote the proposals drawn up at Pest and protested against the annexation to Hungary of the port of Fiume, which was disputed between the two kingdoms. Bishop Strossmayer,¹ the soul of the opposition, who afterwards so distinguished himself at the Vatican council [where he opposed the doctrine of papal infallibility], had been exiled. A doubtful personage, compromised in shady speculations, had been imposed on Croatia as *locum tenens banalis*. The Hungarian government had recourse to a means which recalls the proceedings of Schmerling: it modified the electoral system of the diet and thus obtained a sort of rump parliament with a majority favourable to its designs.

This artificial majority concluded with the Magyars a treaty which could have only a provisional character and which had afterwards (1873) to be revised. The Croats sent thirty-one deputies to the parliament of Pest—they had no responsible minister at Pest; at Agram the ban exercised the executive power; the finances of Croatia, with the exception of a sum of 2,200,000 florins reserved for the needs of the country, had to be returned to the Hungarian treasury. Doubtless Croatia enjoyed a certain autonomy; but she was sensible of the deep injury she had received by the manner in which the diet had been modified, by the personality of the ban that had been imposed upon her, by the persecutions inflicted on all the organs of the national party. Such was the terrorism which reigned at Agram that the independent newspapers had to appear at Vienna. In 1873 Croatia obtained a more equitable arrangement and a responsible minister at Pest.

Whilst the Magyars were thus crushing the Slav or Rumanian nationalities, they allowed the Germans a free course. On the morrow of the Prussian victories, in 1871, there appeared at Pressburg a review whose tendencies were in favour of the German Empire. It bore the proud title of *Die Deutsche Wacht an der Donau* (the German guard on the Danube); it was the counterpart of the *Wacht am Rhein*. As a result of the agreement concluded in 1867, the Serb voivodeship was suppressed and the Serb countries were reincorporated with the kingdom of St. Stephen; the Hungarians spared no pains in the magyarisation of the country and affected to recognise the Serbs only as a religious sect; they imposed on them Magyar schools and unremittingly persecuted the Serb press.

The *Umladina*, a literary society of Serb students, the *Matica*, another society for the publication of Serb books, were the objects of severe measures. Amongst the Slovaks the spectacle was offered of gymnasiums closed, the *Matica* suppressed; Panславism was the pretext generally advanced to justify these measures, which left behind them a profound irritation. The Rumanians were not more fortunate than the Slavs; on the 15th of May, 1868, they held, near Blasien, the anniversary of the meeting which they had held for twenty years in the same place. They renewed the demand to be recognised as a nation, side by side with the Szeklers, the Saxons, and the Magyars [who form with them the population of Transylvania, but whose aggregate number is not equal to theirs]. The diet of Pest replied by an annexation pure and simple of Transylvania to Hungary.^a

¹[In Csuday's *History of Hungary* Strossmayer is characterised as distinguished by profound insight, wide knowledge, and eminent talent for oratory, but, above all, by boundless ambition.]

Hungary from 1871 to 1875

But discord was everywhere—amongst the Magyars themselves, where the Deák party and the Left could not agree; and between the Magyars and their subjects, the Serbs, the Croats, and the Rumanians. The Deák party had proposed that general elections should take place only once in five years, instead of once in three. It calculated that, as the dualistic compact, the *Ausgleich*, had to be renewed in 1877, it would then be master of the situation; whilst if the Left were to triumph at the general elections of 1875, it would be that party which would be in power at the time of the renewal. An attempt was made to effect a compromise between the two parties, but it failed. The Deák party maintained itself in power only by the vote of the thirty-one Croat deputies, as at Vienna the constitutional party only prevailed in the Reichsrath, thanks to the Galician vote.

When Lónyay, the head of the Hungarian cabinet, saw that the Croat nationalist party had won the day in the Croatian diet elected in 1871, he hastened to dissolve that diet at its first sitting and to direct fresh elections, with the intention of either seducing the national Croat party by concessions or, if he failed, of obtaining at Pest the vote of an electoral reform depriving more than one hundred thousand electors of the right to vote and extending the duration of the mandate from three to five years. The Left manœuvred to prevent these two bills from coming under discussion, by causing each of its members to make a long speech on each of the one hundred and four articles of the bill, so as to prolong the discussion till the 19th of April—the date at which the last sitting of the Hungarian diet must take place. Count Lónyay was a manipulator provided with a giddy speed. He had attained to the ministry in spite of Deák and never had any consideration in the parliament, but he was agreeable to the court.

His hand weighed heavily on the Serbs and Croats. He decreed the dissolution of the Serb congress (July, 1872), and appointed Grūjic, bishop of Pakracz, metropolitan. A new congress was convoked, to which General Molinary was despatched as royal commissioner, and on the 21st of August he in his turn dissolved the assembly.

During this time the elections to the Hungarian parliament had taken place (July), and the result was the return of 245 Deákist members and 145 for the Left. Miletitch now protested, in the name of the Serbs, against the autocratic proceeding of the Hungarian government. The Croatian diet, in which, in spite of the same proceedings on the part of the Magyars, the national party had got the better of the unionists, sent deputies to Vienna to demand the revision, by agreement with the Hungarian deputies, of Article I of the compromise of 1865; to which request the emperor consented.

On the 6th of September, 1872, took place that famous interview of the three emperors at Berlin, which was the subject of so many comments in the European press and drew the three courts close together in that alliance which the Eastern Question so much disturbed. Hungary only manifested through the delegations the more resistance to the increase of the war budget, so greatly did she fear lest Austria should allow herself to be tempted into interference in European affairs, which Transleithania, occupied only with her own concerns, did not admit. On the 18th of November an unprecedented scandal was produced in the diet: a member of the Left, Csernatonyi, denounced with so much energy as well as evidence the financial jobbery carried on by Lónyay, that the latter had to hand in his resignation.

He was replaced by Joseph Szlávy, the son of an Austrian major, and, like Andrassy, a participant in the insurrection of 1848, which had cost him five

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years in prison. But the system pursued with regard to the non-Magyar peoples was in no way altered by this event. In the first months of 1873 the diet of Agram, moved by the internal sufferings of the country, consented to conclude with the Hungarians a fresh compromise, which gave the Croats only very imperfect satisfaction, and the result of which was to deprive the Serbs and Rumanians of the assistance of Croatia during several years. The new compromise was voted on the 5th of September, by nineteen voices to ten.^b

Szlávy carried on the affairs of government for a short time only. The bad years [which followed on his accession to power], whose effect was still further heightened by wasteful management of the finances, plunged the country into a position of financial embarrassment and sowed the seeds of the discontent which the opposition, divided into two factions, the left Centre and the extreme Left, vigorously fanned with their speeches. The attack from this quarter induced Joseph Szlávy to hand in his resignation, whereupon the king intrusted the former minister of justice, Stephen Bittó, with the formation of a cabinet (March 21st, 1874). Bittó succeeded in persuading one of the leaders of the left Centre, Koloman Ghiczy, to accept the financial portfolio. The new minister took up with great energy the task of regulating the financial conditions, and introduced numerous reforms in direct and indirect taxes on land, houses, incomes, business profits, stamps, salaries, sugar, wine, meat, and the dues on tobacco; but with all this he could not win the left Centre for the government. The left Centre, now under the sole leadership of Koloman Tisza, continued its attacks on the government; the Deák party, which was still in the majority, could not shut itself away from the conviction that it must make concessions to the left Centre for the welfare of the country, whilst the latter party perceived the necessity of abandoning the policy it had hitherto pursued and uniting with the Deák party. Thus was brought about what is known as the "fusion," by which the greater part of the Deák party was amalgamated with the left Centre into one as the liberal party, the consequence of which was Bittó's resignation (February 14th, 1875). The king now commissioned Baron Béla Wenckheim to form a cabinet, and the ministry of the interior was taken over by Koloman Tisza (March 3rd, 1875).^f

Four months later the restraining hand of the great Hungarian statesman, Francis Deák, was removed by death. Hungary was at this time face to face with a deficit of 35,000,000 gulden, and the new ministry made every effort to turn to the best account the resources of Hungary herself. A new loan was raised and the income tax increased. The renewal of the financial Ausgleich with Austria was to take place at the end of 1877, and Tisza endeavoured to take advantage of the occasion to obtain better terms for his own country. After a long struggle a compromise was agreed upon, which satisfied neither party, but was nevertheless accepted again in 1887 when the decennial renewal again fell due.

DIRECT ELECTION FOR THE REICHSRATH

When in 1871 German influence had called the Magyar Andrassy with his dualistic policy to take charge of the highest ministerial office in the Austro-Hungarian Empire, the formation of the new Cisleithanian ministry was intrusted to the Carinthian nobleman, Count Adolf Auersperg. The federalistic policy was at once abandoned; the circulation of the manifesto which the emperor himself had signed, recognising the claims of Bohemia, was forbidden, and copies exposed in the streets were seized by the police. In the following spring the provincial diet of Bohemia was dissolved and the exertions of the

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Bohemian Germans, backed by the government, which did not scruple to gag the press, resulted in the return of a German majority at the ensuing elections. The indignant Czech minority refused to share in deliberations whose results must necessarily be contrary to their wishes, and the Germans consequently had it all their own way.

The Auersperg ministry now undertook a scheme designed to do away with the inconvenience of the constant struggles with the provincial diets. This was to deprive those diets of the right to elect the members of the Reichsrath, who were to be chosen in future through direct election by the people, the right of voting being vested in the electors for the provincial diets. The Poles headed the opposition to this measure, which was sharply contested; and when it was finally carried both they and the Czechs refused to vote. The Reichsrath was now dissolved, and a new one, elected on the new system, gave the administration a majority of 113.

Before these elections took place Austria's political troubles had been cast into the shade by a violent disturbance in the financial world.^a

THE VIENNA KRACH (1873 A.D.)

In consequence of the war of 1866 Austrian paper had suffered a considerable depreciation, though it was happily of short duration, thanks to the excellent harvest of 1867, which gave rise to a prodigious export of articles of food and in consequence a return of specie to the country, which soon recovered itself.

Moreover, the grant to the Hungarians of an independent constitution and the peace which had thus been made between Austria and Hungary, after the long centuries of social war between them, produced an era of commercial confidence and an extension of speculation which only served to corroborate the happy effect of the good harvest of 1867. Unfortunately, this period of prosperity was not to be of long duration; the exaggeration of the good hopes of the future which the Austrians had conceived and which was also a consequence of the satisfaction which they felt at having obtained a parliamentary constitution, engendered a perfect fever of speculation, culminating in the financial crisis or *Krach* of Vienna in 1873—a crisis whose memory has been preserved in the minds of the Austrians under the name of the "epoch of foundations," because the whole activity of the speculators consisted in founding new financial establishments and inundating the market with their shares.

At first these operations were carried on seriously enough. Thus several great lines of railway were built which had a certain practical purpose and have rendered useful services to the country. But in a moment the foundations became wholly dangerous, for speculation was directed to the creations of banks, each of which set to work in its turn to form new establishments and factitious enterprises of every description. Now we learn from a report published in 1888, on the Austrian economical movement since 1848, that during the period from 1867 to 1873 there were founded at Vienna and in the provinces 1,005 stock companies, most of which failed in 1873. In this number are reckoned more than seven hundred banks. There were at Vienna at this time so many companies for the construction of business houses, and they had acquired so much ground, that in order to carry out their programme to the letter the Austrian capital would have had to increase its size to proportions surpassing the extent of London and Paris together. The frenzy reached its height at the moment of the preparations for the universal exhibition at Vienna in 1873.

A few days after the 1st of May, the date of the inauguration of the ex-

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hibition, all this beautiful dream vanished. As everyone wished to enter into the prodigious benefits promised, all began to sell the securities for which there were no longer any buyers. Stocks fell at a frightful rate, and on the 9th of May, 1873, a day distinguished in the economical history of Austria under the name of Black Friday, the factitious edifice of her new prosperity fell to pieces, burying under its ruins innumerable fortunes which had been honestly acquired. On that day the largest *comptoir de bourse* in Vienna, whose clientèle was composed of the wealthiest and most conspicuous Austrian aristocrats, failed. Two thousand other failures soon followed. At the exchange the market came to a complete standstill; no one wished to receive the stocks purchased the day before, and there was a chaos, a confusion, a general disorder, a despondency beside which the financial disasters which had occurred elsewhere were as nothing.

The same day the largest banks of Vienna formed themselves into a syndicate to constitute a grand committee of succour. Nevertheless, not one of the companies which suffered shipwreck on this occasion managed to reconstruct itself. In 1878 there were thirty-two at Vienna which had not yet finished the liquidation of their accounts. However, the new establishments were not all of a doubtful character: a few great banks created at this period survived the catastrophe, which had, as it were, merely given them the baptism of fire from which they were to emerge only more firmly established.

The extension of speculation has had one advantage—that of bringing into Austria's financial transactions a little modern life, activity, and impulse. In this point of view the *Krach* of 1873 was for that country a period of purification, and consequently a cause of new life. Since the establishment of the parliamentary system, the Austrian legislative body in concert with the government has made it its object to efface the evil effects of the crisis of 1873, to restore the equilibrium in the budget, and to raise the economic resources and the credit of the country. For this purpose the events of 1873 were the cause of a series of measures being undertaken with regard to the Exchange, with a view of preventing their recurrence—measures which, though they may have somewhat hampered speculation and the market, have been not the less salutary.⁹

NEW CHURCH REGULATIONS (1874 A.D.)

The first months of the year 1874 were employed in grave discussion of bills presented by the Cisleithanian government and intended to determine the regulations of church and state in accordance with modern ideas and, it may be said, according to the principles which inspired at the same time the famous ecclesiastical laws at Berlin. These bills were presented to the Reichsrath on the 9th of March; the question in hand was the mode of regulating the nomination of ecclesiastical functionaries. Already, on the 2nd of February, Pius IX had addressed to the Austrian bishops an encyclical in which he condemned the denominational laws. Certain archbishops, those of Vienna, Breslau, and Salzburg among others, openly declared that they would not obey the new laws. Prince Auersperg on his side publicly announced that the government would know how to make itself obeyed, and returned a firm answer to the Vatican. The law, which the chamber voted by a majority of three-fourths, was adopted on the 11th of April by the upper chamber without modifications. Let it be noted that these laws were very moderate. They were submitted to. Pius IX even specially authorised the bishop of Linz to accept them; he had enough of the religious struggle in Prussia against Bismarck and Falk. The emperor sanctioned the new laws on the 8th of May.

THE FORMATION OF THE YOUNG CZECH PARTY

This same year saw the Young Czechs resolutely break with the policy of abstention, which, ever since 1867, had proved of such little use to the Old Czechs, without in any way abating the autonomist claims of Bohemia, but without giving up the hope of obtaining for the kingdom of Premysl a compromise, or *Ausgleich*, like that which the kingdom of St. Stephen had obtained. They declared in September, 1874, that they would take their seats in the provincial diet of Prague, that they would recognise the constitution of December, and that they would go to the Vienna Reichsrath to endeavour to win there a triumph for their ideas; this to the great scandal of the feudalists, like Thun, Belcredi, and Clam-Martinitz. The same month, on the occasion of the great military manœuvres of Brandeis, Francis Joseph made a journey to Prague, where he was received with enthusiasm, but where he refused to hear any autonomistic address. Already the Czechs of Moravia had taken their seats in the Reichsrath in the hope of bringing about a reconciliation on the basis of existing institutions. This did not mean a reconciliation with that German party which, while adorning itself with the title of *Verfassungstreue* (faithful to the constitution), looked to Berlin alone, aspired to lose itself in German unity, and considered Austria only as a refuge for the time being, in default of anything better.

The Serbs also received some satisfaction; their ecclesiastical congress was held in July at Karlowitz. This congress is the only national instrument which the Serbs possess; and it may be regarded as a large diocesan council, at which clergy and laymen take part together, which appoints the members of the ecclesiastical hierarchy, and administers the considerable funds of the churches, the foundations, and the schools.^b

AUSTRIAN OCCUPATION OF BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA

In 1874 an insurrection broke out between the Slav peoples, Serbs and Croats, of Bosnia and Herzegovina. For the causes of this revolt we need not look further than the disorders and excesses of the Ottoman administration. Austria, instead of wholly taking the side of the Christians and playing towards them the part of liberator, was paralysed by her internal dissensions and by the pressure brought to bear on her by her two powerful neighbours, Russia and Prussia. The Triple Alliance, which has its origin in the partition of Poland, was renewed and drawn closer on the occasion of the probable dismemberment of Turkey. In September, 1872, the three emperors had an interview at Berlin, and from that time the oriental policy of the three chancellors, Bismarck, Andrassy, and Gortchakoff, remained more or less uniform. Everyone knows that in this Triple Alliance the chief part was played by Russia and the third part by Austria. When in 1874 the cabinet of Vienna concluded directly with Rumania a treaty of commerce and a convention relative to the railways of the two states, the Porte thought itself called upon to protest against this violation of its sovereign rights. The three chancellors came to an understanding to refuse its claims. "The day will come," cried Arifi Pasha sorrowfully, "when it will be impossible for any human will to curb the torrent which the long series of violated treaties will unchain."

From the first the insurrection of Bosnia and Herzegovina was the cause of serious embarrassment to Austria; she had to propitiate at once the ill will of the Magyars and the anxious jealousy of her own allies. The Hungarians felt that the Slav race was already too numerous in the empire, and had small anxiety to see a new annexation increase the element which must one day submerge them. It was by no means to the interest of Russia and Prussia to

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permit their ally to widen her frontiers and increase her army of warlike populations. After 1874 Austria was observed alternately taking the most contradictory measures: at one time she permitted the Turks to violate her territory with impunity and ravage the frontiers of Croatia; at another she forbade them to disembark arms and troops in the territory of Klek. At Constantinople her ambassador, in conjunction with General Ignatiev, called on the Porte to accomplish those famous reforms which it is forever promising and never executes. The diplomatists who recommended them knew perfectly well that they were not realisable.

In January, 1876, a note from Andrassy summed up the wishes of civilised Europe. The conference which met at Constantinople (December 23rd, 1876) only served to demonstrate anew the impotence of diplomacy and the incorrigible obstinacy of the Porte. It was evident that the existing difficulties could be settled only by the sword. The declaration of war made to Turkey by the principalities of Servia and Montenegro still further increased the embarrassment of Austria-Hungary. The Slavs demanded that the government should take the field, and followed with feverish attention the phases of a heroic but fatally unequal struggle. The Hungarians neglected no opportunity to give vent to their hatred of the Servians and their sympathy with the Ottomans. A subscription was opened at Pest to offer a sword of honour to Abdul-Kerim Pasha, who had just won the victory of Djunis over the Servians. A Magyar deputation presented itself at Constantinople to exchange manifestations of an enthusiastic friendship with the officials and the *sofias* (Mussulman students). General Klapka, the famous defender of Komárom, the same who not long before had offered his sword to Prussia against Austria, put his military experience at the service of the Porte. A little later the *sofias* came to Pest to return their Magyar brothers the visit they had received from them. The sultan, to evidence his gratitude towards the Hungarians, sent the emperor-king some fragments of the Corvina library, which had fallen as spoil to the Ottomans. These manifestations, puerile enough after all, were especially directed against Russia, whom the Hungarians could not forgive for the part played by Nicholas in 1849; but they deeply angered the Slavs, who identify their cause with that of the Servians and Bulgarians.

At Pest Andrassy endeavoured in vain to restrain his fiery compatriots and make them understand that street demonstrations could not bring about a modification of the external policy of the monarchy. The Hungarian ministry, far from calming popular passions, associated itself with them. Andrassy caused the arrest of the Servian Stratimirovitch, one of the heroes of the insurrection of 1848, who had offered his sword to Prince Milan Obrenovitch; he threw into prison the journalist deputy Miletitch, who was accused of having desired the victory of his compatriots and negotiated a loan for their cause. To justify these strange measures old laws were appealed to, which declared guilty of high treason those who furnished arms to the Ottomans and other infidels!

Thus the monarchy, divided at home, dragged itself painfully along in the wake of its two powerful allies; in spite of the enthusiasm of the Slavs and the indignation of the Magyars, it had to look on quietly at the successes of the Russians, who, after the fall of Plevna, led their victorious troops to the gates of Constantinople. The Treaty of San Stefano, afterwards modified in some of its clauses by the congress of Berlin, proclaimed the independence of Rumania, Servia, and Montenegro, and increased the territory of those principalities. Bulgaria was erected into an autonomous principality, subject to the nominal suzerainty of the sultan and the effective tutelage of Russia.^a

Powerless as Austria might be to pursue an independent policy, she nevertheless contrived to derive considerable advantage from the situation.^a

The Treaty of Berlin (1878 A.D.)

In accordance with secret arrangements made before the war, Austria was to receive a compensation in exchange for her benevolent neutrality. This compensation was the mandate which was given her at the Treaty of Berlin (July, 1878) to occupy the provinces of Bosnia and Herzegovina "to restore order." It was from these provinces that had proceeded the signal of the insurrection which had set the whole Balkan Peninsula in flames and which had provoked the victorious intervention of Russia; they might fancy that, the Porte once conquered, they, like Bulgaria, would be erected into autonomous provinces, or perhaps annexed to the congeneric principality of Serbia or of Montenegro. They had no suspicion of the fate which was reserved for them. The preliminary Treaty of San Stefano, signed the 3rd of March, 1878, between Russia and Serbia, simply decided the application to them of "the ameliorations proposed by the conference of Constantinople with the modifications to be decided in agreement between the Porte, Russia, and Austria-Hungary." The Treaty of Berlin, which was signed the 13th of July following, by the representatives of all the great powers in congress, promulgated another decision.

"The provinces of Bosnia and Herzegovina," ran Article 29, "shall be occupied and administered by Austria-Hungary. The government of Austria-Hungary not wishing to undertake the administration of the sanjak of Novibazar, which extends between Serbia and Montenegro in a southeasterly direction and to beyond Mitrovitza, the Ottoman administration will there continue to exercise its functions. Nevertheless, in order to secure the maintenance of the new political situation as well as the freedom and safety of the routes of communication, Austria-Hungary reserves to herself the right of keeping a garrison and having military and commercial roads throughout this part of the old vilayet of Bosnia."

This last clause of the article was very important. The sanjak of Novibazar is that part of Bosnia which divides Serbia from the principality of Montenegro. Now the government of Vienna was deeply interested in the isolation of the two Servian principalities, both enlarged by the Treaty of Berlin, and which at a given moment might intend to join hands in order to act together against the Osmanli. Henceforth, common action, whether against the Turks or against so powerful a neighbour as Austria-Hungary, was manifestly impossible. Austria holds Montenegro by the Bocche di Cattaro, Serbia by the Danube.

On the other hand the occupation of Bosnia and Herzegovina utterly annihilated the hopes of the patriot Servians or Montenegrins, who had dreamed of reconstituting the empire of Czar Douchan for the benefit of a Slav sovereign. This empire might have become a centre of attraction for the Slav provinces of Dalmatia and Croatia and for the Serbs of Novi-Sad and Temesvár. Austria, therefore, in stifling in their germ these hopes of the great Servian party, was exercising a serious danger. The disappointment at Belgrade and Cetinje was profound. Many patriots would willingly have sacrificed the aggrandisements granted to the two principalities by the Treaty of Berlin on the sole condition of seeing the *statu quo ante bellum* pure and simple re-established in Bosnia and Herzegovina. So long as the two provinces remained in the possession of Turkey it was possible to apply to them the principle *Adversus hostem æterna auctoritas*. Pretexts to intervene for the deliverance of their Slav brothers had not been wanting to the Servians and Montenegrins, but they failed from the moment that Austria took it upon herself to introduce the principles of religious toleration, equality of races, and European administration.

[1878-1880 A.D.]

The Austrian government was no sooner invested with the mandate which it had induced the Berlin congress to confide to it, than it prepared to execute the mission. On the 31st of July and the 1st of August, 1878, the troops commanded by Field-marshal Joseph Philippovitch crossed the Save and penetrated into the new domain of the empire. It was expected that the occupation would be accomplished without a blow; but unexpected difficulties were encountered. It was not without regret that the Bosnian Mussulmans who were the feudatories of the country had seen the severance of the ties which bound them to their co-religionists of Constantinople; they could not with a light heart give up the conditions by which they had profited for centuries, nor reform the abuses to which they owed their prosperity. The orthodox Christians regretted their delayed or lost hopes of union with the Serb countries; the Catholics alone could welcome the Austrian occupation with real sympathy.

For the purpose of occupying the two provinces, a complete army corps and one division of infantry were set in motion. The Turkish government could not officially refuse to obey the commands of Europe, but it privately sent arms, ammunition, and provisions to the Mussulmans of the two provinces. Bands were organised under an intrepid and fanatical chief, Hadji Loja. All able-bodied men between fifteen and sixty-two years of age were enrolled. A revolution broke out at Sarajevo; a provisional government was formed to resist the foreign occupation. Its leader was Hadji Loja, who took the title of "first patriot of the country." The Austrians had crossed the Save without meeting with any resistance; but as soon as they reached the first defiles they encountered well-armed troops who showed great skill in taking advantage of the natural obstacles with which the country is bristling. They saw themselves repulsed at Maglaj, at Gradačac. They ascertained that they had in front of them not only improvised militia but also twenty-six battalions of the Turkish army, and that it was no question of a military promenade. The Bosnians were even in possession of artillery.

There were moments when the Austrians found themselves in a very critical situation. In most cases the natives abandoned the towns, which could not have held out against the hostile cannon, and took shelter behind natural defences, whence they inflicted considerable losses on the army of occupation. The latter left more than five thousand men on the field and was obliged to send for reinforcements before advancing. Sarajevo was not reached till the 19th of August. But the fall of the capital of Bosnia did not bring with it the cessation of hostilities. The war continued in the mountains. Herzegovina was not finally occupied till the end of September, and Bosnia only by the end of October. To secure its possession three army corps had been sent and 62,000,000 florins expended.

The occupation of Bosnia and Herzegovina, although it seems to have only a provisional character, is evidently considered by Austria-Hungary as a definitive conquest. If the sultan remains virtually the sovereign of the two provinces, it is Austria-Hungary who administers them, and she certainly has no desire to restore them to their former master. They open to her the route to Saloniki, they offer vast outlets to her commerce, they permit the establishment of easy communication between Hungary and Dalmatia—in short, they constitute an honourable compensation for the loss of Venetia.

It was evident that the new province could not be adjudged to either Hungary or Cisleithania; it had no right to send representatives to the parliament of Vienna or to that of Pest. It is therefore governed in the name of the emperor-king, by the minister of the common finances.⁴

THE TRIPLE ALLIANCE (1883 A.D.)

In 1885 a war broke out between Servia and Bulgaria, when Austria, which had acquired a paramount influence in Servian politics, interfered to stop the victorious advance of the Bulgarian troops. Nevertheless, when Russia subsequently forced the resignation of Prince Alexander of Bulgaria, the strong sympathy manifested in Hungary for the Bulgarian cause compelled the Austrian government to announce that it would not permit Russia to interfere with the independence of Bulgaria; and when a successor to Alexander had at last been found in Ferdinand of Coburg, then a lieutenant in the Austrian army, the favourable attitude assumed towards him by Austria at one time (1886-1887) seemed to threaten to lead to an invasion of Galicia on the part of Russia. This danger was, however, happily averted by the action of Germany. Andrassy's dream of an alliance with the German Empire had been realised in 1879 in a treaty negotiated by him, but not actually signed till after his resignation. In this agreement the two powers agreed to unite to maintain the *status quo* as established by the Treaty of Berlin, Germany also undertaking to assist Austria in case of an attack by Russia, while Austria pledged herself to render the same service to Germany in case of her being attacked by France and Russia together. Italy had acceded to the treaty in 1883, and this Triple Alliance was now (1887) resumed and its terms were published. In 1891 it was again renewed for twelve years.⁶

The accession of Italy to the [Triple] Alliance increased the isolation of Russia, to whom but one ally now remained—the French Republic, which was inspired by a boundless hatred for Germany and which meditated a war of revenge. In politics the idea of revenge was identified with Gambetta, in the army with the future commander in the war, General Chanzy; but after the death of Gambetta on the 31st of December, 1882, and of Chanzy on the 4th of January, 1883, more peaceful days began in France also. The idea of revenge has not indeed even yet been entirely abandoned, offensive action has only been delayed because European conditions are not yet favourable to it; but Russia is fully determined not to submit to the existing state of affairs, and, partly for the sake of winning back the advantages once already obtained in the East, partly with the object of directing abroad the attention of the nihilists who are daily becoming more dangerous, she has several times been on the verge of declaring war.⁷

AUTONOMY

The strenuous opposition of the Hungarians to the oriental policy of the central government was a main cause of the fall of the liberal ministry of Auersperg, who handed in his resignation in February, 1879. The presidency of the cabinet was now assumed by Stremayr; but the ruling spirit was Count Taaffe, the minister of the interior. The liberal party was defeated at the elections, and Count Taaffe formed a ministry of members of all parties, which was known as the "ministry of conciliation." It failed of its effect. The liberals' unwise opposition to an army bill ended in their defeat, and this dealt the final blow to the constitutional party. Taaffe was obliged to rely on the support of the clerical party and on the Poles and Czechs, and consequently he was unable to avoid making concessions in the direction of that federalism which was their cherished object. In 1880 an ordinance was passed which obliged officials in Bohemia and Moravia to transact government and law business in the language of those with whom they had to deal; and the result was

[1868-1884 A.D.]

the resignation of many German officials. The attachment to their own nationality of the different sections of the population in Bohemia and Moravia increased, and with it the bitterness between Germans and Czechs. Within the last two decades the proportion of Czechs to Germans in the city population had greatly increased. At Prague, a city in whose population the German element had once preponderated but in which the Czechs had now won an increasing majority, the Germans found themselves exposed to acts of violence against which the authorities afforded them little protection.

In 1883, on the dissolution of the provincial diet of Bohemia, the Czechs hoped to secure a two-thirds majority which might bring about a readjustment of the electoral law in their favour; but this design came to nothing. More successful was the project of reconstituting the chambers of commerce at Prague, Budweis, and Pilsen so as to give the Czechs the preponderance—a measure which derived its importance from the fact that the chambers sent several members to the provincial diet; but when the minister of commerce was proceeding to follow this up by similar measures in regard to the Brünn chamber of commerce, he was met by such protests, both in the house of deputies and from the Hungarian press, that he had to give way.^a

The same course which was pursued in Bohemia and Moravia was also followed in all the other provinces of the crown where Germans and Slavs dwelt side by side. In the provincial diet of Carinthia the Slovenes acquired a majority; even in the purely German provinces, like Upper and Lower Austria, Slav elements began to appear. A spirit of gloom and bitterness took possession of the German Austrians. Nevertheless, they also roused themselves to resistance. Since their adversaries had especially attacked the German schools, they founded, in 1880, the German School Union, with the object of preserving the scattered German islands of their nationality, and opposing the further retreat of Germanism by founding and preserving German schools in the endangered communities. Supported from the German Empire by considerable supplies of money, the union succeeded in stopping in many places the further downfall of Germanism, in spite of every imaginable hindrance which the Slavs, generally supported by the authorities, sought to put in their way. In the parliaments also the German Austrians bestirred themselves. The two clubs of the constitutional party, that of the liberals and the Progress Club, let their party differences rest, constituted themselves, one hundred and fifty strong, as the "united Left," and declared it to be their task to rally round the banner of Germanism and to persist in legal resistance to the Taaffe ministry. For that it was impossible in Austria to form parties according to political views, and that the whole party grouping could only follow national tendencies, was taught by the small success of Count Coronini's attempt to found a club of the left Centre, which declared its good will towards all the nationalities and its independence of the government without regular opposition.

It was with the object of opposing a dam to the rising Slavonic flood that Count Wurmbrand introduced into the house of deputies in January, 1884, a motion to request the government to bring forward a law by which, while German was to be retained as the state language, the employment in office, school, and public life of the language in common use in the province (*Landsübliche*) should be ordained. The motion aroused an extremely excited debate, which lasted five days, and it was finally rejected by 186 to 155 votes. The whole Right, including the five ministers, voted against it. A like fate awaited the motion of Herbst for the revocation of the language ordinance of the 19th of April, 1880. In consequence of these two rejections the members of the united Left considered the question of their withdrawal from the house of deputies. What finally decided them not to quit the scene of the contest

was the circumstance that Vienna and its environs had been laid under exceptional laws in consequence of the anarchist crimes; for so profound was the distrust of the Taaffe ministry that they feared lest this measure might be turned not merely against anarchists but also against obnoxious political tendencies, which would then have field for free speech only in this house.

But the harmony amongst the Germans did not last long. They split up again into a German-Austrian club and a German club representing a "more rigid shade of opinion," the chief spokesman of which was the deputy Knotz; from this again fifteen deputies under Steinwender separated themselves, *à propos* of the Jewish question, under the name of the German National Union, and it was not till 1888 that they all found themselves together again as the united German Left. In Bohemia the insupportable character of the national feud—which had recently been manifested, at one time in what is known as the Lesc Kvirála, a bill to forbid the attendance at German schools of Czech children; at another, in a new language ordinance of the minister of justice, Pracák, dated the 23rd of September, 1886, in accordance with which the supreme court of justice at Prague was ordered to despatch all causes handed in in Czechish without translation—led the Germans to believe that the only solution was the administrative division of Bohemia into two parts according to nationalities.^b

However, two motions introduced into the provincial diet, one for the formation of German administrative and judicial circles, and another to give the Czech language an official equality with German, even in German Bohemia, were alike rejected; whereupon the German deputies left the hall and refused to take any further part in the proceedings of the diet. In the Viennese house of deputies an attempt to secure the recognition of German as the state language was frustrated.^{ab}

Matters had already gone so far that in 1885 the address from the house of deputies, in reply to the speech from the throne, indicated "the organic development of the autonomy of the provinces of the crown" as the object to be desired. Gregor, the leader of the Young Czechs, did not hesitate to declare frankly that "the future of the Czechs lies on the Volga." But these centrifugal tendencies were most strongly expressed at the two opposite poles—in Galicia and amongst the Italians. Since 1848 the Austrian Poles had laboured to make Galicia the kernel to which the Prussian and Russian Poles might in some sort attach themselves, and from which insurrection might spread to Posen and Warsaw; and the authoritative favour which they enjoyed facilitated their endeavours to form a Polish state within the state, from which even the German official language was to be ousted and in which the three millions of non-Polish Ruthenians were to count for nothing. Even in the matter of material advantages they allowed themselves to reckon on the support afforded them by the Taaffe ministry, and meditated a preference in their own favour and at the expense of the German provinces in the new regulation of the territorial taxes. Less than ever did the Poles of Galicia feel themselves to be Austrians.

Italia Irredenta

On the opposite side, in the south, the brutality with which the Slavs laboured for the oppression of the Italian element daily supplied the *Italia irredenta* with fresh nourishment and an appearance of justification.^b

The term *Italia irredenta*, or unredeemed Italy, was used to designate those Italian populations which were even now not included in the kingdom of Italy, and hence also the party which was in favour of their union under the government of the Italian peninsula. In Italy itself this party was very strong, and its opinions found an echo not only amongst the Italian-speaking subjects

[1885-1887 A.D.]

of Austria in Tyrol, Görz, Istria, Trieste, and Dalmatia, but also in the Swiss Ticino, the French Nice and Corsica, and in the British island of Malta. The congress of Berlin, while it had conceded to Austria the acquisitions of Herzegovina and Bosnia, had apportioned no corresponding advantages to Italy, and the irredentists, now headed by Garibaldi, began an agitation with the object of inducing the Italian government to permit the occupation of the Austrian provinces of Welsch-Tyrol and Trieste. There were riots in the districts in question and the Austrian government set troops in motion; but the occupation did not take place. For some time the Italian government made no attempt to suppress or even discourage the movement, but in 1881 the French occupation of Tunis made clear to the Italians the advantage of friendship with Austria; the government set its face against irredentism and eventually joined the two imperial powers of Germany in the Triple Alliance.^a

The efforts of the Slavs towards decentralisation and federalisation were gradually striking at the nerve centres of the imperial state. The Poles grew louder in their demand that the direction of the Galician railway should be transferred to Lemberg, whilst it was the opinion of the Czechs that it should follow that of the Bohemian railways to Prague. Vienna threatened more and more to sink into a provincial town, and, what was far worse, the unity of the army seemed likely to be destroyed. In the year 1885 the minister of war, Count Bylandt, could not hide from the delegations his patriotic anxiety lest the process, going on in so many of the provinces of the crown, by which the schools were losing their German character, might be injurious to the army; for in case of war a knowledge of the German language was an unqualified necessity for the non-commissioned officers, and the unity of the army was essentially connected with the unity of the German word of command. A memorial of the deputy Von Dumreicher pointed out that of the volunteers serving for one year about 60 per cent. failed to reach the rank of an officer, chiefly for lack of a knowledge of the language, and that even of those 40 per cent. who passed many had not sufficiently mastered the language of the service to understand and execute a simple order. In face of such conditions the Czechs could not, at the discussion of the Army law of 1888, avoid giving their votes to the provisions which made a knowledge of German compulsory for officers.

But if the German Austrians of Cisleithania had to sustain in defence of their nationality a struggle which was fertile in defeats and losses, the Germans beyond the Leitha saw themselves a prey to the fanatic hatred of the Magyars. In Hungary the whole school system was mercilessly magyarised; the German school union was opposed by a Magyar one whose tendency was not protecting but conquering. In the year 1869 there were in Hungary, according to a statement of the minister of education, Trefort, 5,819 popular schools in which the Magyar language was employed, and 1,232 where German was spoken; in 1884 the former had increased to 7,933; of the latter 676 were left. The prosperity of the German secondary schools of Transylvania was stunted and depressed in every possible way; Saxon land was deprived of its self-government and of the rights which dated centuries back; the academy of law at Hermannstadt was first diligently degraded and in 1887 wholly abolished. Even the higher Magyar nobility abandoned Vienna and took up its permanent residence at Pest. The Germans of Hungary retained only the poor consolation that, like them, the Rumanians and Slavs must resign themselves to acquiesce, willy-nilly, in being absorbed into the dominant race. When, in 1875, the Serb leader, Mileitch, protested in the lower house against making the other nationalities share the burden of the 300,000 gulden demanded by the government for the Hungarian national theatre, on the ground that Hungary was not a state of the Magyar nation, but a state of

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[1885-1894 A.D.]

nationalities in which the non-Magyars formed the majority, Tisza poured forth his indignation: it was fortunate for the speaker that the privilege of the house protected him; outside it he would find that the Magyar state was strong enough to cripple its enemies! Whereupon Serbs, Croats, Rumanians, and Saxons left the hall in wild tumult.

REFORM IN THE HUNGARIAN HOUSE OF MAGNATES (1885 A.D.)

A progressive step was marked in the year 1885 by the reform of the upper house, the table of magnates, which considerably diminished its numbers by the provision that no one could sit in it by right of his noble descent who did not pay at least 3,000 gulden in annual taxes. The king was given the right to appoint a third of the members of the upper house from the citizen class, according to merit and capacity. A new *Ausgleich* with Croatia was agreed upon, in place of that of 1873, which lapsed in 1879; and in 1881 the incorporation of the former Croatian-Slav military frontier into the kingdom of Croatia was effected. Since this almost doubled the population of the kingdom, the Croats requested a corresponding increase in their representation in the Hungarian diet; but any increase of the Slav element in this being obnoxious to the Magyars, the latter compelled the Croats to a compromise extremely unfavourable to them, by which the number of Croatian representatives in the lower house was only increased from thirty-four to forty and in the upper house from two to three. This only added fresh fuel to the hatred of the Croats. In Zagorje the oppressive conduct of the Magyar officials caused a revolt of armed peasants, and when the financial deputation in Agram adorned its arms with inscriptions in Magyar as well as Croatian, the angry mob tore them down. The extreme section of the Croat national party under Starcewitch was openly struggling for separation from Hungary; fifteen of them were the cause of such excesses in the Agram provincial diet that it was resolved to exclude them from it, and as they refused to submit they were forcibly removed.^b

But the agitations did not cease. In 1893 the Rumanians drew up a formal statement of their grievances; and although the instigators of the movement were punished, their severe treatment was one of the causes which led to the fall of the Wekerle ministry in 1894. The contest concerning the renewal of the *Ausgleich* was fought out under Bánffy and his successor, Koloman Szell. The desire of the Magyars for the possession of a separate army in which the Magyar language only should be employed has recently been the cause of active parliamentary obstruction over the Recruiting bill; during the dispute it was found necessary to refuse their discharge to soldiers entitled to it and riots were the result. On March 10th, 1894, however, the opposition suddenly abandoned its tactics, and the reconciliation of the combatants took place in a sensational scene in the lower house.^c

When in 1888 the two clubs, the German Austrians and the Germans, joined once more under the name of the united German Left into a new club with eighty-seven members, so as the better to guard against the common danger and to defeat the educational demands of the clericals, the national Germans remained apart with seventeen members. They were also infected by the growing spirit of anti-Semitism. The German parties had originally been the party of the capitalists, and comprised a large number of Jews; this new German party committed itself to violent attacks upon the Jews, and for this reason alone any real harmony between the different branches would have been impossible.

THE BOHEMIAN AUSGLEICH

Notwithstanding the concessions about language, the Czechs had, however, made no advance towards their real object—the recognition of the Bohemian kingdom. Perhaps the leaders of the party, who were now growing old, would have been content with the influence they had already attained, but they were hard pressed at home by the Young Czechs, who were more impatient. When Count Thun was appointed governor of Bohemia their hopes ran high, for he was supposed to favour the coronation of the emperor at Prague. In 1890, however, instead of proceeding to the coronation as was expected, Taaffe attempted to bring about a reconciliation between the opposing parties. The influence by which his policy was directed is not quite clear, but the Czechs had been of recent years less easy to deal with, and Taaffe had never really shown any wish to alter the constitution; his policy always was to destroy the influence of parliament by playing off one party against the other, and so to win a clear field for the government. During the month of January conferences were held at Vienna, with Taaffe in the chair, to which were invited representatives of the three groups into which the Bohemian representatives were divided, the German party, the Czechs, and the feudal party. After a fortnight's discussion an agreement was made on the basis of a separation between the German and the Czechish districts, and a revision of the electoral law. A protocol enumerating the points agreed on was signed by all who had taken part in the conference, and in May bills were laid before the provincial diet incorporating the chief points in the agreement. But they were not carried; the chief reason being that the Young Czechs had not been asked to take part in the conference, and did not consider themselves bound by its decisions; they opposed the measures and had recourse to obstruction, and a certain number of the Old Czechs gradually came over to them.

Their chief ground of criticising the proposed measures was that they would threaten the unity of the Bohemian country. At the elections in 1891 a great struggle took place between the Old and the Young Czechs. The latter were completely victorious; Rieger, who had led the party for thirty years, disappeared from the Reichsrath. The first result was that the proposed Ausgleich with Bohemia came to an end. But the disappearance of the Old Czechs made the parliamentary situation very insecure. The Young Czechs could not take their place; their radical and anti-clerical tendencies alarmed the feudalists and clericals who formed so large a part of the Right; they attacked the alliance with Germany; they made public demonstration of their French sympathies; they entered into communication with other Slav races, especially the Serbs of Hungary and Bosnia; they demanded universal suffrage and occasionally supported the German radicals in their opposition to the clerical parties, especially in educational matters; under their influence disorder increased in Bohemia, a secret society called the *Umladina* (in imitation of the Serbian society of that name) was discovered, and stringent measures had to be taken to preserve order. The government therefore veered round towards the German liberals; some of the ministers most obnoxious to the Germans resigned, and their places were taken by Germans. For two years the government seemed to waver, looking now to the Left, now to Hohenwart and his friends; for a time Taaffe really had the support of all parties except the Young Czechs.

ELECTORAL REFORM

After two years he gave up his cautious policy and took a bold move. In October, 1893, he introduced a reform bill. Universal suffrage had long been demanded by the working men and the socialists; the Young Czechs also had

[1893-1896 A.D.]

put it on their programme, and many of the Christian socialists and anti-Semites desired an alteration of the franchise. Taaffe's bill, while keeping the curia of the feudal proprietors and the chambers of commerce as they were, and making no change in the number of members, proposed to give the franchise in both towns and rural districts to everyone who could read and write and had resided six months in one place. This was opposed by the liberals, for with the growth of socialism and anti-Semitism they knew that the extension of the franchise would destroy their influence. On this Taaffe had probably calculated, but he had omitted to inquire what the other parties would do. He had not even consulted Hohenwart, to whose assistance he owed his long tenure of power. Not even the pleasure of ruining the liberals was sufficient to persuade the conservatives to vote for a measure which would transfer the power from the well-to-do to the indigent, and Hohenwart justly complained that they ought to have been secure against surprises of this kind. The Poles also were against a measure which would give more influence to the Ruthenians. The position of the government was hopeless, and, without waiting for a division Taaffe resigned.

The event to which for fourteen years the Left had looked forward had now happened. Once more they could have a share in the government, which they always believed belonged to them by nature. Taught by experience and adversity, they did not scruple to enter into an alliance with their old enemies, and a coalition ministry was formed from the Left, the clericals, and the Poles. The president was Prince Alfred Windischgrätz, grandson of the celebrated general, one of Hohenwart's ablest lieutenants; Hohenwart himself did not take office. Of course an administration of this kind could not take a definite line on any controversial question, but during 1894 it carried through the commercial treaty with Russia and the laws for the continuance of the currency reform. On the 12th of June, 1895, it resigned.

BADENI'S MINISTRY

After a short interval the emperor appointed as minister-president Count Badeni, who had earned a great reputation as governor of Galicia. He formed an administration, the merit of which, as of so many others, was that it was to belong to no party and to have no programme. He hoped to be able to work in harmony with the moderate elements of the Left; his mission was to carry through the *Ausgleich* with Hungary; to this everything else must be subordinated. During 1896 he succeeded in carrying a reform bill, which satisfied nearly all parties. All the old categories of members were maintained, but a fifth curia was added, in which almost anyone might vote who had resided six months in one place and was not in domestic service; in this way seventy-two would be added to the existing members. This matter having been settled, parliament was dissolved. The result of the elections of 1897 was the return of a house so constituted as to make any strong government impossible. On both sides the anti-Semitic parties representing the extreme demagogic elements were present in considerable numbers. The united German Left had almost disappeared; it was represented only by a few members chosen by the great proprietors; in its place there were the three parties—the German popular party, the German nationalists, and the German radicals—who all put questions of nationality first and had deserted the old standpoint of the constitution. Then there were the fourteen social democrats who had won their seats under the new franchise. The old party of the Right was, however, also broken up; side by side with forty-one clericals there were twenty-eight Christian socialists led by Doctor Lueger, a man of great oratori-

[1879-1897 A.D.]

cal power, who had won a predominant influence in Vienna, so long the centre of liberalism, and had quite eclipsed the more modest efforts of Prince Liechtenstein. As among the German national party, there were strong nationalist elements in his programme, but they were chiefly directed against Jews and Hungarians; Lueger had already distinguished himself by his violent attacks on Hungary, which had caused some embarrassment to the government at a time when the negotiations for the Ausgleich were in progress. Like anti-Semites elsewhere, the Christian socialists were reckless and irresponsible, appealing directly to the passions and prejudices of the most ignorant. There were altogether two hundred German members of the Reichsrath, but they were divided into eight parties, and nowhere did there seem to be the elements on which a government could be built up.

The most remarkable result of the elections was the disappearance of the liberals in Vienna. In 1879, out of 37 members returned in Lower Austria, 33 were liberals. Now the Christian socialists were first with 28, then the socialists with 14, and the few remaining seats were divided between the nationalists and the radicals. It was impossible to maintain a strong party of moderate constitutionalists on whom the government could depend, unless there was a large nucleus from Lower Austria. The influence of Lueger was very embarrassing; he had now a majority of two-thirds in the town council, and had been elected burgomaster. The emperor had refused to confirm the election; he had been re-elected, and then the emperor, in a personal interview, appealed to him to withdraw. He consented to do so; but, after the election of 1897 had given him so many followers in the Reichsrath, Badeni advised that his election as burgomaster should be confirmed. There was violent antipathy between the Christian socialists and the German nationalists, and the transference of their quarrels from the Viennese council chamber to the Reichsrath was very detrimental to the orderly conduct of debate.

The limited suffrage had hitherto prevented socialism from becoming a political force in Austria as it had in Germany, and the national divisions have always impeded the creation of a centralised socialist party. The first object of the working classes necessarily was the attainment of political power; in 1867 there had been mass demonstrations and petitions to the government for universal suffrage. During the next years there was the beginning of a real socialist movement in Vienna and in Styria, where there is a considerable industrial population; after 1879, however, the growth of the party was interrupted by the introduction of anarchical doctrines. Most's paper, the *Freiheit*, was introduced through Switzerland, and had a large circulation. The anarchists, under the leadership of Peukert, seem to have attained considerable numbers. In 1883-1884 there were a number of serious strikes, collisions between the police and the workmen, followed by assassinations; it was a peculiarity of Austrian anarchists that in some cases they united robbery to murder. The government, which was seriously alarmed, introduced severe repressive measures; the leading anarchists were expelled or fled the country. In 1887, under the leadership of Doctor Adler, the socialist party began to revive (the party of violence having died away), and since then it has steadily gained in numbers; in the forefront of the political programme is put the demand for universal suffrage. In no country is the 1st of May, as the festival of Labour, celebrated so generally.

THE LANGUAGE ORDINANCES OF 1897

Badeni after the election sent in his resignation, but the emperor refused to accept it, and he had therefore to do the best he could and turn for support to the other nationalities. The strongest of them were the fifty-nine Poles and

sixty Young Czechs; he therefore attempted, as Taaffe had done, to come to some agreement with them. The Poles were always ready to support the government; among the Young Czechs the more moderate had already attempted to restrain the wilder spirits of the party, and they were quite prepared to enter into negotiations. They did not wish to lose the opportunity which now was open to them of winning influence over the administration. What they required was further concession as to the language in Bohemia. In May, 1897, Badeni therefore published his celebrated ordinances. They determined (1) that all correspondence and documents regarding every matter brought before the government officials should be conducted in the language in which it was first introduced: this applied to the whole of Bohemia, and meant the introduction of Czech into the government offices throughout the whole of the kingdom; (2) after 1903 no one was to be appointed to a post under the government in Bohemia until he had passed an examination in Czech. These ordinances fulfilled the worst fears of the Germans. The German nationalists and radicals declared that no business should be done till they were repealed and Badeni dismissed.

They resorted to obstruction. They brought in repeated motions to impeach the ministers, and parliament had to be prorogued in June, although no business of any kind had been transacted. Badeni had not anticipated the effect his ordinances would have; as a Pole he had little experience in the western part of the empire. During the recess he tried to open negotiations, but the Germans refused even to enter into a discussion until the ordinances had been withdrawn. The agitation spread throughout the country; great meetings were held at Eger and Aussig, which were attended by Germans from across the frontier and led to serious disturbances; the cornflower, which had become the symbol of German nationality and union with Germany, was freely worn, and the language used was in many cases treasonable. The emperor insisted that the Reichsrath should again be summoned to pass the necessary measures for the Ausgleich; scenes then took place which have no parallel in parliamentary history. To meet the obstruction it was determined to sit at night, but this was unsuccessful. On one occasion Doctor Lecher, one of the representatives of Moravia, spoke for twelve hours, from 9 P.M. till 9 A.M., against the Ausgleich. The opposition was not always limited to feats of endurance of this kind. On the 3rd of November there was a free fight in the house; it arose from a quarrel between Doctor Lueger and the Christian socialists on the one side (for the Christian socialists had supported the government since the confirmation of Lueger as burgomaster) and the German nationalists on the other under Doctor Wolff, a German from Bohemia, the violence of whose language had already caused Badeni to challenge him to a duel.

The nationalists refused to allow Lueger to speak, clapping their desks, hissing, and making other noises, till at last the Young Czechs attempted to prevent the disorder by violence. On the 24th of November the scenes of disturbance were renewed. The president, Herr von Abramovitch, an Armenian from Galicia, refused to call on Schoenerer to speak. The nationalists therefore stormed the platform, and the president and the ministers had to fly to their private rooms to escape personal violence, until the Czechs came to their rescue and by superiority in numbers and physical strength severely punished Herr Wolff and his friends. The rules of the house giving the president no authority for maintaining order, he determined, with the assent of the ministers, to propose alterations in procedure. The next day, when sitting began, one of the ministers, Count Falkenhayn, a clerical who was very unpopular, moved that "any member who continued to disturb a sitting after being twice called to order could be suspended—for three days by the

[1897-1899 A.D.]

president, and for thirty days by the house." The din and uproar was such that not a word could be heard, but at a pre-arranged signal from the president all the Right rose, and he then declared that the new order had been carried, although the procedure of the House required that it should be submitted to a committee. The next day, at the beginning of the sitting, the socialists rushed on the platform, tore up and destroyed all the papers lying there, seized the president, and held him against the wall. After he had escaped, eighty police were introduced into the House and carried out the fourteen socialists. The next day Herr Wolff was treated in the same manner.

The excitement spread to the street. Serious disorders took place in Vienna and in Gratz; the German opposition had the support of the people, and Lueger warned the ministers that as burgomaster he would be unable to maintain order in Vienna; even the clerical Germans showed signs of deserting the government. The emperor, hastily summoned to Vienna, accepted Badeni's resignation, the Germans having thus by obstruction attained part of their wishes. The new minister, Gautsch, a man popular with all parties, held office for three months; he proclaimed the budget and the Ausgleich, and in February replaced the language ordinances by others, under which Bohemia was to be divided into three districts—one Czechish, one German, and one mixed. The Germans, however, were not satisfied with this; they demanded absolute repeal. The Czechs also were offended; they arranged riots at Prague; the professors in the university refused to lecture unless the German students were defended from violence; Gautsch resigned, and Thun, who had been governor of Bohemia, was appointed minister. Martial law was proclaimed in Bohemia and strictly enforced. Thun then arranged with the Hungarian ministers a compromise about the Ausgleich.

RENEWED CONFLICT BETWEEN GERMANS AND CZECHS

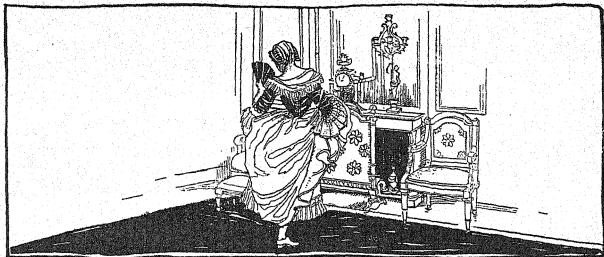
The Reichsrath was again summoned, and the meetings were less disturbed than in the former year, but the Germans still prevented any business from being done. The Germans now had a new cause of complaint. Paragraph 14 of the law of 1867 provided that, in cases of pressing necessity, orders for which the assent of the Reichsrath was required might, if the Reichsrath were not in session, be proclaimed by the emperor; they had to be signed by the whole ministry, and if they were not laid before the Reichsrath within four months of its meeting, or if they did not receive the approval of both Houses, they ceased to be valid. The Germans contended that the application of this clause to the Ausgleich was invalid, and demanded that it should be repealed. Thun had in consequence to retire, in September, 1899. His successor, Count Clary, began by withdrawing the ordinances which had been the cause of so much trouble, but it was now too late to restore peace. The Germans were not sufficiently strong and united to keep in power a minister who had brought them the relief for which they had been clamouring for two years. The Czechs, of course, went into opposition, and used obstruction. The extreme German party, however, took the occasion to demand that paragraph 14 should be repealed. Clary explained that this was impossible, but he gave a formal pledge that he would not use it. The Czechs, however, prevented him passing a law on excise which was a necessary part of the agreements with Hungary; it was therefore impossible for him to carry on the government without breaking his word; there was therefore nothing left for him to do but to resign, after holding office for less than three months. The emperor then appointed a ministry of officials who were not bound by his pledge, and used paragraph 14 for the necessary purposes of state. They then made way for a ministry under Herr von Körber.^e

During the early months of Dr. Körber's tenure of office there was a suspension of hostilities to allow the passage of certain necessary measures, but the lull was merely momentary. In the elections in December, 1900, and January, 1901, the most obstructive and fanatical sections, such as the extreme German Nationalists, were the chief gainers. In spite of all opposition, Dr. Körber managed to maintain himself until December, 1904, when he was succeeded by Baron Gautsch, who retained most of the other members of the Cabinet. The agitation for suffrage extension in Hungary gave impetus during the same year to a movement for a similar change in Austria. Enormous mass-meetings of those favouring the change were held, and at one which occurred at Vienna on November 28th more than 200,000 persons were present. In February, 1906, Baron Gautsch introduced a liberal suffrage bill in the lower chamber of the Reichsrath.

In Hungary the years of the new century have been productive of even greater confusion than in Austria. The Hungarian independence party, under the leadership of M. Kossuth, son of the leader of 1848, have pursued a campaign against the dual government by obstructing all the measures of the Ministry and have themselves declined to take office. In this way they have made it extremely difficult for any Ministry to last for any length of time. Thus, when Count Tisza, who took office in October, 1903, adopted the policy of changing the standing legislative rules in such a way as to prevent the obstructive tactics of the Opposition, a bitter contest resulted. The most striking incidents occurred on December 13, 1904, the day of the opening of a new session of the Reichstag. On that day the Opposition entered the House before the usual time of meeting, assaulted the police when they attempted to interfere, destroyed the furniture and woodwork, and were finally photographed sitting on the heap of ruins. Shortly after this disgraceful scene Count Tisza determined to appeal to the country, and a new election was held in January, 1905. The Opposition succeeded, however, in convincing many of the voters that Tisza was too much under Austrian influence, and as a result the Ministry was decisively beaten. Tisza then resigned, and, after the Emperor had vainly tried to come to terms with the leaders of the Opposition, Baron Fejervary was entrusted with the task of forming a government. The new Cabinet attempted to gain support by a proposal for manhood suffrage on an educational basis, but as the Crown opposed such a step, the Ministry resigned in the following September. The Emperor then attempted once more to form an Opposition Cabinet; but the leaders again refused to promise not to endeavour to secure the use of the Hungarian language in the Hungarian regiments of the army—a matter which for some time had caused much discussion—or to agree to other conditions; and he was ultimately forced to recall Fejervary and approve his suffrage programme for the extension of the right to vote to all literate male citizens over the age of twenty-four years. The extreme Hungarian party opposed the contemplated change because, since the Magyars are in a minority in Hungary, it would lessen their political influence. On February 19, 1906, parliament was dissolved, and in enforcing the dissolution troops were used.

During the last few years the relations between Austria and Hungary have continued to be unsatisfactory. Since 1897 no formal agreement with regard to the financial Ausgleich has been attained, and the question of the financial nota of each state has been each year submitted for temporary solution to the Emperor. An understanding was reached between the two governments at the close of 1902, but this still lacks the approval of the legislatures.

The future of the dual monarchy appears to be an uncertain one. The chief bond of union is the aged Emperor, Francis Joseph. What will happen upon his death, which must occur soon, no one can safely predict."



CHAPTER VI

A REVIEW OF THE DEVELOPMENT OF AUSTRIA IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

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THE EMPEROR FRANCIS I AND AUSTRIA BEFORE THE REVOLUTION OF MARCH, 1848

THE emperor Francis I ended his days on the 2nd of March, 1835, at the age of sixty-seven years, during forty-three of which he had exercised his hereditary rule, fourteen years over the German and twenty-nine over the Austrian Empire. In inorganic fashion and under many vicissitudes this extensive state seems to have been built up in the course of centuries out of old Habsburg lordships, German imperial territories, dominions of the Bohemian and Hungarian crowns, out of the possessions of the Habsburg-Spanish power on the soil of Italy and the Netherlands, with eastern Galicia (Halicz-Wladimir), and the north Carpathian districts of the old kingdom of Poland, that is, from elements and nationalities fundamentally different both historically and politically.

The emperor Francis I wore the German imperial crown more or less as an heirloom which had belonged for many centuries to the house of Habsburg-Austria, until the end of the "Holy Roman Empire of the German nation" (1806), after he had already assumed the title of a hereditary emperor of Austria (1804).

In his time falls the permanent loss of Belgium and the old Habsburg lordships in the west of south Germany, and on the other hand the gain of western Galicia (Little Poland), at the third partition of Poland, and the acquisition of the heritage of the Venetian Republic on the Adriatic. After the second fall of Napoleon, the inheritor of the power of the French Republic, the great territorial robberies of the years 1806 and 1809 had been made good by the "Restoration" of Europe as a result of the congress of Vienna, and the Austrian supremacy in the confederacy assumed the place in Germany of the Habsburg empire. The emperor's declining years were darkened by the rec-

[1830-1847 A.D.]

ognition of the painful truth that his first-born and heir, Ferdinand, was incapable of rule, and that consequently a regency, a "cabinet government," in his name, was necessary. But other grave circumstances accompanied this one.

Austria, the chief member of the so-called "Holy Alliance," saw herself outstripped in the Græco-Eastern question by one ally, Russia, and in the German question by the other, Prussia. Emperor Francis, the embodiment of patriarchal absolutism, and his trusted adviser, the chancellor Metternich, lived to see that their obstinate fight against the liberal and constitutional movement in southern and western Europe remained without any assured results, and that the nationalistic efforts after freedom and separate existence were becoming dangerously strong, mainly in Austrian Italy by means of Carbonarism and Mazzinism¹, but that they had also long had a fruitful soil and a sphere of activity in the heart of the Austrian monarchy with its many races and languages. As regards foreign countries, an ominous isolation of Austria and an unmistakable waning of her political credit are visible.

But above all there was a strange dualism in the empire. On this side, in Cisleithania, the western half of the empire belonging to the German Confederation, the emperor ruled as an absolute sovereign; on that side, in Transleithania, as a constitutional "king of Hungary," represented by his brother, the archduke palatine, Joseph, to whom it had been granted to fulfil his difficult office for a full half century (1796-1847) with a keen eye and a firm hand and yet to remain popular. In this contrast between the German Austrian "bureaucratic and police rule" (*Beamten und Polizeistaate*), as the enemies of the system of administration designated it, and the Hungarian "constitutional government," was concealed the chief danger for the policy of Metternich, the guiding spirit of the regency (*Staatsconferenz*) in the days of the emperor Ferdinand the "good" (1835-1848), who made yet another territorial acquisition by the incorporation of the free state of Cracow (1847), after the speedy suppression of the rebellion of Galician Poland in 1846. Metternich did not fail to recognise this danger, without however being able to overcome it, for the conservatives of Hungary (Aarel Dezsewffy and his circle) also set themselves against any encroachment by the Vienna cabinet on the Transleithanian constitution.

The question of Hungarian reform, hand in hand with the preponderance of the Magyar population in public life, a preponderance which had been on the increase ever since 1830, collected round its banner not only its leader Count Stephen Széchenyi, who had given utterance to the significant phrase, "Hungary was not, it will be," and the brilliant liberal aristocrat, the freiherr von Eötvös, but also the strict autonomists Niklas Freiherr von Wesselényi and the two *comitat* deputies Francis Deák and Louis Kossuth. Of these the first remained the most persevering advocate of the constitution in the constitutional "conscience" of Hungary, whilst the second, a man of demoniac force with word and pen, was worshipped as its idol by the radical Magyar youth. In this variable circle, which only too soon became inimical to Széchenyi's influence and authority, the watchword was the national and political Magyarisation of Hungary, and the dominions of its crown, while on the other hand, as a challenge to this, voices in favour of the ideal of a Croat, Slavonian, and Dalmatian kingdom were raised louder and louder by the instinct of self-preservation in the Transylvanian Saxons, the Rumanians, the Slovaks of upper Hungary, the Hungaro-Serbs or Raizens, the Croats, and, especially, in "Illyrism," here represented by Ludwig Gaj.

In Galicia the Polish question had been agitated ever since 1846, though, on

¹ Giovine Italia.

[1847-1848 A.D.]

the other hand, the east Galician Ruthenians, as opponents of the Polish supremacy, remained the government's natural ally. But even in the heart of the hereditary lands of Bohemia and German Austria, there was a crisis preparing, serious both from a political and from a national standpoint. In the struggle which the aristocratic or feudal party in Bohemia (of which Palacky was and remained the historical and political adviser) had been carrying on ever since 1843 with ever increasing vigour against the measures of the Vienna cabinet and in favour of a "Bohemian constitutional law," the liberal Czech party with its nationalistic aspirations came to the aid of the aristocracy as a temporary ally, determined to extend its influence into the neighbouring province of Moravia.

Amongst the German Austrians, especially in Vienna, there arose increasing dissatisfaction with the uneasy position of Austria both at home and abroad, and with the symptoms of her financial and economical maladies, and the discontent showed itself in numerous pamphlets, all printed abroad. Above all, here also was prepared an attack by the privileged orders, on the bureaucratic régime, which was soon, however, as we shall see, thrust into the background and outbalanced by the German liberal and democratic movement in the form of a struggle for a constitution.

But before ancient Austria fell to pieces, the summer lightning of non-German nationalist agitations manifested itself on the soil of the east Alpine districts, as, for example, amongst the Slovenes, at that time indeed still comparatively harmless, and, more particularly, amongst the *Welschtirolern* or Italians of the Tyrol, in the "Trentino" question, which was already of long standing, and as a solution of which the southern part of the Tyrol was to acquire a separate national and political standing.

THE REVOLUTION AND CONSTITUTIONAL AUSTRIA-HUNGARY AFTER MARCH, 1848

The February revolution of 1848 in France, making itself felt in the Austrian Empire, loosed in the whole range of the emperor's dominions a storm which it had become impossible to oppose. The month of March is associated with the break-up of ancient Austria, for which Metternich's enforced retirement, after thirty-eight years of office, had paved the way. On the other hand the movement in favour of German unity, with its endeavour immediately to create a constitutional Germany by means of a national parliament, got the better of the vain attempt of the confederate government to forestall it, and at once drew the confederate territories of Cisleithania into its sphere. Side by side with the white cockade, the token of young constitutional Austria, speedily appeared the German tri-colour, whilst the old imperial colours, the *Schwarzgelb* (black and yellow), were affected by the "reactionaries" as a token of enmity to the constitution.

As an immediate danger to the existence of the state government, signs at once appeared of a nationalist revolution on the verge of breaking out in Austrian Italy, with which country the commander of the forces there, Count Joseph Wenzel Radetzky, had long been familiar; he did not fail to recognise the signs of the times. The desertion of the Milanese to the Sardinian king Charles Albert, the "sword of Italy," was soon after effected. Radetzky had provisionally to abandon the country between the Ticino and the Mincio, and within the quadrilateral of fortresses with Verona as his base to assemble the forces for new attacks. At the same time Daniel Manin, as national dictator, proclaimed (March 23rd) a republic of Venice and Venetian Austria.

The young, immature constitution of Austria postponed its honeymoon,

and the first constitutional ministry of Cisleithania (that of Freiherr Franz von Pillersdorf) was hurried ever swifter and swifter in the democratic current, a significant token of which was the removal of the imperial court from Vienna to Innsbruck in Tyrol; meantime, beyond the Leitha, matters were drawing to a crisis. In Hungary the newly established constitution had instituted a responsible ministry similar in kind to the Cisleithanian, in place of the old Hungarian court authorities and central administrative offices. The advance of the radical Magyar party towards a personal union with Austria hastened the rising of the non-Magyar nationalities of the kingdom of Hungary against the hegemony of the Magyars. Upon this was founded the popularity of the *ban* of Croatia, Jellachich, who soon went into opposition against the Hungarian ministry as insubordinate and thus found himself for a time in a false position relative to the imperial court.

The Slav party also made an attempt to bring about a common understanding, though the Slav congress of Prague was able to do little to bring such an understanding into effect. Similarly in Moravia the feeling in favour of provincial independence or autonomy showed itself to be stronger amongst the Slav inhabitants than the desire to go hand in hand with the Czechs who were thirsting for the pre-eminence. The Poles pursued their own way, but in face of the friendly attitude adopted towards the government by the Ruthenians, the Galician revolution had first no prospect of success, all the less since in Russian and Prussian Poland an impulse towards national movement had no room for free play. For the Whitsuntide rising in the capital of Bohemia a speedy end was prepared by the commandant, Prince Alfred Windischgrätz.

On the other hand, several circumstances seemed likely to renew the historical coherence of Cisleithania with Germany and to strengthen it nationally and politically. These were the strong representation of German Austria in the imperial parliament at Frankfort, and especially the choice (July 29th) as administrator of the German empire of Archduke John, who since 1809 had been the most popular prince of the house of Habsburg-Lorraine, and, in addition, the election of a German imperial government with Anton, Ritter von Schmerling, a constitutional centralist from Austria, as imperial minister of the interior (August); but when it came to the question how effect was to be given to this coherence, insurmountable difficulties had soon to be encountered.

The Austrian diet in Vienna, freshly created in the time of the new Austrian ministry (Wessenberg-Dobblhoff-Bach), as the parliamentary representation of the collective non-Hungarian provinces of the imperial state (July 22nd), was opened by Archduke John shortly after the retirement of the Pillersdorf ministry (July 8th), and here too its three hundred and thirty-eight members soon showed signs of antagonistic principles in questions of nationality and party politics. Here we find first of all the attacks of the Slavs on the political leadership of the Germans, and, on the other hand, the strife between the conservative Right and the liberal and democratic Left. Amid such feuds between nationalities and political parties, amid dogmatic and doctrinarian squabbles, the young parliament of Cisleithania could show only one permanent constitutional achievement—the abolition, on the motion of Hanns Kudlich, of the subjection to the soil (*Grundunterthänigkeit*) and its burdens, by which the peasant class were to be immediately won over to the political movement for freedom. Meantime, Radetzky, the vigorous field marshal, who had reached his eighty-third year, had energetically begun an offensive war against Sardinia on the soil of Austrian Italy. By the end of July, 1848, the Milanese were again in his hands. Only Venice persisted in her secession.

The situation in Hungary, however, soon took an ominous turn, as was shown by the imperial rehabilitation of the ban Jellachich, by the retirement from his untenable position of the archduke palatine Stephen, who had been

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wavering between the revolution and the Court of Vienna; by the actual dictatorship of Kossuth, the "saviour of the nation," supported by the national militia (*Honvéd*), and also by the radical reconstruction of the Hungarian ministry. The murder of the imperial commissary, Count Lamberg, already exhibited the climax of national and political passions and gave a foresight of the secession of Hungary.

Quite as gloomy was the aspect of affairs in Cisleithania when the fatal October days of Vienna opened and the war minister, Count Latour, was murdered by a raging mob; whereupon the imperial court (which had returned in August from Innsbruck) fled from the revolution to the fortified Moravian city of Olmütz (October 18th), and the Vienna diet became helpless before demagoguery. Nevertheless, the government, thanks to the strengthening of the Austrian dominion in upper Italy by Radetzky, soon felt itself strong enough to take in hand the siege of Vienna under the superintendence of Prince Windischgrätz and the ban Jellachich, to prevent its attempted succour by the Magyars, to take the city, and, by transferring the diet from Vienna to the small Moravian town of Kremsier near Olmütz, to pave the way for a new order of affairs. The installation of the new ministry with Prince Felix Schwarzenberg, brother-in-law of Field-marshal Windischgrätz, at its head (November 20th) forms the decisive turning point; for the key-note of his circular letter or programme was a "strong central government" and the "integrity" of Austria, against the evident desire for secession on the part of the Magyars.

The change of system now being prepared required first of all a new ruling personality. Emperor Ferdinand the "good" abdicated the throne and his eighteen-year-old nephew, Francis Joseph, introduced with his accession (December 2nd) the period of the "restoration" of monarchy. The winter campaign against Magyar Hungary began, for here the change of rulers and the manifesto of the new sovereign were answered with a protest (December 7th) and an appeal to arms, whilst Slovaks, Serbs, Croats, Rumanians, and Transylvanian Saxons saw the pledge of their own future in the imperial camp.

But in the German question also the breach of the national parliament at Frankfort with the new Austrian system of government was imminent. When the formation of Germany into a "narrow" confederation without Austria, the union with her in a "wider" confederation, and finally the imperial scheme with the Prussian king as successor to the German Empire were brought forward, Schwarzenberg's note to Prussia (December 13th) set forth as an ultimatum the reception of the whole monarchy into the German confederacy and into the German customs union (*Zollverein*)—and the Austrian premier's declaration of the 28th of December culminated in the words, "Austria will know how to maintain her position in the newly formed state of Germany." The year 1849 forms in a way the epilogue of the liberal and national movement for liberty, marks the passage to the conceded constitution of Austria, and so introduces the second stage of Austria's apprenticeship, the founding and continuance of the absolutist and unified state.

It is true that the war in Hungary got beyond the new government. Here the national diet had first effected its removal to Debreczen (January), then, by the declaration of independence (April 14th) and Kossuth's governorship, completed with the dynasty a breach that had many consequences. Soon after Budapest too was wrested from the imperials. But this was the high-water mark of the success of the radical Magyar party, at a time when the Sardinian king had already long ago been beaten on his own soil at the battle of Novara (March 23rd), and Venice was face to face with the prospect of resubjection. Since the meeting at Warsaw between the czar Nicholas I and the emperor Francis Joseph (May 15th), Austria was secure of the alliance of Russia, and

the offer of her armed assistance was the more readily seized upon as it became more and more evident that the means of bringing the war with Hungary to a speedy end were very inadequately supplied by the forces which Austria had at her disposal, and which had formerly been under the supreme command of Prince Windischgrätz, then of the freiherr von Welden, and were now under the orders of Radetzky's resolute brother-in-arms, the freiherr von Haynau.

Russia's military columns soon invaded Hungary, and, five weeks after the flight of the disunited revolutionary government from Budapest to Szeged, followed the surrender at Világos of the military "dictator," Arthur Görgey, and with it the end of the dream of independence and of the civil war of Hungary. Kossuth and his chief followers fled out of the country.

On the 6th of August the western powers had expedited the conclusion of peace between Austria and the Sardinian king Victor Emmanuel, and on the 27th of the month Venice yielded to the arms of Radetzky. Thus the questions concerning the authority of the government were successfully disposed of. But the newly strengthened empire, with Russia to support her, was now able to interfere decisively in the solution of the German question, and on the 9th of March she again emphasised her claim for the admission of the whole of Austria into Germany, while, on the other hand, she rejected the German plan for a constitution as inadmissible. The stone was soon set in motion.

The resolution to transfer to Prussia the hereditary empire of Germany, which was passed at Frankfurt by a narrow majority on the 28th of March, 1849, was answered by Schwarzenberg with the recall of the Austrian deputies to the national parliament (April 5th) and he soon beheld King Frederick William IV give way on the question of the empire. In the course of the fruitless negotiations between the German powers concerning the reconstruction of Germany—as at the Pillnitz interview of the Emperor of Austria with the kings of Prussia and Saxony (September 8th)—the old German confederation and the Frankfurt confederate diet (*Bundestag*), under the presidency of Austria, soon again appeared as the only possible solution, and on the 20th of December the archduke John, whom orders from Vienna had constrained to remain at his disagreeable post, resigned his thankless task of administrator of the empire. Meantime the situation of internal politics in Austria had also undergone a decided change.

The diet at Kremsier, in which German centralists and Slav federalists (under the leadership of Palacky and Ladislaus Rieger) were soon engaged in a violent quarrel, did indeed just contrive to complete the work of constitution-making which had been begun at Vienna; but the new "strong" government preferred the grant of a constitution dictated by the crown to the parliamentary creation of one, and by a *coup d'état* dissolved the diet which had long been a source of embarrassment (March 7th). This "granted" constitution was nevertheless only an expedient of the moment, and was to prepare the way for the institution of the absolutist unified state.

TEN YEARS OF THE UNIFIED STATE WITHOUT A CONSTITUTION (1850-1860)

It was the aim of the newly strengthened authorities, and also in harmony with the general tendencies of the age in Europe, as quickly as possible to combine the mastering of the liberal, democratic, and nationalist revolution and the revival of the idea of the state as embodied in the dynasty, with a transformation of the monarchy into a single uniformly administrated empire, without popular representation or provincial autonomy and with an absolute form of government; and at the same time it was intended to get rid of the

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dualism as existing before March, 1848, as well as of all the historical claims of the provinces and estates—a measure for which the revolution had already paved the way—and from henceforward to place all the strength of the nation at the service of the monarchial idea and thus to realise the motto of the new emperor: “*Viribus unitis*.”

The phase of transition to this “new birth” of Austria is formed by the years 1850-1851. The new year’s gift (1850) of the Cisleithanian provincial constitution is designed to make the diet to a great extent superfluous and to replace it (April 14th, 1851) by a *Reichsrath* appointed by the emperor as a “council” of the crown. Even before this (January) the minister of justice, Schmerling, the creator, in accordance with the spirit of constitutionalism, of juries (January, 1850), and the minister of commerce, Karl L. von Bruck, an able and fertile-minded political economist who as a liberal and Protestant had become obnoxious, had left the cabinet, where the leadership was now in the hands of the two men in the young monarch’s confidence, the premier Schwarzenberg and Alexander Bach. The latter was now minister of the interior as successor to Count Franz Stadion and was endowed with abilities of the first rank. With them was associated Count Leo Thum, a Bohemian nobleman who as minister of public worship and education had entered on the inheritance of the liberal reform of 1848, and as a friend of science and learning, advised by able men, adhered to its principles; but in church matters and denominational questions was beginning to show more and more rigour towards the Catholics.

The 20th of August, 1851, marks the commencement of the actual transformation of the constitutional state into the unified state without a constitution, by the abolition of the responsibility of ministers, and in another direction by the abrogation of Stadion’s communal law and the jury. Thus the abrogation at the end of the year of the constitution granted on the 4th of March, 1849, appeared merely as the culmination of the reaction for which the way had been long since smoothed.

The twenty-one crown provinces of Austria, loosed from all the historical ties which had formed them into groups, without representation by provincial assemblies, without privileged orders and patrimonial territorial government, henceforth appear under a rule emanating from Vienna and conducted in uniform fashion according to the principles of unification through the agency of superior and inferior officials appointed and paid by the government. German becomes the state, official, and educational language (except in Austrian Italy), and the copious volumes of the *Reichsgesetzblatt* show what an immense work in all departments of public life the “reconstruction” of the imperial state, still in operation in many points, undertook to accomplish and did accomplish.

As Prince Schwarzenberg, the thorough-paced aristocrat and absolutist in mind and will-power, died as early as April, 1852, the whole epoch, namely 1850-1859, is generally called the “Bach” epoch, for the lion’s share of its creations falls to that proud, many-sided man.

Though in more than one direction the internal history of Austria from 1850-1860 exhibits many similarities with that of the state reform of the emperor Joseph II (1780-1790), yet it differs from this in one particular especially. Whilst the so-called “Josephism” had in view and effected the union of church and state, now the opposing stream asserted itself more and more, and the crown yielded to it and to the wishes of Rome by the conclusion of a concordat, negotiated by the Viennese archbishop, Othmar Rauscher, in which the advantages were exclusively on the side of the Catholic church, henceforth free in the state. It was this concordat with the papal chair that threw the gloomiest shadows of “reaction” over “New Austria,” for it enraged liberal-

ism, injured the peace of the denominations, and was necessarily injurious to education.

But the absolutist system, and more particularly its exponent Bach, the statesman who had gone over from the revolutionary party, did not find foes only in the camps of the German liberals as friends of the constitution and autonomists. The feudalists, especially those of Bohemia, cheated out of their territorial jurisdiction, also bore a grudge against the absolute system; and in Hungary Bach was the best hated man, not only amongst the nationalist liberals of 1848-1849, but also with the conservatives who stood forward for the Hungary of the days before March and for her "historic rights." As for their right wing, the "old conservatives" or "notables," in April, 1850, they had still set their hopes on a memorandum to the crown. And even yet, in 1856, this party ventured once more to make an attack on Bach, but again without success, although the "address" which they offered to the crown (printed 1857) overflowed with protestations of loyal submissiveness and of sorrow at the "errors" of Hungary (1848).

It even came to a trial of strength, which the new system had to abandon in face of the growing discontent on the hither side of the Leitha and the passive resistance beyond it. Here, as always and everywhere, all depended on the vanquishing power of success and this again was conditional on the situation in regard to external politics.

Until the year 1852 Austria, in close alliance with Russia, had the upper hand in the German question. Prussia's humiliation at Olmütz (November 20th, 1850), the results of her withdrawal from the affair of the Hessian electorate and the Danish question, the decline of her political credit in Germany, the Dresden conference (December, 1850)—fruitless as far as Prussia was concerned—all this Schwarzenberg had lived to see. His successor was Count Karl Buol-Schauenstein, who could not command the same restless energy and weight as his predecessor.

Czar Nicholas I believed that in consequence of his assistance in the putting down of the Hungarian rebellion, and the aid he had rendered in the Prussian question, he might reckon on the unlimited gratitude of Austria; and her effective interference with Turkey in favour of the menaced state of Montenegro appeared to him as a further pledge of the political co-operation of Austria in case of Russia's taking up arms against the Porte. The fatal half-heartedness of Austria's foreign policy in the Crimean War (1853-1854), her wavering between neutrality and partisanship, in the course of which matters went as far as the conclusion of a convention with the Porte and the temporary but costly occupation of Moldavia, Wallachia, and Dobrukscha, earned her the lasting enmity of Russia, without being able to win for her the friendship of the western powers, at whose head, since the *coup d'état* (December 2nd, 1853), stood the new empire of France with Napoleon III.

The so-called Holy Alliance was therefore finally dissolved. Prussia, since 1857 under the prince-regent William (soon King William I), again won the ascendant in the German question, and from 1852 possessed in Bismarck the best of advocates for her cause at the confederate diet of Frankfort.

Napoleon III now took up the idea of nationality, the most dangerous for a monarchical state composed of different peoples as Austria was, and he became the active supporter of the policy of the Italian minister, Cavour, which aimed at Italy's unity and erection into a great power. Soon (1859) Austria stood alone in a war with Sardinia and the latter's ally, Napoleon III. The immense requirements of the war essentially aggravated the financial situation, to improve which Freiherr von Bruck, finance minister since 1855, had laboured in every direction; the minister of foreign affairs, Buol-Schauenstein, soon retired (14th May). His successor was Count Rechberg (previously presiden-

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tial envoy at Frankfurt). Austria's defeats in Poland, at Magenta, and Solferino, were followed (11th of July) by the preliminary Peace of Villafranca, which sealed the loss of Lombardy to Sardinia, and confirmed the hopes entertained by the nationalists in Venetia of shaking off the Austrian rule.

This war had not only led the Magyar emigration under the banners of Sardinia and alienated the sympathies of the Magyars from the royal standard of Austria, but in its results it reacted in the gravest manner on the existing system of government, against whose further continuance in Cisleithania German liberals, feudalists, and Slav federalists in their various ways engaged in a united struggle; whilst beyond the Leitha the old conservatives and the advocates of the continuity of the administration and of the constitution of 1848 (under the leadership of Francis Deák) greeted its break-up with double joy, the former in the firm expectation that they would now attain to the helm, the latter determined to bide their time and increase the passive resistance.

Bach's dismissal (August 21st, 1859) introduces the transformation of the absolute monarchy into a semi-constitutional state.

The formation of the new cabinet, at whose head now stood the Polish count, Agenor Goluchowski, was immediately followed by negotiations with the old conservatives of Hungary, and with the feudalists of Cisleithania, and by the strengthening of the Reichsrath (March, 1860) through appointment by the crown, whereby the antagonism between liberal minority and conservative majority immediately became apparent and soon led to the dismissal of the Reichsrath (September 29th).

On the other hand, we see (July 1st) the way prepared for the reorganisation of Hungary on the basis of her constitution as it existed before 1848, which amounted to a renewal of the dualism existing previous to the revolution of March. The old conservatives of Hungary endeavoured (July 30th), by means of a compromise with the German feudalists and with the Slav federalists of Cisleithania, to bring about a common action for the maintenance of their interests. This explains the fact that the original draft for the "October Diploma" as the charter of a new constitution came from the pen of a Hungarian old conservative (Count Emil Dezseff), and that its contents, as well as the accompanying provincial statute, display a tendency to federalism and decentralisation. The German liberals of Cisleithania, the centralists, and autonomists now hastened to raise powerful objections to it, and so precipitated Goluchowski's retirement (December 13th). In his place Schmerling, the representative of the constitution and centralism, comes forward as the new confidential servant of the crown, and steers the ship of state along the lines of a centralised constitutional government.

THE NEW STAGE OF APPRENTICESHIP OF CONSTITUTIONAL AUSTRIA AND THE SOLUTION OF THE GERMAN QUESTION (1861-1866)

It is significant that Schmerling's fundamental creation of the year 1861, the so-called "February patent," had to be introduced in a way as a "supplement" to the October diploma, and that the new parliamentary representation of the empire—originating as the house of deputies from indirect election, that is, election by the provincial diets, and as the "house of peers" from nomination by the crown—bears the name of *Reichsrath*, a name given in the absolutist era to a council of the crown which was very far removed from a parliament; whilst the assembly of magnates and deputies, summoned to Ofen (Buda) on the 14th of February, felt itself to be indeed a Hungarian diet, and the dominant party (Deákists) announced their fixed adherence to the consti-

tution of the year 1848—that is to say, to the dualism of the period following the March revolution.

Add to this that the “broader” Reichsrath, in which Transleithania, the provinces of the Hungarian crown, were likewise to be represented, became a pure fiction; that the Reichsrath remained in fact a “narrow” Cisleithanian assembly, faced by the Bohemian federalists and the Czech nationalists, who were mistrustful and full of indignation at the pre-eminence and supremacy of the German liberal centralists; and that in Hungary the old conservatives, now thrust into the background, had also a grudge against the new system, while on the other hand the Deákists remained resolved to use all the stubborn force of passive resistance to place obstacles in the way of Schmerling’s centralism.

That statesman’s well-known expression, “We can wait,” here failed in its effect, and even in his own camp soon encountered vigorous opposition. For however valuable the gains of the new era might be, Schmerling’s centralism had still certain hardships even for the German liberals, the gloomy aspect of foreign affairs disquieted them, the Hungarian question weighed on them like a nightmare, and the dread of Slavism and federalism in Cisleithania in itself drew them closer to the Magyars as to natural allies whose confident demeanour and skilful tactics made more and more impression on the hither side of the Leitha.

In the diet (March 31st, 1865) Moritz von Kaiserfeld, the Styrian liberal and autonomist, made a sharp attack on Schmerling’s policy of inertia (*Zuwartungspolitik*), which at most could cite no better evidence of its success than the entry of the Transylvanian deputies into the “broader” Reichsrath (1863) at a time when the old conservatives of Hungary and the feudalists of Cisleithania were conspiring against the minister, and a confidential servant of the crown from that camp, Count Maurice Esterházy, an Austrian minister without portfolio, was successfully undermining the political credit and influence of the minister-president with the court.

Only too soon (June 26th, 1865) the fatal resignation of Schmerling was brought about, and his successor, the Moravian nobleman Count Richard Belcredi, guided Transleithania back into a federalist current, in much the same channel as that of the year 1860, without of course being able to bring about any rotation of the Hungarian question and the “pacification” of Hungary.

For beyond the Leitha there was an obstinate adherence to the fundamental idea of the address drawn up by Deák (April, 1861), according to which Hungary was not in a position to recognise either the October diploma or the February patent, and would only “enter into relations and union with the other constitutional provincial territories of Austria in constitutional independence and liberty.”

In Bohemia, where Old and Young Czechs as conservative and progressive parties were at feud with one another, Belcredi again failed to overcome the opposition. But above all he encountered the natural enmity of the German liberals and centralists, who could not but see in the suspension of the Reichsrath brought about by Belcredi (September 20th, 1865) a stroke aimed at the February constitution, while in his scheme to resolve the monarchy into five territorial groups and orders they beheld a forecast of the disintegration of Austria by way of federation and feudalism, and this at a time when the German question appeared on the scene with complications involving grave consequences to the state.

Ever since Bismarck had succeeded to the office of minister-president in Prussia (September, 1862), he had been determined to make amends for the political defeat of Prussia in 1850 and gradually to sap Austria’s influence in

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Germany. The most significant token of this was the absence of the Prussian king, William I, from the Frankfort diet of princes of August 17th, 1863, at which the emperor Francis Joseph I presided. Although the relations between the two powers grew more strained as the result of a clever move of Bismarck by which he brought the Austrian minister of foreign affairs, Count Rechberg, in his train, we find (1864) the two states side by side in the war against Denmark as representatives of the empire, and after its termination in *condominat*, that is, in joint administration, of Schleswig-Holstein. By this Austria injured her credit with the central states and still more with the national liberals in Germany.

But the division between the two powers was immediately apparent in the Schleswig-Holstein question, and on the other hand Bismarck sought (as early as July, 1865) to bring about the armed "neutrality" of the German central states in case of a war with Austria, though in this he was unsuccessful. He contrived to assure himself of a friendly attitude on the part of Napoleon III, and, above all, to conclude (April 8th, 1865) a military alliance with Sardinia, which, sure of the favour of the French emperor and on the way to the annexation of all Italy, was now aiming at the conquest of Venice. This alliance had for its object the complete overthrow of Austria's dominion in Poland. Napoleon III was here reckoning on the mutual weakening of the two chief German powers, whilst Austria was prepared to resign Venice on the outbreak of war, but found the proposed Franco-Italian compromise inadmissible. Of Russia, Prussia was sure in any case, for Czar Alexander II had entered into his father's grudge against the Viennese court as an inheritance, and the fact that on the occasion of the rebellion in Russian Poland (1862-1863) Austria remained unmolested in Galicia, further increased the distrust of the cabinet of St. Petersburg.

Now came Austria's double war with Prussia and Sardinia in the summer of 1866. It is true that the German central states—in especial the kingdoms of Hanover, Saxony, Bavaria, Würtemberg—stood by Austria when the breach between the two great powers was followed (June) by "the fratricidal war" (*Bruderkrieg*), as in the general indignation against Prussia it was designated by public opinion in South Germany; and, besides this, at the seat of war in Upper Italy the Austrian southern army under Archduke Albert and his chief-of-the-staff, Franz von John, won the decisive victory of Custoza (June 24th), to which was soon added (July 20th) the dazzling success of Wilhelm von Tegetthoff—the defeat of the Italian fleet, under Admiral Persano, in the waters of the Adriatic, near the island of Lissa.

But Prussia overthrew the German allies of Austria, one after another, and Saxony shared the ill success of Austria on the battleground of Bohemia. The command of the Austrian northern army had been forced on the most popular general, the master of the ordnance, Ludwig R. von Benedek, in spite of his express refusal; and in the "seven days' battle," after a series of unfortunate skirmishes—in which, besides Prussia's superiority in the needle-gun of the infantry, strategical mistakes and insubordination on the part of individual Austrian commanders were revealed—the Austrians suffered the great defeat of Königgrätz-Sadowa (July 3rd).

The resolution of the emperor Francis Joseph to deliver up Venice to Napoleon III and make use of him as an intermediary for the negotiation of a peace with Italy, then push the southern army northwards and so continue the struggle with Prussia even if he had to summon the *Landsturm* (general levy of the people), soon gave way to sober recognition of the fact that peace must be made with the victor. On the other hand, Bismarck's wisdom and foresight in face of the formidable attitude of France and in the interest of the main object of his policy, were successful in restraining the Prussian king

from making annexations at the expense of Austria and Saxony. The formation of the North German Confederation and Prussia's treaties of alliance with the conquered states of South Germany preceded (July 5th-25th) the Nikolsburg negotiations (July 26th) and the definite Peace of Prague with Austria (August 23rd).

Austria withdrew from Italy and from Germany, with which she had been in close historical and political connection for more than a thousand years; and thus the German question was finally solved in favour of the predominance of Prussia and the idea of German unity.

THE *AUSGLEICH* WITH HUNGARY AND THE CONSTITUTIONAL DUALISM OF AUSTRIA-HUNGARY DOWN TO THE NEW INTERNAL CRISIS OF CISLEITHANIA (1867-1878)

The entry of the whilom Saxon prime-minister, Ferdinand Freiherr von Beust, who had hitherto represented the anti-Prussian policy of the central states, into the service of Austria as conductor of foreign affairs (October 30th, 1866), opens an era of transition which brings with it the retirement of the minister of the interior, Belcredi, and an *Ausgleich* (agreement) with Hungary.

When, on the 6th of January, 1867, Belcredi dissolved the provincial diets of the Alpine districts and also those of the Bohemian group of territories and of Galicia, because there his federalistic system seemed to be combated, while, on the other hand, in Prague and Lemberg the strife between the various nationalities was raging furiously; and when writs for elections to provincial diets were then issued for the purpose of securing from the new provincial diets an extraordinary Reichsrath, the German liberals responded (January 13th) to this attempt on the part of the government to win a federalist majority with a refusal of the elections, and at the same time issued a declaration signifying that they would only depute an "ordinary" "constitutional" Reichsrath.

In this they could at least count on the support of Beust, whose removal the federalists were endeavouring to obtain; and Beust hastened Belcredi's dismissal, which involved a reconstruction of the ministry (February 7th, 1867). Beust was placed at its head, and soon (March) we also find a trusted follower and old friend of the emperor, Count Eduard Taaffe, included in it as minister of the interior. Ten years later, under the same conditions, he was destined to provoke a fresh state crisis.

Beust, new to the state of affairs in Austria, and rather an acute diplomatist than a solid statesman, had soon made up his mind to make an *Ausgleich* with Hungary according to Deák's scheme or *Formel*—a course which was indeed unavoidable; on the other hand, he was resolved to maintain for Cisleithania the "narrow" Reichsrath as the only representative body possible for the western half of the empire. Thus the imperial rescript of the 27th of February addressed to the Hungarian diet, by its recognition of "statutory continuity" (*Rechtscontinuität*) in Hungary and of her constitution of 1848—implying the final abandonment of the centralistic idea of unification which Schmerling's constitutionalism had still maintained—opened a new era in the existence of the Austrian state; and nothing is more significant of the change of the times and of the state policy than the fact that the formation of the new responsible ministry of Hungary fell to Count Julius Andrassy, who from 1849 to 1850 had been counted amongst those condemned and exiled by the government.

On the 8th of June the coronation of the emperor Francis Joseph took

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place in Hungary with historical display. Transleithania was henceforth only united with Cisleithania dynastically and through the ministries of foreign affairs for war and for imperial finance, and matters concerning the common affairs represented by these three departments were arranged through the medium of delegations selected on either side in the diet and the Reichsrath. For Transleithania there was henceforth only a "king" of Hungary, and here there was a confident presentiment that the centre of gravity of the divided monarchy would be moved ever farther and farther east—a view in which Bismarck also regarded the future of Austria.

The German liberals of Austria saw in Hungary an ally against Slav federalism, and the latter found consolation in the hasty manner in which the Ausgleich had been prepared, especially in the decided inequality in the apportionment of the mutual disbursements or quota for common affairs; for, in accordance with it, 70 per cent. fell on Austria and 30 per cent. on "Hungary." This condition, settled at first for ten years, henceforth forms the chief financial crux of the Ausgleich, and in it, apart from the question of how to bring about a profitable customs- and commercial-union between the two powers and adjust the economic rivalry of Austria and Hungary, originates the lasting difficulty of the renewal of the Austro-Hungarian Ausgleich from decade to decade.

Transleithania had now become a political body in which Transylvania was absorbed and the old Serbian "Wójewództwo" disappeared. Croatia, also, which had been excluded from the negotiations concerning the Ausgleich in consequence of its efforts for separate existence, had to accommodate itself to the Magyar pre-eminence in spite of the separate position accorded to it with its ban and three provincial ministers. Its Ausgleich with Hungary stipulates for 55 per cent. of the revenues of the province, for the expenses of common affairs, and the despatch of forty-three deputies to the Hungarian diet. That historic heirloom, the old Austrian military frontier, is also on the way to abolition and partition.

In his struggle for national and political self-preservation the Magyar was designedly and recklessly centralist, in opposition to the historical autonomy of Transylvanian Saxonland and all efforts after separate existence on the part of other non-Magyar elements of the population; he introduced his tongue as the legal language of the state, and laid for it a broad and deep foundation in the educational system.

In contrast to this, an essential and deplorable defect is shown by the development of the Austrian constitution, which had been interrupted in 1850, again attempted by Schmerling in 1861 though on other lines, stopped by Belcredi from 1865-1867, and once more taken in hand under Beust in the four fundamental laws of the 21st of December, 1867; the firm establishment of a single state language, the German, as an essential pledge of the predominance of the feeling for the state in compensation for all failings, was wanting and was never to be attained.

So on the 1st of December, 1867, the new ministry of Cisleithania, usually called the *Bürgerministerium*—in which we find a Pole, Count Alfred Potocki—comes on the scene under the presidency of Prince Carlos Auersperg, who was replaced by Count Taaffe, provisionally on the 26th of September, 1867, and definitively after the 17th of April, 1869. Besides these there were the three above-mentioned Austro-Hungarian "imperial ministers" (*Reichsminister*) for common affairs, foreign finance, and war. There now begins an epoch of ministerial activity and parliamentarism in Austria which was calculated and destined to produce much that was durable and fruitful.

The three denominational laws (May 25th, 1868) made a beginning, after which Austria finally abandoned the concordat of the year 1855 and prepared

for its formal abolition. Thereupon followed the new political organisation (Giskra, minister of the interior; Herbst, minister of justice), with its separation of the judicial machinery from the political or administrative government, the funding of the public debt (imperial minister of finance first Von Becke, then Melchior Lönyay, and Austrian minister of finance, Brestli), and also (October) the reform of the joint Austro-Hungarian army by the law concerning universal conscription with a period of three years' service in the line (imperial war minister Freiherr von Kuhn), the formation of the Austrian militia (*Landwehr*) with its own minister (the counterpart to this is found in Hungary in the institution of the *Honvéds* or "defenders of the country," established in 1848), as well as the reintroduction of juries and the new general law concerning national schools.

For the foreign policy of the monarchy the "tragedy" in Mexico—the violent end at Queretaro (June 19th, 1867) of the archduke Maximilian, whom a visionary longing for great achievements and the interested policy of Napoleon III had enticed from Austria into a hazardous position as elected "emperor" of the Mexicans, and whom at the decisive moment France had abandoned to his destruction—was only of some significance in that the emperor of the French, irritated at Prussia's rapid and unforeseen accession of power, was desirous of paving the way to an understanding with the court of Vienna, and under the name of a visit of condolence effected a meeting with the emperor Francis Joseph at Salzburg (August 18th-23rd).

If the Austrian imperial chancellor, Count Beust, veiled all thoughts of vengeance on Prussia, and, on the other hand, the difficulty of putting down the rebellion of the Dalmatian Kriwoschtje diverted the attention of Austria from the great political question of the threatening collision between France and Germany and fixed it for a time on the south, yet the relations between Vienna and Paris continued and French diplomacy spared no efforts to secure Austria's alliance for the war against Prussia.

But the sympathies of the German Austrians ranged themselves decidedly on the side of Prussia as the pre-eminent power of Germany and her national protector; and in this they were in accord with the view represented by the Hungarian minister-president Count Julius Andrassy, that, for the sake of the dualism and, above all, of the security of Hungary, it was imperative to adhere unswervingly to the position of 1866 and the arrangement between Austria and Prussia as the peace concluded at Prague had established it.

But the main point was that Prussia was certain of the friendly alliance of Russia in the case of Austria's taking arms in favour of France. Thus in July, 1870, the policy of the Vienna cabinet was confined to the path of a strict neutrality, although a military preparedness against Russia, in any case for the protection of Galicia, was kept in view; and soon the world beheld the downfall of Napoleon's empire and the appearance of the German Empire of Prussia, whose recognition by Austria could meet with no difficulties.

But meantime a new crisis in the internal politics of Austria was preparing and bringing a serious danger to the constitutional gains of the years 1867-1868, to centralism, and consequently to the preponderance of the German liberals in the Reichsrath. Already in August, 1868, the Czech federalists and nationalists, encouraged by the successes of Hungary, had announced, in a declaration drawn up independently of the provincial diet of Prague, that they were resolved to win the same kind of separate position for the territory of the "Bohemian crown"; the Galician Poles had brought forward a similar claim in their "resolution" in the provincial diet of Lemberg, and the federalists and clericals of German Austria sided with them in the struggle with the German liberal *Bürgerministerium*. Unfortunately, the latter fell to pieces of itself through personal enmities and political differences; so that it was sub-

[1870-1873 A.D.]

jected (January-March, 1870) to a new reconstruction, and this was soon accompanied by a secession in the Reichsrath, which inflicted a blow on parliamentarism, and by the dissolution of the refractory provincial diet.

The reconstructed ministry lost all credit even with its own German liberal party, and also the confidence of the Crown, now falling more and more under the influence of its enemies. Thus it came again to the perilous attempt to solve the knotty internal problem of Cisleithania by way of federalism, as Belcredi had previously suggested. The first to enter on this path (April, 1870), but hesitatingly, as one who was only half a federalist and anxious to restore internal peace, was the new minister-president Count Alfred Potocki, a Galician magnate; but when he, despairing of any success, retired, February 7th, 1871, it was followed with much decision by his successor, Count Karl Hohenwart, a strict federalist, a champion of the October diploma, and a nobleman of feudalist and clerical views, in whose cabinet two Czechs and a Pole took their seats.

When, on the 12th of September, the new ministry of Cisleithania emphasised the "legal position of the Crown of Bohemia" by a "royal rescript" to the provincial diet of Bohemia, this was immediately followed by the so-called "fundamental articles" of Slavonian Bohemia, of the 9th of October, as an embodiment of its demands and at the same time a protest against the continuance of Cisleithania as a "newly created state structure." Then came Pražák's motion in the provincial diet of Moravia for the union of Moravia and Austrian Silesia with Bohemia. The government wished by means of new elections to oppose the German liberals as centralists and adherents of the constitution with a federalistic majority; but encountered such a vigorous resistance in the camp of the opposing party and also in Hungary, who saw her interests threatened by the federalist experiment, that the imperial chancellor, Count Beust, and Count Andrassy, succeeded in persuading the emperor against the project and brought about the dismissal of the Hohenwart cabinet.

Before this (August), the important interview of the Austro-Hungarian monarch, Emperor Francis Joseph, with the German emperor, William I, had taken place at Wels-Ischl and Gastein, at which the two imperial chancellors, Bismarck and Beust, are said to have come to an agreement as to the bases of a friendly relation. Beust had then no idea that Hohenwart's resignation would be closely followed by his own dismissal (6th of November), and the falling into abeyance of the imperial chancellorship. Count Julius Andrassy, previously minister-president of Hungary, took his place as minister of foreign affairs for both sections of the empire. He became the main pillar of the dualism, the protector of Magyar interests, and, as the possessor of Bismarck's confidence in international politics, also the advocate of a good understanding with Prussia.

Thus in Cisleithania German liberal centralism once more took the helm. The new ministry (November 25th, 1871), usually called the *Doktorenministerium*, with Prince Adolf Auersperg at its head, was to a certain extent a continuation of the Bürgerministerium of the years 1867-1870, worked in the same direction, and hoped by the elective reform bill of the 15th of February, 1873 (minister of the interior, Doctor Lasser), to make an advance towards the establishment of a federalistic majority through the elections to the Reichsrath. These had hitherto been made through the provincial diets; but now direct Reichsrath elections were introduced independently of the provincial diets—a measure which at a previous time it had been attempted to carry out in individual cases, as, for instance, for Bohemia, but which was now adopted by both houses, peers and deputies, and sanctioned by the Crown as a law (April 3rd, 1873). At the same time was effected an increase of the number of deputies from 203 to 353, and they were henceforth chosen in the

"elective circles" of the province from *curia* or groups representing the various interests: great land owners (85), towns, chambers of commerce (137 together), and four country districts (131).

This reform was followed in January, 1874—in the time of the new administration of the office of minister of education and public worship by Karl von Stremayr—by the "denominational laws," which culminated in the final abolition of the concordat (1868) and brought about a second passionate protest on the part of the Roman curia. This attitude of Rome, the resolutions in contradiction to history and the spirit of the times, the new dogmas of the papacy, prepared in Austria as elsewhere the way for the Old Catholic (*altkatholischen*) movement.

But the greatest difficulty was immediately prepared for the new ministry by the renewal of the financial *Ausgleich* with Hungary, where Deák's party (January, 1876) blended with the left centre into the liberal "government party" supported the new minister-president, Koloman Tisza (October, 1875), and succeeded in procuring the conversion of the Austrian national bank into an "Austro-Hungarian bank" (June 27th, 1878), as a logical consequence of the state dualism.

When the new phase of the eastern question came up, when the Christian *rajahs* in Herzegovina and Bosnia rose in rebellion (1875), when Russia appeared in favour of the principalities of the Balkan Peninsula which had become insubordinate to the Porte, and when finally the war of Czar Alexander II with Turkey broke out and the Peace of San Stefano (March 3rd, 1878) was forced on the Russians—the Berlin congress (June) assigned to the Austro-Hungarian monarchy the occupation of Bosnia and Herzegovina, the hinterlands of Dalmatia and Croatia, and this "occupation" was effected after a tough contest with the predominant Turkish population in those provinces (18th of August). But now the German liberal party committed the fatal mistake of pushing their adherence to principles to an extreme, when they raised a most ill-timed outcry against the occupation, and in this way gave offence to the Crown and cut the ground from under the feet of the ministry of their own party, which had been tottering ever since 1876. The result was that in July, 1878, Prince Auersperg and his colleagues had to request the Crown's permission to resign.

THE ERA OF THE CISCLEITHANIAN AUSGLEICH (1879-1898).

The Auersperg German liberal ministry, the *Doktorenministerium*, was soon to vanish from the scene. The imperial minister of finance, Depretis, failed to form a new cabinet, and so, on the 16th of February, 1879, the celebrated Count Taaffe assumed the difficult task. Taaffe, who possessed the emperor's confidence, was a political empiric, a scorner of fixed principles and of parliamentarism, a constant opportunist, and accustomed to find himself at home in every situation. Recently, from 1871 to 1878, he had been governor of the Tyrol. The Auersperg cabinet had been dissolved on the 6th of October, 1878, but had continued to manage the affairs of the state until the 16th of February, 1879. Taaffe had first to construct a new transition ministry with individual members of the previous one, and after the 13th of August he had, as minister-president, to provide for the composition of a government which, as a coalition ministry (including the Old Czech Pražák), should achieve the "reconciliation" of the various nationalities on the basis of the constitution—that is, effect an *Ausgleich* in Cisleithania.

Since this could be brought about only at the expense of the German constitutional party, the so-called Left, and as the latter set itself against

[1879-1891 A.D.]

Taaffe's programme, he endeavoured to secure the adherence of the Galician Poles—who were constantly more and more favoured politically in the matter of their autonomy; of the Old and Young Czechs, and of the federalistic clerical party under Hohenwart's leadership—the so-called Right Centre—who now joined together as the Right, and found themselves in the majority with 168 votes against 145 of the Left (forty deputies remained free lances, not siding with either party). The Right now became the government party.

This decided alteration in internal conditions, so threatening to German liberalism in Cisleithania, somewhat counterbalanced the important agreement concluded between Bismarck and Andrassy. In this the object of the former was to secure Germany against schemes of reprisal on the part of France and the Russian Empire, whose alliance the republic was courting, while Andrassy had in view the protection of the dualism of Austria-Hungary and of the Magyar element against the idea of Slav unity (September 21st–October 7th, 1879). This agreement accomplished the alliance of Austria and Germany in the interests of peace and mutual defence.

This was Andrassy's last political achievement. He resigned immediately; his successor at the foreign office was Heinrich Freiherr von Haymerle (since 1877 Austrian ambassador to the royal Italian court in Rome), who continued in the course of policy marked out by Andrassy; and on his death, soon after (October 10th, 1881), he was followed in his turn by Count Gustav Kálnoky, who did the same, and in unison with Bismarck arranged the expansion of the German and Austrian alliance into a triple alliance—Austria, Germany, and Italy as opposed to France and Russia (1883). From this time forward the triple alliance of central Europe remained the guiding line of continental politics and the point of attack for the Slav world of Austria, as was repeatedly the case even in Hungary with the opposition party.

Taaffe's attempt at an Ausgleich had to begin with concessions to the Czechs (language ordinance of the 19th of April, 1880) and to the clericals (new school ordinance of the 2nd of May, 1883, as an amendment of some provisions of the school law of 1869), and he was soon embarrassed by comprehensive demands.

On the other hand, the opposition of the Germans in Bohemia to the growing ascendancy of the Czechs was increasing in vigour. The government was anxious to silence it, and in January, 1890, opened the Vienna Ausgleich-conference, intended, amongst other things, to investigate the question of the nationalistic delimitation of the judicial circuits, which had been the crying one on the German side since 1886. Besides this, Taaffe had also to inquire into the practical necessity of insisting on German as the state language, which was repeatedly emphasised, in especial by the military party and its leader Archduke Albert as chief inspector of the forces. But the German liberal motion (by Wurmbrand) made in the Reichsrath in 1880 and 1884 had against it the main forces of the whole Right as well as the German feudalists and clericals, and was laid aside.

Thus the Ausgleich ministry remained in an uncertain attitude, wavering between the German constitutional party, the united Left, and its opponent, the united Right. In February, 1891, the place of the minister of finance, Dunajewski, a Pole, was taken by the German Austrian, Doctor Steinbach. In Hungary also the government's difficulties increased, for their party had against it a growing opposition, which was composed of the so-called "popular party" (*Apponyi*) and the fractions of that "independence party" which aimed beyond the dualism at a personal union of Hungary with Austria. Since Francis Kossuth, the son of the ex-governor Louis Kossuth (who died at Turin, 1893), succeeded in obtaining the rights of citizenship in Hungary

[1892-1895 A.D.]

which the opposition would have already claimed for his father in 1889, this independence party possesses in him a leader, though one of moderate abilities.

Meantime, in view of the growing opposition, the minister-president Tisza had given in his resignation; he was followed (March, 1890) by Count Julius Szapáry, who was compelled to retire by the opposition of the clergy in the Protestant question (November, 1892), after which the new minister-president Wekerle became all the more urgent for civil marriage, the regulation of mixed marriages, the legal acceptance of the Jewish faith, and the freedom of religious worship. But Wekerle fell into disgrace with the Crown through the intrigues of the "Kossuth party," and in December, 1894, resigned his post to Freiherr Desiderius Bánffy.

Shortly after this (1895, May) occurred the dispute on the question of jurisdiction between Bánffy and the imperial minister of foreign affairs, Kálnoky, in the affair of the nuncio Agliardi and his attempt to summon the episcopate of Hungary to resist the new church laws. The circumstance that this dispute ended in the retirement of Kálnoky shows that in such trials of strength Hungary—as both before and after—retained the advantage. Kálnoky's successor was the Polish nobleman, Count Agenor Goluchowski, son of the minister of that name who held office in the year 1860.

It is significant that the last months of the "conciliatory ministry" (*Verständigungsministerium*) were accompanied by the refractory conduct of the Young Czechs, who in the provincial diet of Prague (May) resorted for the first time to a method of opposition hitherto unheard of—that of riotous "obstruction"—and by a rising of the Slav mob in Prague (September) which resulted in a state of siege. On the other hand, Steinbach's proposition, brought forward on October 10th—a new method of election to the Reichsrath for the curia of the towns and country districts—was destined to make the government popular with the social democrat party, the advocates of the working class—the "small man" (*der kleine Mann*). This party had been gradually increasing in strength, and by its means the opposition of the Left was to be reduced to a yet smaller minority. But as not only the Left but also the German conservative feudalists (the Hohenwart party) and the Poles as agrarians made a decided stand against this bill, the Taaffe ministry suffered a parliamentary defeat and resigned (November 11th, 1893).

The cabinet now appeared as a continuation of that of Taaffe, again under the guise of a coalition ministry, but by means of a compromise with the Left it was far better balanced than the retiring one and composed of German liberals, Poles, and German conservative liberals. At its head was placed Prince Alfred Windischgrätz, the younger, without a portfolio. He also had as little success in pushing through the election reform as in advancing the cause of the nationalist Ausgleich in Cisleithania, and finally came to grief over the opposition of the Left to the bill for a Slav gymnasium in the Styrian town of Cilli. This measure was forced on the government by the Slovenes of Inner Austria and their allies in the Reichsrath, when the Left immediately threatened to secede from the coalition. The Windischgrätz cabinet at once (June 19th, 1895) gave place to a "transition" or bureaucratic ministry formed by the governor of Lower Austria, Erich von Kielmannsegg, which was immediately followed (October 2nd) by a new conciliatory coalition ministry, of mainly German complexion. Its president was the Polish count, Kasimir Badeni, previously governor of Galicia, the man of a "strong hand."

In his brief programme emphasis is indeed laid on "a powerful, patriotic Austria, advancing with solidarity," as the goal to work for, but the government adhered to the Right as the government party and consequently was only too soon compelled to engage in a sharp encounter with the German Left in the Reichsrath. Still, the new government was successful in passing (Febru-

[1896-1898 A. D.]

ary, 1896) the elective reform of Taaffe and Steinbach, in accordance with which every citizen of twenty-four years of age was enfranchised under certain conditions; and consequently the five curiæ or "general elective classes" were brought into existence, and seventy-two new members were added to the three hundred and fifty-three of which the house of deputies had hitherto consisted.

The elections in question not only resulted in many instances in the humiliation of the German liberals, who were already greatly divided among themselves and outstripped in influence and political credit by the younger groups on the Left (popular party, German progressive party, free German union, Old German or Schönerer party), but the results also strengthened the social democrats (fifteen deputies) and their opponents, the Christian socialists, a group which was connected with the clericals and the Catholic popular party (it had its origin in anti-Semitism), and which, since the appearance of Karl Lueger as a candidate for the office of burgomaster in Vienna, had acquired for itself the pre-eminence in the municipal council of the imperial capital. They (twenty-seven deputies) became in a certain sense the pointer in the balance of the parliament's resolutions, since the united Right, as the government party, counted without them two hundred and fifteen deputies, and stood facing an opposition of one hundred and seventy-eight deputies of the united Left, exclusive of the social democrats.

Badeni published a new language ordinance for the transaction of official business in Bohemia (April, 1897), in which his chief aim was to win over the Young Czechs; and he also attempted, by a provisional measure (*provisorium*) to get over the difficulties in the way of renewing the Austro-Hungarian Ausgleich. These proceedings at once precipitated a tumultuous outburst of indignation in the form of the "German obstruction," and from the 24th to the 26th of October there were fresh tumults in the house of deputies, till matters came to such a pass that the Badeni ministry had no course left to it but to resign (November 28th, 1897).

The Crown now made an attempt at the formation of a "Bureaucratic ministry," of German complexion, through the agency of Freiherr Paul von Gautsch, who had previously been minister of public worship and education; but this was followed, as early as the 7th of March, 1898, by a new cabinet presided over by the ex-governor of Bohemia, Count Francis Thum, a feudalist. In this "reconstruction" a Young Czech, Doctor Kaizl, for the first time took his place as finance minister, and soon a member of the Catholic people's party, the Tyrolese Freiherr von Dipauli, became finance minister.

In Hungary, which in 1897 celebrated with much pomp and stir the festival of the thousandth anniversary of her existence, the so-called independence party and the popular party compelled the resignation of the premier Bánffy (February, 1898), when Koloman Szell took his place and had to accept as a legacy the difficult work of the financial Ausgleich.

On the 2nd of December, 1898, amid these intestine conflicts, closed the fiftieth year of rule of the emperor Francis Joseph, who was now sixty-eight years old, and whose reign had been fraught with severe trials and abrupt changes of political system. The violent death of his son and heir, Rudolf, on the 30th of January, 1889, the murder of the empress Elizabeth in Geneva, September 10th, 1898, by the mad act of an anarchist, are the tragic incidents in his personal life as a ruler before his jubilee. A successor to his throne was appointed in Francis Ferdinand, the eldest son of his deceased brother, Archduke Karl Ludwig, heir of the house of the dukes of Modena-Este, which had, however, been dispossessed in Italy—a house closely connected with that of Habsburg-Lorraine. This affair, as well as the marriage of the archduke Ferdinand with the countess Chotek, was a much agitated state question, especially in Hungary.

THE MEETING-POINT OF THE CENTURIES.

The years 1899-1906 afford by no means a cheerful view of the internal affairs of Cisleithania. In 1899 (September 23d) the Thum Ministry had to yield to the attack of the German Opposition. It was followed by a "bureaucratic ministry" got together at command of the Crown by the ex-governor of Styria, Count Manfred Clary Aldringen, who was honestly anxious for a political and nationalistic Ausgleich in Cisleithania, as is shown by the abrogation of Badeni's language ordinance.

He failed in his mission, and within a few weeks it became necessary (December 21, 1899) therefore to reorganise the new "bureaucratic ministry" under the presidency of the Minister of Railways, Heinrich von Wittel, so that at least the provisional arrangement for the Ausgleich with Hungary might be disposed of. But in January, 1900, Ernest von Körber took Wittel's place as President and Minister of the Interior of the newly constructed "bureaucratic ministry," where, besides the "native minister" for Poland, room was also found for one for Czech Bohemia. Despite the difficulties arising out of the growing pressure of Slav demands, the question of the renewal of the financial Ausgleich with Hungary, and other matters, the new Premier managed to maintain himself until December, 1904, when he suffered defeat and was succeeded by Baron Gautsch, who had been Prime Minister for a short time in 1897 after the fall of Badeni. One of the problems which face the new Ministry is the reform of the suffrage.

Besides this the Welsch Tyrolese or Trentino question, the pressure of the Italians in Tyrol for complete administrative separation from German Tyrol, imperatively demands a decision. The foundation of Slav and Italian high schools appears merely as a consequence of nationalistic struggles, whilst on the other hand, the agitation for calling into existence again a university at Salzburg seems only a necessity of clerical party tactics. The movement in Cisleithania in favour of a so-called "break with Rome," the ostentatious conversions to the Protestant faith amongst the German population, spring from sentiments of German nationalism and from indignation at the attitude of the German Austrian clerics in discounting those sentiments; whilst in the Austrian clergy the Slav agitation possesses an important ally, and amongst the southern Slavs of Austria efforts are being made in favour of the introduction of the old Slav liturgy.

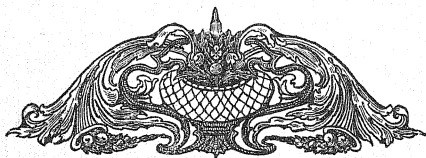
On both sides of the Leitha the advance of the extreme and radical parties is constantly becoming more perceptible; only in Hungary, where, moreover, the clerics remain nationalistic in their views, has the government still a strong, coherent liberal party at its disposal, whilst in Cisleithania this is not the case. Especially deplorable is the division into parties and the disunion among themselves which has been increasing in the ranks of the German population ever since 1879, and their intestine war to the damage of their own great cause and of the German leadership in the parliamentary life of the empire.

The Oriental question is moving towards a new and formidable crisis. Any moment may lead to the advance of the Austrians from Novi-Bazar, and bring in its train complications of incalculable extent, either over Albanian affairs with Italy, or in the Montenegrin, Servian, Bulgarian question with Russia. For the present nothing is more desirable than the inclusion in the monarchy proper of Bosnia and Herzegovina, not only in fact, but also in name, as "New Austria," and the abrogation of the treaty with the Porte, dated the 21st of April, 1879, in accordance with which Austria-Hungary administers those countries as a trust, while the Sultan remains their sovereign—a relation which was and remains a fiction.

[1899-1906 A.D.]

The unhappy consequences of the costly changes of political system, of unfortunate wars and occupations, of heavy financial and economical crises, and—as throughout Europe in the last decades—the unlimited increase of the demands of the military administration for the maintenance of the armed peace, find their reflection in the history of Austro-Hungarian finance, of the national debt, of the debit and credit in the state accounts—a history full of pathological interest. The machinery of state and communal taxation works on unceasingly, without being able to find many new points of attack or contriving to adjust itself to the ability of the taxpayer.

The most ominous fact for an agrarian state such as Austria-Hungary is the decline in the peasant farmers and the crowding of the country population into the great and ever-growing cities. This is by no means counter-balanced by a remunerative expansion of trade and commerce by land and sea. The state idea, which no longer possesses its essential hold in power and success upon the new generation that has grown up since 1866, is ominously declining before the disintegrating nationalist movement in the direction of federalism on the part of the polyglot population of the empire; and although this movement appears to be still far enough from its aim, and the centre of union and gravity still remains in the dynasty, and though the vitality and innate force in the life of the state must not be underestimated, while the power of self-interest and the instinct of self-preservation still holds together the people of the dual state, even in spite of themselves, nevertheless the foundations of its existence may soon have to be defended against a final and far-reaching shock.





CHAPTER VII

THE INTELLECTUAL DEVELOPMENT OF HUNGARY IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

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"THE greatest of the Hungarians," Count Stephen Széchenyi, wrote in 1822 as a motto for the diary which he kept in German: *La Hongrie n'est presque pas comptée parmi les nations!* (Hungary is hardly reckoned among the nations.) Shortly before, his father had descended to the tomb, despairing of the future of his native country. Herder believed that he foresaw the extinction of the Hungarian language. And now Hungary is an important element in the political life of Europe, and her people have also demonstrated their ability and determination to progress both economically and intellectually. This change, at a period which nevertheless was not favourable to the development of the smaller nations, I will now briefly describe in its causes and progress.

Down to the end of the seventeenth century Hungary was in constant and active contact with the political and intellectual movements of the West. But when the house of Austria and Catholicism acquired the ascendant, they did their utmost to prevent this contact from which Protestantism, then very powerful in Hungary, derived its force. Under Maria Theresa and Joseph II the government did indeed endeavour to do a good deal for the improvement of the country, which, owing to the Turkish wars and internal anarchy, had remained in a very backward state; but their best intentions were laid open to suspicion and rendered fruitless because they attacked not only noble-privilege, but also the nationality and self-dependence of the realm. Joseph II, by introducing German as the official language, gave the very impulse that was needed to secure a better cultivation and an improvement of the Hungarian speech, which had hitherto been somewhat neglected in favour of Latin. The diet of 1790, which confirmed the constitution, was the first to prescribe the study of the Hungarian language in the higher educational institutions. The

[1804-1848 A.D.]

antagonism to the dynasty ceased. The privileged classes of Hungary had indeed a common interest with the throne in opposing the French revolution and its teaching, but the nationalist movement did not cease to work. It is just from this epoch that the continuity of our literature begins.

Of all this nothing was known in Europe. It was known only that Hungary was a country of great natural resources, but neglected; it was known that its troops had fought bravely in all countries, but still it was regarded merely as a province of the Austrian Empire erected in 1804. As a fact the government of Hungary, albeit independent according to the letter of the laws, was merely a dependence of the Vienna administration. After the downfall of Napoleon, in the general exhaustion following on enormous efforts, the court thought to clear from its path the last obstacles to absolute rule. An attempt was made to raise recruits and demand taxes without consulting the diet. All this was opposed by the organs of autonomy, the *comitatus*—that is, the assemblies of nobles. This induced the king (emperor) Francis I to summon the diet once more in the year 1825.

The Hungarian constitution, in the antiquated form it presented at this time, appears rather as a hindrance to progress than as a security for freedom. Nevertheless it had a real value, as is fully manifested by the enthusiasm with which men fought for it and the sacrifices made for it. With all its defects and weaknesses, it not only maintains the privileges of the nobles, but also embraces all the remains of the political independence of Hungary which the conflicts of centuries had left intact. Briefly: it was the legal bulwark against absolutism and against the endeavours of the Vienna court to germanise Hungary and incorporate her with the empire. Every attack from Vienna made the constitution still dearer to every patriot, and even caused the abandonment of abuses to appear as a betrayal. Effectual reform was to be thought of only when the nation itself should undertake it on a legislative basis.

This basis had now been won; from 1848 the constitutional work suffered no interruption and this epoch was the most fruitful and in many respects the most glorious of our modern history. At first the diet merely confined itself to securing the constitution and to the endeavour to add clauses making absolutism with the illegal recruiting and collection of taxes impossible. But soon a much higher and better ambition was awakened—that of developing the nation's own forces, and bringing the institutions and civilisation of Hungary nearer to those of the most advanced states—in a word, the ambition to convert her into a free modern state.

In so far as great movements can be the work of an individual, the merit of this change is due to Count Stephen Széchenyi. A man full of intellect and fire, and yet always with an eye to the practical, a perhaps unique mixture of warm feeling and cold calculation, of imagination and the calm understanding of things present, Széchenyi was at this time in the prime of manhood. (He was born in 1791.) His education had been almost exclusively foreign; it was only as an officer in Hungarian garrisons that he had made a closer acquaintance with his own country. As a captain of hussars he had distinguished himself in the Napoleonic wars, and had employed the years of peace in extensive travels, beholding with his own eyes the progress of Europe and the stagnation of his own nation. He had even thought of emigrating to America in order to satisfy his restless desire for achievement. But his patriotism conquered. The whole of his tremendous ambition was devoted to one aim: that of arousing his nation from its slumber, and making it free, cultivated, and rich, England especially serving him as a model.

A great sensation was made when, in the sitting of the *Ständetafel*, on the 3rd of December, 1825, during the discussion of the erection of the Magyar Academy, the magnate in uniform said shortly, "if such a society comes into

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existence I offer it my annual income—60,000 gulden." For him intellectual development stood in the first rank. For if Hungary advanced in this direction, not only was her language preserved, but her independence was better secured, as though by laws and formulas. His example found imitators; the fund increased, and in 1830 the academy was able to begin its labours.

There was no lack of patriotism, and even in the first decades of the century disinterested men had been found who erected institutions of public utility. Thus in 1832 Széchenyi's father founded the national museum, and his uncle Count George Festetich, the first school of agriculture at Keszthely. Széchenyi's office was to guide this public spirit into the right channels, and not merely to make the necessary reforms welcome to all, not only to indicate their logical sequence, but also to arouse the enthusiasm of the ruling classes to the point of action and sacrifice. Socially indefatigable, he still found time to sketch the picture of the new Hungary in a whole series of works which begins with the *Credit* (1830). To preserve a nation for mankind was his aim, and that nation should remain true to its word, its king, and its fatherland. It was a great step, when Széchenyi dared to declare in a society wholly feudal that the value of a people consists in the number of its scientifically constituted bodies. Universal liability to taxation, the emancipation of the serfs, the removal of noble-privilege on landed properties were his most important demands. Only by these means could a free state be developed. To enhance the commercial strength of the country he took part in the starting of the steamship service on the Danube, blew up the rocks of the Iron Gate, and laid the foundations of the Ketten bridge which was to unite Budapest and make of it a true metropolis. This undertaking had also a political importance, for the nobility, hitherto exempt from all customs and taxes, had here to renounce their privileges and take the bridge-toll on "their maiden shoulders." Hungary was to be drawn into the commerce of the world, her products were to appear in the world's market. Intellectual and economical progress was the more needful in order that the foreign notions concerning capitalists and workmen, which were then invading the country unhindered, might not endanger the independence and efforts of the nation. "We cannot command history to stand still. The past is gone by; let us go forward!" is the essence of his teaching.

The success of this energy shows that public spirit existed in the country and only needed a leader to enable it to take effect. From 1830 the diet followed the path of reform unceasingly; the resistance of the government and of the upper house was overcome. Only in 1837 came a counter blow, when the government attacked the freedom of the press and of speech. At that time Louis Kossuth, the editor of the first parliamentary gazette, and Baron Nicholas Wesselenyi, a friend and travelling companion of Széchenyi and an impetuous champion of peasant emancipation, were thrown into prison. The diet of 1839-1840 took cognisance of the matter and the government had to release the prisoners. This was mainly owing to Francis Deák, the leader of the *Ständetafel*. The burdens of the peasants were regulated and diminished, the grievances of the Protestants adjusted, the Magyar tongue was recognised and introduced as the state language.

Up till this epoch the national movement had followed a uniform course. The diet occupied itself mainly with political questions; in it the opposition was pre-eminent, whilst Széchenyi turned his attention to social and economical matters and carefully avoided any encounter with the government. But although by diverse paths, both aimed at the same goal. This unity had its fruit. Hungarian literature then matured her first masterpieces. The idea that Hungary is once more to win for herself a place among the nations is the main theme; and Vörösmarty's poem *Szózat*, the appropriate national anthem

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of Hungary, is the poetical expression of the hope and fear which filled men's minds at the time. Men began to believe in the future of Hungary, and even foreign countries began to give sympathetic attention to this movement. But in proportion as the movement grew, as its results and objects became evident, the dangers which threatened it multiplied.

Will not a free Hungary, intellectually and economically independent and devoted to progress, endeavour to loose the bonds which attach her to Austria and which are in many respects so oppressive and even degrading? Will she not, reviving her ancient traditions, set herself against the dynasty? Széchenyi, loyal and devoted to his king from the crown of his head to the sole of his foot, attempted to banish this doubt by saying that the interests of Hungary and her king were in reality the same, and that her close union with the whole monarchy and her political position were the first considerations. But centuries of struggle had accumulated so much distrust in government and people alike, that even a Széchenyi could not entirely dissipate it.

The other dangers were still nearer and more threatening. As is well known, Hungary is inhabited not by Hungarians alone. Hitherto property, intelligence, and political rights had been almost exclusively in the hands of the Magyars, and the best strength of the rest of the population had joined with them in order to acquire some influence. The emancipation of the peasants, the representation of the people must change all this. Croats, Germans, Slovaks, and Rumanians together were superior in point of numbers. Would not these peoples regard the supremacy of the Magyar language as an oppression, would they not endeavour to develop their own nationalities independently? The Croats were already stirring; amongst both northern and southern Slavs signs of Pan Slavism appeared; in a word, simultaneously with the acquisition of freedom, the problem of nationalities rose into prominence. This Széchenyi foresaw, and he also indicated the way to meet it. Avoidance of all violence and oppression, and on the other hand the development of Hungary both intellectually and economically, in order to preserve and increase her traditional preponderance, must, in his opinion, lead to the calming of antagonisms and reconcile the other inhabitants with the dominant nation. "Every better Hungarian helps the cause—every worse one repels and makes enemies," was his watchword. He also hoped for magyarisation, but in the most ideal fashion, through intellectual and material and liberal labour, unceasingly continued.

It is easy to sketch the fairest plans; to execute and give legal form to the idea is harder; but the hardest of all is to transform and guide the world of ideas, the whole being of a nation. This Széchenyi had to learn by experience. After the first successes, after the high-soaring expectations, his foresight, his carefully considered schemes appeared at fault. That clear understanding could not master the passions rooted in the deepest recesses of the soul, the impulse towards immediate possession of the object aimed at. And this impulse found a powerful leader in Louis Kossuth. After his release from prison, Kossuth founded a newspaper and preached the gospel of reform with glowing enthusiasm, with all the ornaments of his language and all the methods of appealing to the imagination which his rhetoric commanded. Széchenyi found himself obliged to stand forward, not against the policy, but against the tactics of the tribune of the people. The first champion of democracy, the poor advocate and newspaper writer continued to hold his own in the literary contest against the high-born aristocrat, the great man whom he himself called the "greatest of the Hungarians."

It was, however, something more than a personal antagonism, than the difference of position and temperament, which separated the two founders of modern Hungary from each other. Széchenyi, who had seen his country so

weak and had watched every sign of life with such anxious affection, looked upon internal peace as the first necessity, "in order that the tiny seed might unfold itself into a mighty oak." It was for this reason that he so jealously guarded the public opinion which he had created, for this that he sought to avoid any collision with the dynasty. Kossuth, on the contrary, in whom the traditions of the old struggle for liberty were revived, beheld with confidence the progress of his nation and was convinced that it must lay hold on every source of power which the constitution offered. If the exercise of legal rights should meet with resistance, he relied on the good cause, on the enthusiasm, on the patriotic sentiment of Hungary. Széchenyi declared with prophetic discernment that this course would only lead to revolution, to the endangering of all that had been won, to inevitable defeat; but his Cassandra cries were lost in air. It was not only the youth and the women who applauded Kossuth; the most earnest men of the opposition, Deák and Wesselenyi amongst them, took part with him. Széchenyi was left alone, and as the young aristocracy were uniting to form a new party, that of cautious progress, and the government, under the influence of the chancellor, Count George Apponyi, showed itself well disposed towards economical reforms, he approached the government, undertook the management of the department of communication, and devoted his energies to the great work of regulating the course of the Theiss and its tributaries.

Economical questions still further embittered the antagonism on either side. Széchenyi desired to make the development of agriculture and cattle-raising the first consideration; Kossuth, to render assistance to trade and industry, which had hitherto been neglected and stifled by the Austrian system of customs. We see that in this Széchenyi was still conservative, in keeping landed property in view and going out of the way of a collision with Austria; while Kossuth attacked the customs tariff, and through it the supremacy of Austrian industries, and at the same time wished to acquire influence for the democratic sections of the population who dwelt in the cities. Under his guidance, the "protective union" came into existence in 1844, its members pledging themselves to employ only articles of home manufacture.

The opposition, united against the government, was however divided on the important question of the future form of the administration. Kossuth wished to preserve the comitat as the best support of the constitution, while the young energies, the doctrinaires, including Baron Joseph Eötvös and the great writer, Baron Sigmund Kemény, saw the abuses of the old self-administration, and thought to secure the power of the state and with it the future of the nation by means of centralisation after a French pattern and by a responsible parliamentary government. The attacks which, in order to give a majority in the diet, the Apponyi government made on self-administration endeared the latter still more to the opposition. In the diet of 1847, which King Ferdinand V opened in the Hungarian language, the opposition had a majority; Kossuth, deputy for the Pest comitat, was its recognised leader. The debates for the most part turned on the illegal influence of the government on the comitat, an influence which the opposition wished by all means to make impossible.

It was, then, an active, rich political life which had developed here, where a few decades before a complete intellectual marasmus prevailed. And, into the midst of this eager progressive movement, fell like a bombshell the news of the February revolution in Paris, of the rising in Italy, of the awakening of the nations. The system of the Holy Alliance, and with it the narrow bureaucracy and Metternich's absolutism, was nearing its end.

Kossuth seized the moment. On the 3rd of March he moved that the diet should solicit the king to appoint a parliamentary government, but at the

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same time to give Austria also a constitution. The future of the dynasty might rest on the most secure basis—that of liberty. By this Kossuth wished to put an end to the contrast between absolutist Austria and constitutional Hungary, the relation which Széchényi denominated “the mixed marriage”; he wished to secure Hungary’s statutory independence, but in no case to sever the tie which bound Hungary to the dynasty and Austria. The estates accepted the motion unanimously, the magnates hung back, the government meditated dismissing the diet. The rising in Vienna on March 13th, in consequence of which Metternich was forced to fly, the commotion in Pest on March 15th, and the revolution in Milan, soon put an end to hesitations. Austria received a constitution and Hungary her first independent ministry.

The new government, headed by Count Louis Batthyányi, included the best names in the country: Széchényi, Deák, Kossuth, Eötvös. Prince Paul Esterházy, the first nobleman of the realm, was appointed as minister at the court to manage the relations with Austria. The diet at once hurried through the most pressing reforms—the union with Transylvania, popular representation, universal liability to taxation, the abolition of serfdom with compensation to the landowners, the abolition of ecclesiastical tithes, equality of rights for all Christian denominations, state control of the universities, and a national guard. The programme of the patriots was carried out to a great extent as Széchényi had always dreamed, the greatest change had been peacefully completed without a drop of blood being shed. Universal rejoicing greeted the king when he came to Pressburg to confirm the new laws on the 11th of April, which was now to be celebrated as the national festival. The nobility, which of its own accord joined with the nation, had renounced great privileges, and assumed great burdens, deserves the gratitude of every friend of mankind.

Thus the Hungarian renaissance had attained its goal; the nation’s unwearying labour had borne fruit. Hungary, by her own efforts, without and in spite of her government, had become a free, independent, progressive state. The new blossoming of her literature, the interest in art and science, the sympathy with the prevailing ideas of the century gave hope of a fair future, when fresh complications again hazarded everything.

The Vienna court had indeed yielded to the pressure of circumstances, but it was not willing permanently to resign the influence it had hitherto exercised on the finances and army of Hungary. The refusal of the Hungarian government to take over a part of the national debt further strengthened the antagonism. It was not possible to come forward openly, it was enough to stir up nationalist feeling. The Croats under their new ban Freiherr Jellachich, the Serbs under the patriarch Rajachich, and later on the Rumanians in Transylvania refused to acknowledge the new government. The benefits of the new laws were not considered; a racial war with all its horrors was on the point of breaking out. On the 10th of June King Ferdinand did indeed condemn the attitude of the ban and summoned the Croats to acknowledge the Hungarian ministry, but the intrigues did not cease, and Hungary had to prepare to defend herself against internal foes. It was at this time that the first ten Honvéd battalions were organised.

The ministry remained loyal and hoped to persuade the king to come in person to his faithful country of Hungary. But the conviction that the rebels were receiving support from the government, and even from certain members of the dynasty, continually gained ground. On the 11th of July the diet, after a great speech by Kossuth, granted two hundred thousand men and 42,000,000 gulden for the defence of the country. Negotiations were entered into, it was hoped that peace might yet be preserved on the basis of the laws; but when the king dismissed the deputation from the diet without any satisfaction, when, on the 9th of September, Jellachich crossed the Drave at the

head of a great army, when the Reichsrath in Vienna, in which the Slavs were in the majority, refused to receive the Hungarians—then even the most peaceably disposed were forced to realise that the only choice lay between the cowardly abandonment of their privileges and armed resistance.

Never perhaps in the course of history was a thoroughly loyal people driven into revolution in such a way as was now the Hungarian nation. Széchenyi's powerful mind gave way under the strain of this breach between king and people. He was taken, a living ruin, to the lunatic asylum at Döbling, where he survived during twelve years of insanity. In September the ministry resigned; the king's representative, the palatine archduke Stephen, quitted the country; Jellachich advanced on Budapest. Then the diet appointed a commission of which Kossuth was the soul, and the death struggle of Hungarian liberty began.

In these gloomy days Kossuth's fiery eloquence, his conviction of the just cause of Hungary, his ceaseless activity, the charm of his person supported the self-reliance and courage of the people. The country became a military camp. Jellachich driven back (September 29th) marched on Vienna. The October rising in Vienna assisted Hungary to gain time. Then followed the abdication of the emperor Ferdinand and the accession of Francis Joseph I (December 2nd, 1848) whom the Hungarian diet, however, did not recognise as king. Every loophole for reaching an understanding was refused and in the middle of December the main army of Austria under Prince Windischgrätz marched to subject Hungary. The Honvéd army suffered reverses; in the beginning of 1849 Budapest fell into the power of the enemy. The diet fled to Debreczen. To its envoys, who endeavoured to treat, the prince gave the famous answer that he did not treat with rebels. Windischgrätz deemed the campaign ended and occupied himself with the new organisation of the country.

But Görgey had led his army northward to the mountains; the valiant Bem, in whose forces the poet Petöf was fighting, maintained himself in Transylvania, in the south Damjanics defeated the Serbs, and beyond the Theiss Kossuth organised the army of the people. From March the Hungarians, under the leadership of Görgey, Damjanics, and Klapka, took the offensive. In April Windischgrätz was driven back to Pressburg, and at the same time Bem in Transylvania defeated the Austrians, and the Russians who had come to their assistance. Besides the fortresses of Buda, Temesvár, Arad, and Déva, only the western borders were now in the power of Austria. Under the impression made by Windischgrätz's advance, the court had dissolved the Reichsrath in Kremsier and had announced the grant of a constitution in which Hungary appears merely as a crown domain. Under the impression of the Hungarian victories the assembly at Debreczen, on Kossuth's motion, declared the dethronement of the Habsburg-Lorraine dynasty (April 14th, 1849). Kossuth, who appeared as the incarnation of the revolution, was elected governor. The form of government was not determined, but a strong republican party was established. The capture of Budapest by Görgey (May 21st, 1849) placed the cause of Hungary at its zenith.

It had thus been shown that even with the help of the nationalities Austria could not master the Hungarian movement. This induced the emperor Francis Joseph to accept Russian intervention, which had already been offered. One hundred and sixty thousand Russians under Prince Paskevitch crossed the Carpathian passes; from the east another Russian army under Lüders broke into Transylvania, and from the west, Haynau, the master of the ordinance, led the main Austrian army against the great fortress of Komárom. Hungary would scarcely have been able to resist such overwhelming odds even under the most favourable conditions, but now in addition the disunion be-

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tween Kossuth and Görgey crippled her forces. Görgey withdrew from the line of the Waag towards Komárom, and after several battles turned to meet the Russians. Haynau pressed impetuously forward, occupied Budapest and Szeged, and at Temesvár defeated Bem, who was hurrying up from Transylvania. The diet had fled to Arad; thither Görgey also betook himself. Here Kossuth laid down the government, and Görgey became dictator with the design of surrendering to the Russians. The capitulation followed at Világos on the 13th of August. At the end of September Klapka surrendered Komárom: the war was at an end; Hungary lay vanquished at the feet of the czar.

Into the soldier's place stepped the hangman. On the 6th of October the execution of thirteen Honvéd generals took place at Arad and that of Count Batthyányi in Pest. Görgey was pardoned at the instance of the czar, and spent eighteen years in confinement in Carinthia. He lost more than his life: the complaint of treachery was made against him, clouding the memory of his earlier heroism, and it was reserved for a later generation to demonstrate the truth of the verdict which even then Bismarck passed on him, that not bribery, but the perception that it would be useless to prolong the struggle had induced him to lay down his arms. Kossuth, Bem, and most of the ministers found an asylum in Turkey, while officers and officials were thrown into prison by hundreds or enrolled as common soldiers. Haynau, as the emperor's *alter ego*, went to work with a savagery which recalls the Russian doings in Poland. There seems to have been no idea that the Hungarian nation would yet have to be reckoned with.

Hungary seemed to be lost: according to the views of the Viennese statesmen, she was to become a mere name, to sink into a province of the great unified Austria. A dumb, deathly stillness brooded on the banks of the Danube and the Theiss, and with restrained fury in its heart the nation endured its fate. And yet the victims had not fallen in vain. The great world to which Széchényi and Vörösmarty had appealed followed the events of the war with the closest attention. The people that could fight thus for freedom and life seemed worthy of independence. Kossuth was hailed in England and America, not only as a great orator, but also as the representative of liberty and modern ideas.

As at an earlier time Kinsky had followed Caraffa, so now after Haynau's reign of terror came the system of Bach, the Austrian minister, who was anxious by any means to incorporate Hungary with Austria. The whole administration was germanised, the constitution destroyed, several provinces were cut off from the kingdom. In the time of the emperor Joseph centralisation under the banner of humanity and progress advanced against the antiquated Hungarian constitution. But now the constitution of 1848 might content even the most liberal, whilst absolutism not only oppressed the nation but was also an enemy to all intellectual culture. And when Bach ventured to point to the results of his system, it was Széchényi who, from his solitude at Döbling, in his *View*, which appeared anonymously in London, laid bare the weaknesses and illusions of the bureaucracy supported by gendarmes. The emperor of Austria, he wrote, can no more be ruler of Hungary both by right and might than a man can be at once the father and spouse of the same female.

In these years of trial our nation was animated by the memory of the great struggle, and literature made the nourishing of patriotism its chief object. At this time János Arany wrote his epics on Attila and the Huns and on the brilliant and chivalric epoch of Louis the Great. Maurice Jókai by his romances depicting all the beautiful traits of Hungarian life made their own country dear and valued by all. As liberty had once united the whole people, so now did the common oppression. Parties, orders, denominations, and even nationalities were welded together far more than they had ever been be-

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fore. "Our nation, our language, shows fairer blossom from day to day," one wrote in 1859. The great work of the laws of 1848, the release of the serfs, the universal liability to taxation, was maintained by the alien rule. The removal of the customs in regard to Austria was turned to the advantage of material interests. The regulation of the course of the Theiss was also continued. The population, the prosperity, increased apace. Neither the sanguinary nor the peaceful work of the Vienna cabinet could cripple the vitality of Hungary. Only one safeguard seemed lost—trust in the ruler, loyalty. Men placed their hopes in Kossuth, and every political complication was considered from the standpoint of whether it might not call forth the outbreak of a new and successful revolution. When the Austrian army was defeated in Italy, in 1859, the court feared a general rising with the support of Napoleon III and Victor Emmanuel. Besides, there was no more popular name in Hungary than that of Garibaldi. Many patriots kept up close relation with Kossuth and the emigration.

In these circumstances and under the pressure of great financial difficulties, the emperor Francis Joseph, who had meantime ripened into manhood, set about the heavy task of remodeling the monarchy. The October diploma of 1860 had at least restored the old comitat constitution, and the coronation diet was summoned for the spring of 1861. In it two parties stood facing each other: the one did not acknowledge the change of rulers effected in 1848; the other, under the leadership of Francis Deák, desired, first of all, the restoration of the statutory continuity (*Rechtscontinuität*) before it would negotiate. The February patent of 1861, which again proclaimed a unified Austria, made the union yet more onerous. In that gloomy time, when many looked for the recovery of freedom by armed force and foreign assistance, this great man appeared as the incarnation of law, of the national conscience. When the negotiations failed in their object and in July the diet was dissolved, he declared the nation was ready to endure a little longer rather than give up its rights; "for what violence seizes can be won back at a favourable opportunity, but when a nation itself surrenders anything for the sake of avoiding trouble its recovery is always difficult and doubtful." Thus Schmerling's endeavour to incorporate Hungary under constitutional forms once more suffered shipwreck. Even in the Vienna Reichsrath itself influential voices were raised in favour of Hungary's rights.

After the *provisorium* and the fall of Schmerling, the emperor, acting under the influence of Deák's famous "Easter letter," again summoned the diet in the autumn of 1865, in order to prepare the *Ausgleich*. Francis Joseph was determined to conciliate the nation; besides the lessons of history, the great interest of his noble consort, the empress Elizabeth, had an immense influence on his decision. But the complete restoration of the constitution of 1848 encountered great obstacles. Neither the position of the monarchy as a great power nor the rule of the dynasty was held to be secure if Hungary, united with Austria merely by a personal union, was to have her army at her own disposal. The commission of the diet discussed with great earnestness the question of how the foreign affairs and military forces of the monarchy might be ordered in common without touching the self-government of Hungary. In this discussion Deák's knowledge and judgment gave him great weight, and the report which served for the groundwork of the *Ausgleich* is chiefly his work. But before the diet could discuss this report there broke out the great war against Prussia and Italy, in which Hungary, not yet conciliated, could not participate in a whole-hearted fashion.

The intimate connection between the development of Hungary and that of the general situation of Europe, but especially between Hungary and German unity, is unmistakable. So long as Austria stood at the head of Germany, so

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long as the house of Habsburg possessed the highest title of Christendom, it was almost inevitable that the idea of the empire should play the chief rôle in all political calculations, that Hungary should be subordinated to this idea, and that everything possible should be done to germanise her. But when in 1848 the union of Germany under the Prussian hegemony began, this idea lost much of its force. The thought that the dynasty driven out of Germany must seek for its support in Hungary undoubtedly played a great part in Kossuth's policy. The idea was not yet ripe. Austria recovered her influence in Germany, and in connection with this the germanisation of Hungary under Schwarzenberg, Bach, and Schmerling began anew.

But now, when the battle of Königgrätz put an end to all the dreams of Austrian supremacy, when Venice, the last remains of the Austrian possessions in Italy, had to be given up, when the ancient imperial idea with all its claims on world-rule was borne to the grave—the future of the dynasty and the position of the monarchy as a power rested on the conciliation of Hungary and the development of her strength. Austria having again become constitutional, free Hungary could renew her alliance with her. The *Ausgleich* was effected, and it was a great turning point, the end of evil days and the pledge of a better future, when Francis Joseph and Elizabeth were crowned with all the solemnities of ancient ceremonial on the 8th of June, 1867.

A few months before this a responsible ministry had been appointed for Hungary. At its head stood Count Julius Andrassy, who had taken part in the revolution, emigrated, and, returning, had joined with Deák, who called him a providential statesman. He had soon won and justified the monarch's full confidence without sacrificing his popularity. In 1868 an arrangement was made with Croatia, by which the internal administration, the judicial and educational departments of the neighbouring districts were placed under the autonomous government of that province. The main tasks for the government and the Deák party were and long remained the defence of the *Ausgleich* against the very numerous opposition which saw in it a restriction of the rights of Hungary, and the revision of the financial and military institutions which were the outcome of the *Ausgleich*. The new burdens, the necessity of setting aside money for the construction of railways, as well as a certain want of sound judgment in public economy, soon made it necessary to raise loans and brought the state finances into disorder. To cure this the leader of the opposition, Koloman Tisza, went over with the greater part of his followers to the government party, which now (1874) assumed the name of the "liberal" party, which it still bears. Tisza succeeded in remaining fifteen years at the helm and in bringing the finances into order, in which task the finance ministers Széll and Wekerle rendered good service.

Count Andrassy had also made his influence felt in the domain of foreign policy. In the time of the Franco-German war he was in favour of the preservation of neutrality. When in Austria, under the government of Count Hohenwart, the Slavs attained to rule and the Czechs came forward with great demands, he contended against federalism as endangering the *Ausgleich*, and obtained the dismissal of Hohenwart. In 1871 he himself assumed the conduct of foreign affairs. He it was who gave the policy of the monarchy its eastern direction, carried out the occupation of Bosnia and Herzegovina, and in 1879 concluded the alliance with Germany against Russia which has ever since subsisted. Since the Bosnian campaign nothing has disturbed the external peace of the monarchy. The relations of the nation to its truly constitutional ruler have remained untroubled, and the love of the people for its king has been exhibited on every occasion—in a particularly affecting manner on the sudden death of the heir to the throne, Rudolf, and at the murder of Queen Elizabeth. The increasing confusion in Austria has scarcely

been able to produce any effect on Hungary; it has merely rendered more difficult the renewal of the Ausgleich and the commercial treaty.

First the political struggle and then the financial situation hindered reform, and Tisza's motto was *Quies non movere*. Nevertheless, the ever-increasing difficulties in the sphere of legislation concerning marriage finally necessitated a radical reform of church policy, which was carried out under the Wekerle ministry (1892-1894), after a severe contest. Under the succeeding Bánffy ministry the Hungarian state made great progress, but the parliamentary absolutism which he exercised brought on a parliamentary revolution, to which he succumbed. His successor, Koloman Széll, made a compact with the party of the minority, and in accordance with this introduced purity of elections and the jurisdiction of the curia (supreme court of justice) in electoral questions. The many necessary reforms of the administration, as well as the healing of the evils in the economical situation, are probably the chief task of the internal government of Hungary in the near future.

Hungary is a state with thoroughly modern institutions, but with partly mediæval economical conditions. The work of Kossuth and Deák has borne fruit; that of Széchenyi towards the social development of the nation still waits for its continuator. Equality of political rights has been obtained, but a wide gulf still divides the ruling and lower sections of society; for a great, prosperous, cultured burgher class, which may constitute the kernel of the nation, has not yet been entirely developed. It is upon this—upon how it may be brought into existence, upon the extent to which, besides the great political capacity and the historically developed virtues of the nation, the value of its intellectual and material labours may also make itself felt—that the development and progress of the Magyar state probably depend.



BRIEF REFERENCE-LIST OF AUTHORITIES BY CHAPTERS

[The letter ^a is reserved for Editorial Matter]

INTRODUCTION

^b FRANZ X. VON KRONES, *Handbuch der Geschichte Oesterreichs*.—^c C. I. PERTHES, *Staatsleben von der Revolution*.—K. M. K., *Briefe über die ungarische Frage*.

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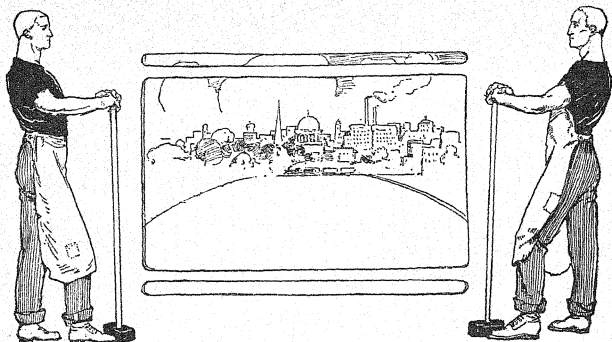
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BOOK III

THE HISTORY OF MODERN GERMANY

INTRODUCTION

THE DEVELOPMENT OF GERMANY FROM 1740 to 1840

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THE century of German history which lies between the years 1740 and 1840 and is covered by the reigns of three kings of Prussia (Frederick II, Frederick William II, and Frederick William III), and the Austrian sovereigns (Maria Theresa, her sons, Joseph II and Leopold II, and her grandson, Francis), owes its political character to the dualism which existed from 1740 onwards between Austria, the old leading power, and the rising kingdom of Prussia, which had rapidly grown into a state of European importance. The century is further characterised by the development and intensification of German national feeling, which, after the collapse of outward forms that had subsisted for a thousand years, till finally they lost all significance, aimed at and demanded the establishment of a homogeneous state, a new German empire. Lastly, for Germany this was the century during which liberal ideas, heralded by the philosophy of enlightenment and triumphantly vindicated in France earlier than elsewhere by the Revolution of 1789, gathered new force in Germany likewise and brought about the transformation of the absolutist régime and the differentiation of society according to estates into the modern type of political organisation.

The dualism between Austria and Prussia began as a struggle for the possession of a province—the possession, in fact, of Silesia, passing gradually into an acuter and more comprehensive phase, until it became a contest for supremacy in Germany. The conquest of Silesia by the youthful king, Fred-

erick II, established a balance of power between Austria and Prussia, and definitely removed the latter from the ranks of middle states of Germany. Saxony and Hanover, her north German neighbours and hitherto her rivals, and Bavaria, whose ruler had reached out his hand towards the imperial crown, withdrew without territorial gain from the struggle for the dominions left by the last of the Habsburgs; the thoughts of aggrandisement these middle states had cherished were all alike frustrated, whether their greedy eyes had been cast on the Austrian or on the Prussian frontier. Except for the loss of Silesia, Maria Theresa maintained possession of her ancestral heritage; and, after the episode of the Wittelsbach Empire, she won back the highest temporal dignity in Christendom for her husband, Francis of Lorraine. But without Silesia, she said, the imperial crown was not worth wearing; for Austria, once thrust forth from Silesia, had thenceforth but one foot in Germany.

The desire of regaining Silesia and restoring Austria's unquestioned superiority to a dangerous rival was the motive which actuated Kaunitz, the Austrian chancellor, in his project of overthrowing Prussia by means of a coalition of the great continental powers and reducing her territory to the Brandenburg possessions, which were all she had owned at the beginning of the seventeenth century. The attempt proved abortive. In the Seven Years' War, Frederick the Great, allied with England and the neighbouring electorate of Hanover, then subject to the British crown, warded off the attacks of the Austrians, French, and Russians, of the Swedes and the imperialist forces. He issued from the great struggle without loss of territory, and with his power and prestige in Europe so greatly enhanced that nine years later he was able to win a fresh province for his kingdom by diplomatic action alone, without recourse to arms. Through the instrumentality of Prussia the dissensions between Russia and Austria, which appeared as if they must lead to a fresh outbreak of war, were adjusted in 1772 by an agreement at the expense of Poland, in spite of the fact that Russia would fain have kept Poland undivided under her own hegemony. West Prussia, the district about the lower Vistula and the ancient colony of the knights of the Teutonic order, which Frederick II thus withdrew from the Russian sphere of influence, was inhabited by a population in which the German element preponderated; while Galicia, which fell to Austria as her share in the partition, had a population of Poles and Ruthenians. Thus again the dominion of the Habsburgs lost its hold upon Germany, while the realm of the Hohenzollerns forfeited nothing of its purely German character.

Frederick II did not aim at obtaining a commanding position in Germany nor at wearing the imperial crown. The extension of his territory seemed to him a more important matter than the acquisition of an empty title; for to such insignificance had the imperial dignity sunk in the ancient empire. His *Fürstenbund* (league of princes) of 1785, an association which he formed with a number of estates of the empire, had not the reform of the empire for its object, but was designed (in view of the renewal of the old alliance between Austria and Russia) to act as a check on the policy of Joseph II, which aimed at territorial expansion in Germany and at the enhancement of the authority of the imperial government. Thus, as early as 1778, Frederick had successfully combated, sword in hand, the intention of the court of Vienna to annex Bavaria. The union of Bavaria and Austria—which Maria Theresa had tried to effect in 1743, during the war with Charles VII, the emperor of the Wittelsbach line—would not only have amply indemnified Austria for the loss of Silesia, but would have furnished her with a compact territorial sovereignty in south Germany. This would inevitably have rendered the differences between north and south, and in most cases the differences between religious

[1740-1815 A.D.]

confessions, more marked than ever; the dualism of Germany would have been perpetuated, and the accession of the commonwealths of southwest Germany to the federated states of the north, which actually took place in 1871, would in all likelihood have been forever beyond hope.

A fresh outburst of hostilities between the two great German powers, which seemed imminent after the death of Frederick the Great and Joseph II, was prevented by the Convention of Reichenbach (1790). And presently, for the first time in half a century, an alliance was concluded between the two ancient adversaries. Their common opposition to the French Revolution led the armies of the emperor Francis and King Frederick William II across the Rhine. The disastrous result of the military operations against revolutionary France resulted in a vehement outburst of the quarrel they had so lately laid aside; and at the Peace of Bâle (1795) Frederick William II broke with his ally. Prussia found ample compensation for the cession of her far from extensive possessions on the left bank of the Rhine in the secularisation of spiritual principalities and (to the great detriment of the national character of the German state) in the larger Slavonic domains, inclusive of Warsaw, the capital, which fell to her share in the second and third partitions of Poland. At the Peace of Lunéville Austria again received none but non-German provinces—Venice, Istria, and Dalmatia—in indemnification for the loss of Belgium and Lombardy.

Inspired with inexpugnable mutual distrust, Austria and Prussia entered upon a fresh struggle with France independently of one another, while the crumbling Holy Roman Empire of the German nation, thoroughly subjugated by the conqueror and heir of the French Revolution, gave place to a Rhenish confederation under the protection of France. By the Peace of Tilsit Frederick William III of Prussia lost all his dominions west of the Elbe and the greater part of the Polish acquisitions of his two predecessors, and in two wars the house of Austria lost the Tyrol, its possessions in Swabia, Venice, and the whole seaboard of Illyria and Istria, together with part of Carinthia and Carniola.

The comradeship of Austrians and Prussians in the war of Liberation waged by all Europe against Napoleon, and the memory of the evils that had accrued to both nations from their long quarrel, threw the antagonism between them into the background during the epoch of peace inaugurated by the Vienna Congress of 1815. Prussia's policy turned aside (as we all know) from the traditions of Frederick the Great. On more than one notable occasion, Frederick William III, Hardenberg the chancellor, and (to an even greater extent) his successors in office, made Prussia's line of action in the affairs of Germany subservient to the point of view of Austrian policy. At the instigation of Austria, who scorned to resume the imperial dignity offered her, the Congress of Vienna, instead of accepting the Prussian proposals, which aimed at the establishment of a strong executive government, gave the new Germany the form of a very loose confederation. Management of the interests of the middle states, who would have liked to combine in a separate confederation and so form a "third Germany" independent of the two great powers, were at one with the policy of the Hofburg in Vienna. Prussia ultimately assented (as Wilhelm von Humboldt, the Prussian plenipotentiary, said) in a solution which did not answer to her expectations, rather than forego the creation of a national Germany in any form. On the other hand, Prince Metternich, the Austrian chancellor, regarding the matter from his own point of view, even after the lapse of forty years (in a memoir written in 1855) speaks of the solution of the German question provided by the *Bundesacte* (act of confederation) as "the only one at any time conceivable in principle or feasible in practice."

The courts of Vienna and Berlin were strengthened in the conviction of the solidarity of their mutual interests by their joint championship of the principle of legitimacy, which was at that time reduced to a set theory to oppose the ideas of the French Revolution and the sovereignty of the people. The two now coalesced with Russia—who in the eighteenth century had been the ally now of one and now of the other—in the system of the Holy Alliance, which was based upon the principle of legitimacy. This alliance, created by the czar Alexander on September 26th, 1815, repeatedly endangered by differences that arose between Austria and Russia out of their dissimilar attitude toward the oriental question, was nevertheless adhered to and respected in theory by all three courts for many decades.

The presidency of the diet of the German Confederation which sat at Frankfort had fallen to the lot of Austria as a legacy and result of her ancient historic position in Germany. But even then the economic leadership of the nation had passed from the elder to the younger power, by the establishment of the German customs union (*Zollverein*). The Prussian customs law (*Zollgesetz*) of May 26th, 1818, "based on free-trade principles as compared with the tariffs of all great powers at that period, protective in character compared with those of the petty states," was at its first promulgation accompanied by the declaration that all neighbouring states were at liberty to join the Prussian system. A treaty concluded in 1828 between Prussia and Hesse-Darmstadt contained *in vice* the constitution of the German customs union to be; which was completed when in 1834 the customs union concluded between Bavaria and Würtemberg in 1828, and a large number of the members of the so-called "middle-German trades union," became parties to the Prusso-Hessian agreement.

Austria, which had consolidated her *Mauith System* on a prohibitive basis, and whose immature industries needed protection against foreign competition, was not in a position even to contemplate joining the customs union, much as Metternich would have liked to wrest this confederation within the confederation, this *status in statu*, from the guiding hand of Prussia. One of the fathers of the customs union, Motz, the Prussian minister, regarded this economic organisation as "the real united Germany," in contradistinction to the pseudo-union of the German Confederation, and pointed out the possible political significance which this union of customs might acquire "in the event of a dissolution of the German Confederation in its present form and its reconstitution by the exclusion of all heterogeneous elements." Dahlmann, the historian and professor of civil law, called the customs union "Germany's sole success since the war of Liberation."

The establishment of the German Confederation was a bitter disappointment to such Germans as had looked for the political regeneration of Germany and the creation of a living national entity as the outcome of the patriotic rising of the year 1813. And what this same confederation did, no less than what it left undone, increased the grief and indignation of the nationalist opposition, and brought home to the reigning monarchs, more and more vividly as time went on, the conviction that the existing state of affairs was rotten, undignified, and intolerable.

Even in the worst period of political decadence the Germans had never wholly lost their national self-esteem (which had been kept alive in the age of Louis XIV by perpetual wars with France), in spite of the accessibility of the Germany of the period to the influences of French culture and its subservience to every turn of French fashion. About the middle of the eighteenth century the feats of valour performed by the Prussians and their north German allies in the Seven Years' War were realised and celebrated as a national triumph throughout the length and breadth of Germany. Presently German literature

[1810-1819 A.D.]

and German philosophy began to set up a new ideal of culture in opposition to the doctrines of the French *éclaircissement*. Klopstock when in his poems he substituted Teutonic mythology for the mythology of classic antiquity, Lessing when he impugned the authority of the French classicists, Herder and the youthful Goethe when they entered the lists for "German method and art," Schiller when he put forth his proud motto, "Here no strange gods are served henceforth," and stigmatised the nation as base that "did not joyfully stake its all for honour's sake"—were all animated by the same spirit. It is true that, hand in hand with this development of national sentiment and national pride, there went at first the sentimental adoration of the rising generation for Jean-Jacques Rousseau, and afterwards an enthusiastic admiration of the new liberty of France and the hero-worship with which the personality of Napoleon inspired even a section of the German people. But in the days of Germany's lowest humiliation, after the collapse of the old state of Prussia and the formation of the confederation of the Rhine, when the last remnants of German manhood gathered about the Prussian flag, the heroic spirit of Stein, Gneisenau, Scharnhorst, and Blücher laid hold upon the best thinkers and poets likewise. This spirit of patriotism, this faith in the fatherland, found its loftiest expression in Fichte's *Addresses to the German Nation*; the inspired preacher of political idealism admonished his fellow countrymen that they, being the nation of ideas and the guardians of a primeval treasure of living tradition, were under a greater obligation than any other people to see to the maintenance of their own existence; and proclaimed prophetically that the vivifying breath of the spirit-world would lay hold upon the dead bones of the body of the German nation and join them together, bone to bone, "that they might arise glorious in a new and transfigured life." Kleist, Körner, Arndt, and Schenkendorff struck in poetry the notes suited to that iron time. When Arndt returned home from Russia with Freiherr vom Stein in January of 1813, he found a nation "transformed to the very depths of its being, an ocean full of movement and life," a loftier spirit of "God's grace and God's blessing."

Even during the days of foreign domination, Jahn, the "father of gymnastics," had published his book *On German Nationality* (1810) against the outlandish coxcombry and love of foreign fashions which had brought matters to such a pass that no man would now recognise the "proud Germans" spoken of in the days of Charles V. After the expulsion of the French from Germany Arndt put in a plea for the foundation of German associations to cherish national customs, German feeling, and the sense of national unity, as distinct from particularism or the spirit of exclusive provincialism. Such associations flourished for a time in several towns in southwest Germany, while the "German *Burschenschaft*" (a patriotic association of German students) spread from Jena to all the universities after 1815—"based upon the relation of the younger generation in Germany to the growth of German unity," and intended to promote the development of every power in a Christian and patriotic spirit for the service of the fatherland. The outrages committed by individual members of the *Burschenschaft* led to the dissolution of these societies by the confederate governments and to the Karlsbad decrees of 1819 restricting the liberties of the universities. But the agitation among the educated classes in favour of unity was not stifled by these repressive measures; at the universities the rising generation filled itself full of strong national feeling, and at the beginning of the thirties Otto von Bismarck, then a student at Göttingen, laid a wager with an American friend that the goal of German unity would be reached in twenty years. Arndt's cry of 1813, "*Das ganze Deutschland soll es sein*" (The whole of Germany it shall be), never thenceforth died away in German lands.

The yearning for national unity was accompanied by the demand for constitutional government. The nationalist movement and the liberal movement acted and reacted upon each other. In the opinion of the champions of the idea of unity, united Germany was likewise to be a free and constitutional Germany.

The century that lies between the years 1740 and 1840 witnessed at its commencement the utmost extension of absolute sovereignty in the territorial states of Germany. Frederick II entered upon the heritage of the absolute monarchy which his father before him had established like "a rock of bronze." After her first war Maria Theresa abrogated a large proportion of the privileges still pertaining to the estates of her hereditary dominions, with the declaration that at her accession she had only ratified the privileges handed down for good, not those handed down for evil. Her son, Joseph II, abolished the last remains of representative government left to the estates. In Bavaria, Baden, and other states a representative constitution was equally a thing of the past; in the electorate of Saxony and the principalities which were combined to form the electorate of Hanover it was seriously curtailed. In Württemberg and Mecklenburg alone did the opposition that represented the estates of the realm still make head against the absolutist aspirations of the sovereign power. Absolutism trampled privileges and private interests under foot in the name of the *salus publica*; its reforms represented the principle of progress as then understood. But this "enlightened despotism," with its maxim, "Everything for the people and nothing by the people," was soon subjected to the sharp criticism of a new political thesis. One of the spokesmen of the physiocratic school, the elder Mirabeau, enunciated the proposition that the true constitutional principle consisted in resistance "against the governing fever—the most deplorable malady of modern governments." Even in Germany enlightened despotism of the old school paled before this ideal. It is true that the republican propagandism which took its rise in France gained less firm foothold on the right bank of the Rhine than it might otherwise have done, by reason of the speedy collapse of the democratic French republic; but Napoleon's enlightened despotism—of which the states of the Rhenish confederation and, above all, the kingdom of Westphalia, the appanage of the junior branch of the Bonaparte line, served as an example—differed materially from the older enlightened despotism, inasmuch as it was based on the abrogation of the prerogatives of the heretofore privileged classes, and kept in view the principle and aim of the French Revolution—namely, the remodelling of the historically developed but degenerate state of things on the principles of reason and natural law.

The statesmanship of the German courts found itself face to face with the question of the attitude it should take up toward these demands and results of the French Revolution. In Prussia the ground was already prepared. For decades the government officials of the school of Frederick the Great had passed beyond the qualified liberalism of enlightened despotism, and absorbed ideas which tended to the establishment of political equality. We see the effluence of these tendencies as early as 1795, in the *Preussische allgemeine Landrecht* (Prussian common law). The catastrophe of 1806 opened the way for reforms long contemplated though hitherto delayed by *vis inertiae*, and a vigorous determination, like that of Freiherr vom Stein, insured their success. The fundamental idea of these reforms was to give both magistrates and people a larger measure of independence than either had enjoyed under the old system, in which the magistrates were held in tutelage by the king and cabinet, and the people by the magistrates. Thus uniformity, promptitude, and energy were to be infused into the clumsy and rusty mechanism of government, and the subjects of the realm, set free by the emancipation of the peas-

[1815-1819 A.D.]

ants and by liberal public institutions, were to be granted a share in public life and so inspired with a sense of individual responsibility. And, finally, Stein planned in his perfected political structure a participation of the Prussian people in imperial legislation and administration by means of the estates of the empire and the provincial estates, and a representation of the various interests and professional classes.

After Stein's resignation Frederick William III again and again promised his people national representation, most solemnly of all by the manifesto of May 22nd, 1815. Moreover, at the beginning of the German war of Liberation the emperor of Russia and the king of Prussia had declared, in the Proclamation of Kalish, that Germany should receive "a constitution in harmony with her primitive national spirit." The act of confederation of 1815 did not give popular representation to the German confederation, but Article XIII of that document stated, at least as regarded the several German provinces, that there was to be a representative constitution in all states of the confederation.

These promises were made the starting-point and juridical basis for the constitutional propaganda of the ensuing decades. The army regulations and the conversion of the old mercenary army into a system of national defence, based on the principle of the universal obligation to bear arms, were turned to account for the advancement of the cause of constitutionalism. At the triumphal celebration at the University of Kiel after the war of Liberation, Dahlmann said, "Peace and joy cannot securely return to earth until, even as wars have become national and thereby victorious, times of peace likewise become so, until at such times also the national spirit is consulted and held in honour, until the light of good constitutions shines forth and eclipses the wretched lamps of cabinets." What Dahlmann described as a liberal political programme was "the endeavour to gain the victory for moderate opinions," but the theoretical preceptor of the advanced "liberals"—for so they styled themselves, adopting a party designation which had first come into vogue in the constitutionalist contest in Spain—was Rotteck, professor of civil law at Freiburg. In his *Ideas concerning Constitutional Estates* (1819) in which he takes *Landstände* to mean a representative committee of the whole body of subjects of the realm, Rotteck throughout takes his stand upon the doctrine of natural law and regards the people as the natural depository of political authority, and the government as merely the artificial organ to express the mandates of the popular will, though he proceeds to modify these Rousseau-like tenets by concessions to the monarchical principle.

The spread of liberalism, however, met with a barrier in an opposite tendency of the spirit of the age—in romanticism. Even as in the sphere of art and learning the romantic school loved to steep itself in the temper of past times, as it sought out and held up to admiration mediæval works of architecture and painting and monuments of language and history, showing how they had played their part in the sphere of religion, in the revival of faith in the Middle Ages, and the strengthening of the empire, so in the domain of politics they waxed enthusiastic over the patriarchal Germania of the old order of government and society. Hitherto the theory of politics had been pursued almost exclusively by the disciples of the doctrine of natural law, but now (1816) Haller published his *Political Science Rehabilitated*, in which he challenged the ideas of the sovereignty of the people and the origin of the state by "social contract"; ideas against which Haller advanced the thesis that the state came into being by inherent right, and rested on natural merit or on the grace of God. The word "constitution" he styled "the poison of monarchies," since it implied an authority in the democracy. Haller's theories were destined long to rule political education in such circles as dubbed themselves

the "conservative" party, after the example of the French; and the *Restauration der Staatswissenschaften* made its most illustrious disciple in the person of the crown prince of Prussia, afterwards King Frederick William IV. Thus the liberal and conservative principles were consolidated.

The Austria of Metternich, the leading state of Germany, borrowed from this discussion of the theoretical principles of constitutional order such arguments as suited the views of its own policy. The politicians of Vienna, using the term *landständische Verfassung* (constitution representative of the estates) to denote the reverse of the modern representative constitution, were inclined to regard the latter as altogether inadmissible. At the ministerial conferences held at Vienna in 1820, the assembled plenipotentiaries of the states of the German confederation inserted in the *Schlussacte* (final act), which they jointly concocted, an article which was notoriously aimed against the modern doctrines of the division of power and the sovereignty of the people, for it determined that all political power was necessarily vested in the head of the state and that the sovereign was only bound to call in the co-operation of a constitutional representative body in the exercise of certain definite rights. In order to fulfil the letter of the act of confederation the emperor Francis tolerated provincial diets of no political importance whatever in such of his provinces as belonged to the German confederation; and, apart from any doctrinary considerations, a glance at the confused medley of nationalities on the map was enough to negative the idea of popular representation in Austria. For this reason Metternich was all the more concerned to persuade the other great German power, behind which Austria could not afford to seem (in the eyes of public opinion) to fall in the matter of national institutions, that for Prussia also the introduction of popular representation was "incompatible with the geographical and internal conditions of the empire." As a matter of fact Frederick William III rested satisfied with establishing, in 1823, provincial diets in which representatives of the great landowners and peasant proprietors and of the cities likewise were allowed an advisory voice. On the other hand, the south German states of Bavaria, Würtemberg, and Baden obtained in 1818 and 1819 constitutions which occupied an intermediate position between the old system of estates and the modern representative system. In the north German states of Hanover, Saxony, Brunswick, and the electorate of Hesse the forms of the constitution of estates were not modified until 1830, and then under pressure of revolutionary agitation.

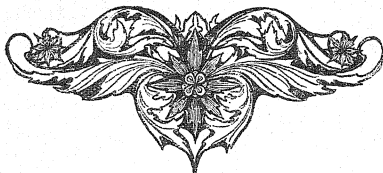
This agitation of 1830, which spread to Germany from France and Belgium, was here essentially constitutionalist in its demands, the impulse towards nationality receded into the background before the claims of liberalism; the constitutional states of the south and the dominions of the two great absolutist monarchies, Prussia and Austria, were untouched by the irradiation of the revolution of July. After the success of the constitutionalist cause in the middle states of north Germany, the liberal movement was followed by a wave of radicalism, which plunged the governments of the southwest into fresh alarms by the great demonstration at the Hambach festival in 1832, the first German mass meeting, and by revolutionary attempts here and there. Within the *Burschenschaft*, which again began to come to the fore, liberal and revolutionary tendencies now preponderated over the nationalist and romantic tendencies of the older generation, and among the band of "young German" poets much was said concerning the harm wrought to liberty by the narrow-minded principle of nationality. The excesses of the radicals gave the parliamentary leaders of the constitutionalist party occasion for a new pronouncement (1832) against the employment of violent measures; and from that time forward the forces of German liberalism were divided into a constitutionalist and a radical wing.

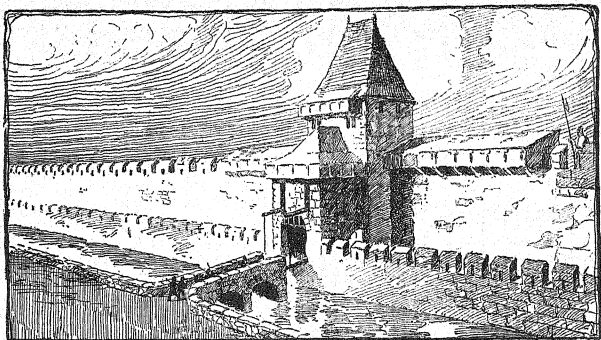
[1831-1840 A. D.]

In Prussia the desire for a constitution did not find open expression during the old king's lifetime. Meanwhile a political work fraught with consequences of the highest importance to the welfare of the government and people was being noiselessly accomplished, by the organisation of a well-regulated system of administration, by a frugal and prudent management of the public revenues which restored public credit and the balance in the national finances, by a sagacious and far-seeing economic policy which culminated in the foundation of the customs union already referred to, by the cultivation of the old military spirit in the new army system created by Scharnhorst and Boyen, by the patronage of art and science in the large and liberal spirit in which the university of Berlin was founded in the very hour of the new birth of Prussia. Had Frederick William III been able to bring himself to give his people the representation he had promised them, the government might have been spared the revolution. And in that case it is certain that Prussia would long since have made the "moral conquests" in Germany which the man who was destined to be the first emperor of the new empire spoke of as worthy to be striven for as early as the year 1831.

A contemporary French observer, Edgar Quinet, in an essay on Germany and the Revolution published in the *Revue des Deux Mondes* in 1832, predicted truly the further course of the nationalist movement in Germany: the unification of the German nation by the agency of Prussia, the rise of a great man, who should see and know his star in the full light of day. But Quinet was mistaken if he thought that there existed between the king and people of Prussia a tacit agreement to postpone the triumph of the cause of liberty in order first to work together for the extension of the dominions of Frederick the Great. Neither king nor people was guided by any such tactics. The fact was rather that the leaders of the German liberal party were only waiting for the accession of the next sovereign to lay their wishes and claims before the throne, while the king was so far from conceiving of himself as the heir to the policy of Frederick the Great that he overlooked and blinded himself to the natural antagonism between his own kingdom and Austria, and to the German dualism which still lurked latent in the existing state of things, and believed that the salvation of Germany lay in a firm conjunction with Austria and in the reactionary system of Metternich.

Another generation had to pass away before the change foreseen by Edgar Quinet set in—when the great man whose coming he had prophesied arose, and clearly realised that the conditions of German dualism on either side could be definitely settled only by a great war; and when, in the struggle for the hegemony of Germany, the policy of Prussia accepted the alliance of liberal and nationalist ideas.





CHAPTER I

THE RISE OF BRANDENBURG

[To 1640 A.D.]

OUR chief concern in the present chapter, as Professor Koser's introduction would imply, is with affairs that date from the accession of Frederick the Great. It was only from this time that Prussia was able definitely to challenge the supremacy of Austria in the German hierarchy. Until this time the elector of Brandenburg was only one of several great German princes, even though latterly he had borne also the title of King in Prussia. The early history of Brandenburg has received incidental treatment in the general story of the Holy Roman Empire. But in view of the important future to which this principality was destined it will be of interest to take a retrospective glance and, through a somewhat more detailed study of Brandenburg, to trace the stream of the great modern empire of Germany to its source.

In explanation of the title of the present chapter we must bear in mind that Prussia did not originally bear the same relation to the other principalities of Germany which its later dominance might lead one to infer. The term "Prussia" was originally applied to the dukedom of what is now called East Prussia, and it was only in 1701, when this dukedom was converted into a kingdom, that the term spread its significance so as to include the whole state of the previous electoral princes of Brandenburg. Moreover, it was not until 1806, when the Holy Roman Empire was finally dissolved, that Prussia became an independent kingdom; until then it had always been feudally dependent on the emperor. Brandenburg, the electoral principedom, begins to assume its political supremacy in Germany with the Great Elector; and the territorial possessions of the Brandenburg Hohenzollern included Brandenburg, East Prussia, Cleves, Mark, and Ravensburg, to which the Peace of Westphalia added hither Pomerania with Kammin, Magdeburg, Halberstadt, and Minden.

The early history of Brandenburg can be traced from the foundation of the North Mark in the reign of Henry I (*circa* 930), after successful conflicts with

[1280-1245 A.D.]

the Slavs, from whom this mark seems to have been designed to protect the Saxons. The opposition of Saxon and Slav, Christian and pagan, made intricate by innumerable combinations of one territorial unit with another, is the characteristic of more than two centuries—from the reign of the first to that of the fourth Henry. At the beginning of the twelfth century Henry IV and the empire are united with the Slavs and Wends to suppress the Saxon. The victories of Wefesholz and Köthen marked the rise of the Saxon cause, with which is identified the glory of the house of Ballenstedt and the humiliation of the last Salian emperor, Henry V. But the final triumph was reserved for Albert of Ballenstedt, the Bear, as he was called, who continued the war against the emperor, won possession of the markgrafschaft of Lusatia, and became master of the whole territory that had once belonged to his maternal ancestors. Lothair, the ally of Albert, now became emperor, deprived his friend of the markgrafschaft (for it had been acquired without ecclesiastical sanction), and invested him in compensation with the North Mark.

Of Albert the Bear Von Ranke says: "He succeeded in his design of crushing together the races that had contended violently with one another from time immemorial, so that they were merged into the Slav and German elements, under the predominating influence of the latter. He was always a close ally of church institutions, without the help of which his ambition could not have been fulfilled; he united the two greatest impulses of the time, that of religious incentive and that of territorial acquisition. So the country became part and parcel of general and of German civilisation. Albert is a great and worthy figure to head this history—a man of strong characteristics."

The element of religious dissension, the contrast between the pagan and the Christian elements in the people of Germany, is still further illustrated in the conquest of Prussia by the Teutonic order (1280-1283). Originally the order consisted of a few knights who were banded together for the cultivation of obedience, poverty, and chastity, and for the destruction of the infidel. Hermann of Salza, the first great grand master of the order, conceived the idea of transferring the centre of activity from Syria to eastern Europe. His first attempt was made in Transylvania in 1225, but met with no success. The knights of the order were then summoned to the aid of the Polish duke Conrad of Masovia in his conflict with the Prussians. In 1231 they constructed a fortress ring which they gradually pushed farther and farther. In the same year Landmeister Hermann Balko crossed the Vistula. The order founded Thorn in 1231; Marienwerder in 1233 after the battle of Sirguna; and Elbing in 1237. A great rising, supported by the duke Swantopolk of Pomerellen (1242-1245), was at last subdued, and justice was shown to the converted Prussians. The country was divided into four bishoprics—Pomeranien, Löbau, Ermland, and Samland. The order then made a bold stroke in the northeast, and founded



ALBERT, SURNAMED ACHILLES,
ELECTOR OF BRANDENBURG
(1414-1486)

Memelburg, the modern Memel, in 1252; in 1255 many of them joined a crusading army under Ottocar II of Bohemia and Otto III of Brandenburg, which defeated the heathen Prussians, destroyed their idols, and baptised the vanquished by the score. Ottocar then founded the city of Königsberg.

Another desperate rising of the Prussians took place in 1260, by which all that had been won was again placed in jeopardy. Once again the fierce zeal of mediæval Christianity contended against the heathen. Mitau was founded in 1265; Semgallen reduced in 1273; Samland fell in 1265; Bartenland submitted in 1270, the Natangen in 1277. Landmeister Conrad Thiesberg put the finishing touch to the struggle by the subjection of the Lithuanian territory of Sudauen, which until 1283 had remained still free. The conquered people was reduced to utter slavery; but freedom was given to the faithful, and they provided the nucleus of a German aristocracy.

THE HOUSE OF HOHENZOLLERN

The period from 1134-1319 was that of the Ascanian line, which Albert the Bear had founded. Thus, during nearly two centuries, one dynasty had governed the mark, which had rejoiced in vast territorial expansions. In 1240 Berlin had become a fortified post of the mark, and it soon took the place of Brandenburg as a political centre of the markgrafschaft. With Waldemar's death in 1319 the Ascanian line became extinct. The history of Brandenburg now becomes merged into that of Bavaria and of Luxemburg, and a period of anarchy, lasting nearly a century, reduced both the territorial and internal conditions of the mark to a state far less prosperous than it had enjoyed in the height of the Ascanian period; it is at this point that we must look to the house of Hohenzollern for any ideas of state development. In 1192 it had received Nuremberg from the emperor Henry VI, and its area had gradually increased. In 1363 the dignity of imperial prince was added to this house. Finally, in 1411, Frederick VI, burgraff of Nuremberg, was given control of the mark of Brandenburg by the emperor Sigismund. On the 30th of April, 1415, he was formally invested with the office and the dignity of elector. (The recognition of Brandenburg as an electorate had been formally granted in the papal bull of 1356.)

Three points in the reign of Frederick should be noted: (1) his successful control of the lawless Quitzows and other robber barons; (2) the mildness of his policy towards the adherents of Huss; (3) the candidature for the imperial throne in 1438, when the houses of Hohenzollern and of Habsburg came into competition for the first time.

Frederick II, the son and successor of the elector (1440-1470), had to struggle with the large towns, which resented interference in their national affairs. He subdued Berlin, however, and built a royal castle within its walls; and also gained possession of Neumark, which had been given in pledge by the Teutonic order in 1402.

Albert Achilles, the brother and successor of Frederick II, reunited the Franconian lands to Brandenburg. The Prussian historian cannot claim that his policy was purely Prussian, for it was coloured by his devotion to the emperor. His *Dispositio Achillea* provides the first instance of the legal establishment of primogeniture; this was a family ordinance securing the future separation of Brandenburg and Ansbach-Bayreuth, and establishing the custom of primogeniture in each. John Cicero, the next elector (1486-1499), did comparatively little to extend the importance of Brandenburg; but Joachim Nestor, who succeeded him, introduced Roman law to secure a uniformity of procedure and to establish a fixed and central court of final jurisdiction in Berlin,

[1535-1617 A.D.]

instead of the travelling court that used to attend the sovereign on all his journeys. In spite of the growing predominance of Protestantism, Joachim I remained a Roman Catholic. He left the Neumark to his younger son John, in violation of the family law; and so Joachim II (1535-1571) succeeded to only part of the electorate. Both brothers became Protestants and played an interesting part in the development of the Reformation.

John George (1571-1598) permanently reunited the Neumark with Brandenburg, and proved a valuable state financier. The prosperity of Brandenburg grew rapidly, and the population was augmented by Protestant refugees from France and Holland. The reign of Joachim Frederick (1598-1608) is memorable for the foundation of a state council (*Staatsrath*), from which the bureaucracy of modern Prussia was ultimately evolved. John Sigismund (1608-1619) inherited the duchy of Prussia, and the territories of this elector were more than doubled in extent during his reign, covering at his death an area of thirty-one thousand square miles. His administration is of sufficient importance to justify us in pausing to consider it somewhat more in detail.^a

JOHN SIGISMUND (1608-1619 A.D.)

It was certainly a most difficult and responsible heritage which the elector John Sigismund received upon the sudden death of his father. John Sigismund was born November 8th, 1572, on the Moritzburg at Halle, and ascended the throne in his thirtieth year, so that a long reign was expected. Under the care of their good and pious mother—the markgräfin Catherine of Küstrin, daughter of John Küstrin, celebrated as being the brother of the elector Joachim II—he and his younger brother John George together received a most liberal and thorough education. Simple-minded, of a contemplative rather than a practical disposition, easily moved, he early showed a want of concentration and a decided lack of perception. In the hard battles which he had to fight from the very commencement of his reign—for the possession of the duchy of Prussia on the one side and the inheritance of Cleves on the other, as well as against the malicious intrigues of a fraudulent government—he often showed himself wanting in real capability and energy. But he possessed one virtue which inspired him with strength and determination in the most trying circumstances—he obeyed his conscience: "God help me to fill the high but difficult position," he once wrote, "so that I can account for it with a clear conscience to God and my fellow creatures, both now and in the hereafter. I am his servant." With this as his standard he fulfilled his duty.



GERMAN NOTARY

Contrary to the exaggerated zeal of the strict Lutheran court chaplain and cathedral provost, Simon Gedicke, who instructed him in religion, he showed from the beginning distinct broad-mindedness regarding the religious questions raised by the disputes between the Lutherans and the Calvinists. Already

[1617-1610 A.D.]

as a youth he had taken the oath, possibly at the instigation of his instructor Gedicke, and affirmed by writing that he would profess and follow the then avowed and recognised true religion of God's word in which he had been brought up—which was contained in the Bible, in the prophetic and apostolic Scriptures of the Old and New Testaments, in the three established symbols of the Augsburg creed submitted to the emperor Charles V in 1530, and in the same apology for Christianity of the Smalkaldic Articles, the *Longer* and *Shorter Lutheran Catechism*, and the *Formula Concordia*; and that he would remain true and steadfast, swayed by no man. He also had to promise that he would make no further changes; that he would neither hinder nor prosecute any servants or teachers of this creed in the schools and churches, nor let any one of the above mentioned doctrines be altered in any way. But perhaps it was just the exaggerated zeal of Gedicke and his Lutheran companion which caused or at least helped the young markgraf, afterwards elector, to acquire a strong aversion to the intolerance of the denominational Lutheranism, and as we shall see later to espouse the Reformed creed.

The dark storm clouds of the Thirty Years' War stood threateningly in the sky as John Sigismund's reign drew to a close. In the spring of 1618 the dangerous state of Duke Albert Frederick of Prussia, who had long been suffering from a mental disease, called the elector and his wife [Albert Frederick's daughter] to Königsberg. The electoral prince was also summoned. On the 26th of August the duke died, and the elector John Sigismund had to thank the king Gustavus Adolphus of Sweden, who had been victorious in Poland, that neither the king of Poland nor those Prussians who preferred the Brandenburg rule opposed his inheritance of Prussia. Gustavus Adolphus had been implicated in the war with Poland, which broke out from the quarrels and claims to the throne arising upon the extinction of the house of Rurik in Russia.

Sweden Seeks an Alliance with Brandenburg

Both powers, Poland and Sweden, tried to profit by the situation in Russia to advance the extension of their rule on the Baltic Sea; and Gustavus Adolphus, with a view to the invasion of Poland, entered Livonia and penetrated as far as the Düna. The possession of the provinces of Karelia and Ingermanland was the result of his victory. In the autumn of 1618 he concluded a treaty of peace for twenty-one years with the Polish army; but the fresh outburst of anarchy which occurred soon after was evidently anticipated, for in Warsaw the treaty was not even confirmed. King Sigismund III, nephew of Gustavus Adolphus, not only laid claim to the Swedish throne—though he and his descendants were greatly disliked, chiefly on account of their Catholic religion—but he also, like Sweden, endeavoured to obtain control of the Baltic Sea. Here, as everywhere, discussions were rife as to whether the Catholic or the Protestant religion should have supremacy in northern Europe.

Under these circumstances it was important for Gustavus Adolphus to obtain a treaty with the electorate of Brandenburg. With this object in view, he had made several overtures in 1617, and had pointed out that the king of Poland would never renounce the idea of conquering Prussia, and that the concessions in favour of Brandenburg were dictated by necessity, not by good will; an agreement between Brandenburg and Sweden would be advantageous to both sides. He commissioned the landgraf Maurice of Hesse to facilitate such a treaty. During John Sigismund's stay in Prussia the treaty between Sweden and Brandenburg seemed agreed upon. To strengthen his position Gustavus solicited the hand of the second daughter of John Sigismund, the

[1618-1620 A.D.]

beautiful Marie Elenore, then in the full attractiveness of youth, whom he had met on a secret visit to Berlin. But the settlement of a formal engagement was repeatedly deferred. The electoral prince George William opposed the union and favoured the suit of Prince Wladyslaw, of Poland, eldest son of Sigismund III, hoping thereby to gain the support of the Polish court in the trouble which threatened him from the Catholic League of Brandenburg. Marie Elenore herself was adverse to a marriage with the Polish prince, as she knew she would be forced to become a Catholic. When Gustavus Adolphus went to Berlin to make a last definite settlement for his marriage, the electress Anna besought him to postpone it again, as her husband was very ill and his mind was so weak that the union would bring great trouble to both him and the country.

Towards the end of 1618 John Sigismund was struck down by an apoplectic fit, after having just recovered from a seizure of two years before, which had warned him of his approaching death. Maimed and broken in spirit and body, he returned to Berlin in June, 1619. Overwhelmed with all his cares and the disturbed state of Bohemia, which boded the outbreak of a general war, and prematurely aged by all the hard battles and struggles which had filled his troubled life, he now longed for peace and rest; he had often confessed to those around him that he was tired of life, and that if it should please God to free him he was ready to go. In the autumn the electoral prince was sent for, and John Sigismund, being no longer able to carry on his work, formally gave over to his son, on November 12th, 1610, "the hard and difficult position of ruler of his country." In order to be completely removed from all the noise and disturbances of the court, and to prepare himself in quiet seclusion for the end of his earthly career, he was removed from the castle in a litter to the house of his valet Antonio Freytag. Here his illness made such rapid strides that on December 23rd, attended by his wife, his heir, his three daughters, and many councillors and servants, his weary and troubled life came to a peaceful end.^b

THE THIRTY YEARS' WAR IN RELATION TO BRANDENBURG

The territories of John Sigismund were inherited by George William (1619-1640), whose want of decision was pitifully exhibited in the long struggle of the Thirty Years' War. Carlyle has said of him, "When the Titans were bowling rocks at each other, George William hoped by dexterous skipping to escape share of the game." His vacillation is all the more glaring when viewed in direct contrast with the firm and creative will of his successor.

We have already had occasion to tell the story of the Thirty Years' War from the standpoint of Austria, and we shall revert to it when we come to the history of the Swedish warrior Gustavus Adolphus. But here we must view the contest from another standpoint; we must note its influence upon the principality of Brandenburg,—the nucleus of the future German Empire. The great Prussian historian Von Ranke has left us a masterly treatment of the subject, which we quote at length. Clearness of presentation will of course necessitate some repetition as to matters of fact; but chief interest will centre on the consequences rather than on the incidents of the great struggle.^a

It was the internal conditions of Austria [Ranke says] which led to the outbreak of the Thirty Years' War. In Bohemia and Austria themselves the two tendencies in politics and religion which divided the world came into immediate conflict. The government, which aimed at a compromise, was upset; another filled its place, which, in accordance with its nature, followed

a strong Catholic line of intention. After the death of the emperor Matthias the succession to the imperial throne fell to the lot of the most distinguished representative of this line of thought, Archduke Ferdinand of the younger branch of the German line of the house. He it was who strengthened the hitherto loose tie with Spain. Brandenburg acquiesced in this election because it could not be prevented. Nevertheless the Bohemians, both those of Czech and those of German origin, had fallen into a state of open rebellion. Things went so far that they even thought of withdrawing their crown from the house of Austria.

So it was now a step of universal historical importance when the leader of the union, Frederick V of the Palatinate, determined after some consideration to take up the cause of that union; in him was reflected the Protestant principle in its present state of advancement. It can easily be understood that this principle depended for its chief furtherance and a most far-reaching development upon the step taken by Frederick V. What a fair prospect, if only other considerations of high importance had not been put on one side! Up till now it had always been made a sticking point in general German policy not to allow the claim of the Bohemians to exercise free power of election. Only once, under George Podiebrad, had this power been fully exercised, but not without disadvantage and danger for Germany. Since then, the claim by heredity, corresponding as it did with the circumstances of Europe and Germany, had again come to enjoy a preponderating validity. In accepting the choice that had fallen upon him, Frederick V of the Palatinate put himself in conflict with the prevailing dynastic ideas. It strengthened Bohemia in her national tendencies, but it weakened the connection in which her territories were involved with Germany. Those who had up till now been his friends and allies could not and dared not support him. The most respected Protestant electoral prince in Germany, John George of Saxony, went over to his enemies. Even his step-father, the first Stuart on the throne of England, withdrew his sympathy from him.

The exclusive principle of Catholicism, on the other hand, acquired fresh leverage, in that it figured as the prop of the title by heredity, on which secular power in Europe from time immemorial had almost wholly rested. The emperor was still in a helpless plight, but Maximilian of Bavaria, the best armed prince of the empire, came to his side, and as the king of Spain, in pursuance of an agreement entered into with Ferdinand, espied his own interest in the deal and did not fail to provide continuous co-operation, an army was brought into the field by which the Bohemian forces which could not succeed in consolidating themselves in an organised military form were routed and annihilated in the first serious onslaught, as well as the allied troops of Transylvania and the German auxiliaries. The battle of the White Mountain decided the ultimate fate of Bohemia. A bloody reaction followed, almost unparalleled in the extent and gravity of its effect: at one blow utraquism, the Lutheran faith, and the Reformed confession were suppressed or abolished. Only in the neighbouring territories, whose overthrow had been determined by co-operation from the elector of Saxony, did the Lutheran confession still survive.

Brandenburg suffered its share of this blow in so far as it belonged on the whole to the system which was doomed in the struggle. But the weight of the blow recoiled at once upon her peculiar position as a power. Twice already had the evil growing from the investment of the house of Austria with the crown of Bohemia been stifled by the Hohenzollern princes. The first time, in the fifteenth century, the question had been waived—otherwise a Polish prince would have come to the throne; and, as it was, there was no reason to suspect that this acquisition, in view of elements of opposition in the country,

[1620 A.D.]

would entail any threatening increase of Austrian military power. These elements were still powerful when, in the sixteenth century, Bohemia became definitely incorporated with the house of Austria. Moreover, at that time the younger line in this house, in opposition to the older, joined the German princes. Now, however, the emperor was unrestricted master in Bohemia. From that time Bohemia formed a real base for the power of Austria, which rapidly fell back into her earlier association with Spain and found powerful support in strong Catholicism.

BRANDENBURG RECEDES BEFORE AUSTRIA

At the first glance we see to what an extent this caused Brandenburg to recede as a power, both at that period and for the future, before the power of Austria. Moreover, from the Bohemian affairs rose a great territorial struggle between the two houses. The house of Brandenburg still held the dukedom of Jägerndorf for its lawful possession. John George of Jägerndorf, who was not regularly recognised by Austria and who was from top to toe a zealous Calvinist, had joined the opposition formed by the estates against the emperor. He appears as lieutenant-general in upper and lower Silesia, and accordingly held to the king of the palatine house, whose cause, so to speak, was his own; nor did he consider that cause lost even after the battle on the White Mountain. His troops occupied Neisse and Glatz, and would not allow themselves to be dispersed even after the agreement with the elector of Saxony concerning Silesia. His patents exacted of the Silesian estates that they should remain faithful to the old confederation, and take warning by the example afforded by the terrible execution in Prague. But already the emperor Ferdinand had published a ban against him which was executed by the imperialists and Saxons. Their power was far in excess of his: he saw himself compelled to leave the country and to flee to Transylvania. This involved for the house of Brandenburg not only the loss of the country but also of a great position, the influence of which extended over Bohemia and Silesia.

Brandenburg was also not a little affected by the consequences which the Bohemian affair had brought upon upper Germany. Ferdinand did not scruple to avenge with the full weight of his imperial authority the insult which had been inflicted upon him as king of Bohemia: he published the imperial ban against his unfortunate competitor. From various directions the armies of Spain and the Netherlands on the one hand and Bavaria on the other over-ran the unfortunate man's hereditary territories. The union was far too feeble to offer any resistance. Its disintegration and the course of events entirely robbed Brandenburg of its influence in upper Germany, but there was a particular necessity for submitting to this loss. The disintegration of the union formed part of the conditions necessary to enable the elector George William and his cousin in Franconia to receive the investiture of the emperor. At this moment these circumstances were complicated by the fresh outbreak of war between the Spaniards and the United Netherlands. It so happened that the site of their engagement was the territory of Cleves and Jülich. Spinola and Prince Maurice were face to face, each in his hostile encampment. The elector George William made a treaty with the republic by which his rights were secured. He himself could contribute practically nothing to the situation; the manner of its determination depended on far other powers than those at his command.

Of all the consequences of the battle on the White Mountain the most important, for Brandenburg as well as for the empire, was the emperor's undertaking to accomplish, together with the suppression of his opponent in the

Palatinate, a change in the concerns of the empire; this being effected by the transference of the electoral dignity of the Palatinate to his friend and supporter, the duke of Bavaria, to whom fell also a considerable portion of the confiscated land. A similar transaction had been effected in the war of Smalkald by the transference of the Saxon electorate from the Ernestines to the Albertines; at that time, however, such a transference had less significance because it did not alter the relations of the conflicting confessions. But under Ferdinand II this was exactly what was intended. An effort was made to found, in the council of electors, a Catholic majority such as already existed in the college of princes; by this majority the Catholic reaction would become supreme.

THE CONGRESS OF RATISBON

At the imperial congress held for this purpose at Ratisbon in the beginning of the year 1623, Saxony and Brandenburg opposed a scheme which threatened to rob them of that consideration in the empire which they derived from the electoral dignity; for, in the teeth of a Catholic majority, of what avail would be their votes in the college? With one accord they emphatically declared that the pronouncement of the ban had been irregular, that it was at variance with the electoral charter agreed to by the emperor, and that to recognise such a ban must imperil the position of all the other states, especially the smaller ones. The Brandenburg ambassadors further dwelt upon two points in the negotiations: in the first place, they said, the conduct of the emperor was liable to misinterpretation, because it was calculated to benefit his own interests; and, furthermore, it was most improper of him to rob of their hereditary portions the children of the count palatine and the agnates who were not concerned. But these representations did not impinge upon the resolutions already adopted by the spiritual electors. The emperor appeared to be less inaccessible than they were; in order to dissuade him, the Spaniards brought to bear considerations which concerned their position in Europe; but in the end he refused to break with the papacy, which was all in favour of the policy declared. Moreover, the duke of Bavaria was already far too powerful for the emperor to risk offending him. As the Brandenburg ambassadors foresaw the issue of the deliberation, they considered it necessary to secure for their elector the right of repudiating all share in and obligation under the decisions about to be taken. By the will of the majority the emperor thought himself authorised to proceed to distribute the feudal land. Saxony and Brandenburg signified their disapproval of such a course by refusing to allow their ambassadors to be present at the ceremony. But it appeared all at once that Maximilian of Bavaria was in close harmony with the spiritual electors, and was to become one of the most powerful members of this college, in which from henceforward Brandenburg and Saxony were of little account.

THE ALLIANCE AGAINST AUSTRIA

Ruinous for Frederick of the Palatinate as had been the consequences of accepting the crown of Bohemia (for it involved him in universal disapprobation), a fate no less ruinous was now to overtake the emperor; for the publication of the ban was regarded as illegal, and the house of the count palatine had numerous and influential friends. A great alliance was sealed in its favour; starting with England, this was to embrace on the one side France and Holland, on the other Denmark and Sweden. Bethlen Gábor was drawn into the understanding. The great question for Brandenburg now was whether or

[1626 A.D.]

not it should join this alliance. A fleeting idea arose that it would be well to give to the elector himself the personal direction of the war to be undertaken by Denmark in the empire and by Sweden in the territory of Poland; this would have been consonant with the geographical position, with the situation in general, and with German interests. But the elector, who possessed no armed force worthy of the name, was far too feeble.

True, he had one party round him which was in favour of entry into this alliance. This consisted chiefly of men of Calvinistic counsel, who, above all, kept in view the concerns of religion in its relation to Europe, and who thought to continue the policy of John Sigismund. Opposed to these, however, were the estates of the country, who saw their salvation only in association with the emperor; moreover, they did not wish to contribute to a war which might turn out to the advantage of the Calvinists. The elector complained bitterly that the thought and bearing of the inhabitants were solely directed to peace and enjoyment; his appeals and warnings were not listened to. The estates reproached him for leaving them without proper guidance. The danger was increasing, yet they thought it sufficient to occupy the fortresses in which the best property had been put for safety. Moreover, even at the beginning, they were willing to provide only three thousand men; and later on, as their enthusiasm diminished, the number dwindled to nine hundred. It was in their view sufficient if they maintained an attitude of respect towards the imperial majesty. How indeed could they have confidence when Count Schwarzenberg, the chief minister of the elector, was of the Catholic confession and meant to avoid a breach with the emperor under all circumstances? In this way the court and the country were torn by conflicting sentiments which did not admit of solution; the people could not even nerve themselves to maintain a strong neutrality. The necessary result of this was that the position of Brandenburg was made to depend on the issue of the war between the two great world powers, in which it did not dare to take part.

WALLENSTEIN'S IMPERIAL ARMY

What unparalleled vicissitudes were presented by this world-struggle! The first great spectacle was that of an imperial army, an army at last truly imperial, although led by an independent general who himself had mustered it, pressing into north Germany under Wallenstein with the intention of opposing that great alliance which had for its object the restoration of the expelled king of Bohemia.

It was a piece of good fortune for Brandenburg not to have taken part in the alliance; had it done so it would probably have been routed on the spot. The victory of the army of the league and the emperor over the king of Denmark now transferred the balance of power to the authority of the emperor and of the league in north Germany. The electors of Brandenburg and Saxony found themselves compelled to recognise Maximilian of Bavaria as a fellow elector with them. Brandenburg was ready to make every other possible concession, if it could only preserve the claims of the palatine house. And by the second campaign the mark was directly affected. When Wallenstein, who in the mean while had secured a free hand by resting in Hungary, came from Silesia and turned to a decisive attack on Denmark, he occupied the passes of the Havel, regardless of the electors; the Danes, too, were entering the country on the other side. But it was not in the territory of Brandenburg that the battle was to be fought. Nowhere could the Danes offer serious resistance; the imperial general completely mastered them by a successful movement to the peninsula.

WALLENSTEIN'S POLICY

For himself he thus secured an unparalleled position in the empire; the emperor rewarded his services with the dukedom of Mecklenburg. In order to maintain this dignity Wallenstein thought it well to bend before the hostility of Brandenburg and to win that electorate over to the imperial party. Of considerable importance was the territorial aggrandisement of which he held out a prospect to Brandenburg. In the elector he encouraged the hope of a favourable decision of the matter of Jülich and Cleves, and of indemnity for Jägerndorf. Above all, he promised his most active interest in the reversion of Pomerania, where there seemed to be a near prospect of a long-foreseen occurrence, namely the death of the last duke of old Pomeranian origin, by which Brandenburg was to acquire possession of the country. To this he added an indication that Mecklenburg should become the property of Brandenburg on the failure of its own line. Hereto he imposed only one condition, which was that Brandenburg should make common cause with him in his hostility to the Swedes.

The elector, who was the vassal of Poland, to which country he owed his investiture as duke of Prussia, offended by King Gustavus, who had taken arbitrary possession of Pillau, was indeed moved to consent. He sent a small body of troops to the help of the Poles; but this was just the occasion on which the power of Brandenburg was subjected to the deepest humiliation. When the troops of the elector caught sight of the Swedes, who were led by the notorious Bohemian fugitive, Count von Thurn, and who were their superiors both in numbers and strategical position, they threw down their arms; they were then for the most part incorporated with the Swedish army. The sense of their own weakness had combined with their religious sympathies to bring about this result. King Gustavus Adolphus had adopted an attitude in which he figured as the sole rallying point of the Protestant cause. The succour which the imperials sent to the Poles, still more the attempt which became visible at that time on the political horizon to establish a maritime connection between the powers of Spain and Poland, had wounded him in the nearest interests of his family and of his empire; for as king of Sweden he was still not recognised by the Poles. It was to counteract these plans that he sought to master the Prussian coasts for himself. If we regard the events of centuries in combination with one another we shall be unable to deny that his great and victorious policy brought about the first disaster which the Poles had suffered since the Perpetual Peace of 1466, by which the Prussian domains were made subordinate. Thus far Gustavus was considerably more the ally of the elector than his opponent; and the elector himself very soon recognised that the policy to which he was compelled to yield in Germany would be his ruin in Prussia; his own minister, Schwarzenberg, heard rumours in Vienna of an intention again to establish Catholicism in the territory of the Teutonic order and to restore it to the church.

But it was owing to the great progress of Catholic restoration by which his idea had been called forth, that Protestantism in Germany and the elector himself in person were immediately threatened. At the instance of the princes of the league the Edict of Restitution had been promulgated, announcing the intention of renewing the hierarchy in the full range of its influence. This step, while it threatened the existence of the Protestants, also roused very Protestant feeling. Even in the mark a respectful attitude towards the imperial majesty could not go so far as to run the risk of that ruin which now threatened. George William could not blind himself to the fact that this meant his ultimate downfall. Halberstadt had already gone over to an impe-

[1632 A.D.]

rial prince, Magdeburg to a Saxon prince; there was a prospect, too, that the bishoprics of the mark would be re-established and ecclesiastical property restored; on the top of this was to come the reduction of Prussia. This was the final aim of Catholic policy; an elector of Brandenburg could not possibly look on in silence and see this accomplished. The dependence of George William on the ruling powers in the empire was not so absolute as to prevent him from feeling most keenly the injustice that was inflicted upon him. With sentiments of this nature he now turned his gaze toward Gustavus Adolphus, the husband of his sister, who, although he combated Poland, had never ceased to declare that in doing this he was striving to put a check upon the grasping policy of the house of Austria. As from a religious point of view he opposed the league and the elector Maximilian, so from a political point of view he opposed General Wallenstein.

RESISTANCE AGAINST AUSTRIA

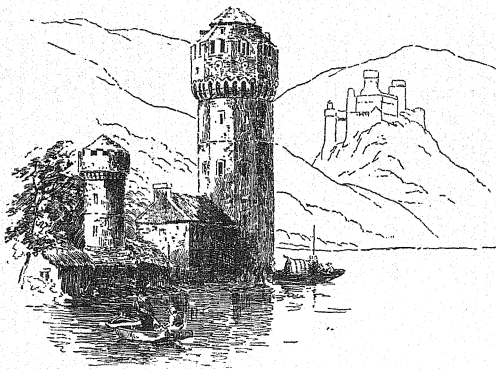
The ruling spirits of the time were Maximilian and Wallenstein, with Gustavus Adolphus in opposition to them; but a fourth ruling spirit rallied to the side of Gustavus in the person of Cardinal Richelieu, whose life and soul were absorbed in anti-Austrian interests, and who wished for nothing better than to obtain for the king of Sweden a free hand against Austria, for the accomplishment of which it was above all necessary to bring about an agreement of Austria with Poland. England played in with France, with whom, it is true, but a short while ago it had once more been at loggerheads. In view of all these great influences George William had now also to make a decision; true, his immediate regard had to be centred upon the preservation of the dukedom of Prussia, but it was to his advantage that the Polish magnates were themselves opposed to restoring Prussia to her ancient condition, more particularly because they feared that King Sigismund would receive as a fee from the emperor a portion of the land for one of his sons.

The sharp edge of the differences between the elector-duke and the king of Sweden, as well as between the latter and Poland, would be removed if they all found a common opportunity of resisting the tendencies encouraged by the house of Austria. There was one interest for the elector which ran counter to such a combination of political aims. The great reversion which Wallenstein had raised to life would become of doubtful consequence the moment that the Swedes became masters of the Baltic; remote as such a contingency was, yet another disadvantage lay close at hand; in the first place the elector had to submit to the occupation of the Prussian coast-lines. To set this off he made one important condition against which Gustavus Adolphus struggled for a long time, but in which he at last acquiesced at the instance of the foreign ambassadors: this was the temporary occupation of Marienburg and Hoefft, by which the connection of the dukedom with the electorate was facilitated. The main point is that the elector, in defiance of the considerations militating against such a course of conduct, decided to enter into a friendly relation with Sweden, in which decision he was steadfast during a number of years, in spite of all that it cost him. True, it was only a standstill that was at this time effected; but it was destined to last six years—an invaluable respite in this crisis.

For such a space of time the king obtained a free hand against Austria. If he now determined to undertake the great work, it was not at the instigation of Brandenburg or other distinguished German princes, but above all under the influence of Cardinal Richelieu, who, although a prince of the Catholic Church, was driven by his own personal situation to save Protestantism in Germany.

[1630 A.D.]

What is Protestantism, if not the form taken by affairs which have diverged from the papacy and all that the papacy bore inevitably in its train? Gustavus Adolphus knew that the north German towns, especially the north German agricultural districts, wished to preserve their present position; for them, too, the independent position of the church which had been won was the essence of existence. What might become of them, asked he on one occasion, if a second Maurice of Saxony were to place himself at the head of them? The German princes of the time were too comfortably situated, too much restricted by traditional limitations, to undertake anything on their own responsibility. It



TOWER OF NIEDERLAHNSTEIN

s just this which makes of the man a figure in the history of the world—that in the contest of his day he perceives and grasps the moments governing the crisis, the relative disparity of ideas. Thus Gustavus Adolphus appeared in Germany in the summer of 1630; he disembarked in Pomerania, territory on which it must have given the elector of Brandenburg no satisfaction to see him; here he took up a firm position. By the side of Cardinal Richelieu, Gustavus Adolphus took up an attitude of singular greatness, in so far as he superimposed upon political motives that religious inspiration which had the truest and liveliest existence for himself. Together they formed a new combination of universal significance to confront the superior weight acquired by Spain and Austria in their alliance with the Catholic restoration. It was inevitable—fatalistic, that they should meet in Germany.

GUSTAVUS ADOLPHUS

Immediately upon his first appearance in Germany Gustavus Adolphus took up a situation territorially and politically destined to be of the most lasting importance for the empire in general, and particularly for Brandenburg. As has been already mentioned, the hereditary succession in Pomerania, the chief object of the political ambitions entertained by the ancestors of the elector of Brandenburg, was nearing its solution. It was obvious that in a little

[1630 A.D.]

while Bogislaw XIV would die without issue entitled to inherit. Already homage had been done to the elector in anticipation of this event. In the treaty which Bogislaw could not now refuse to make with Gustavus Adolphus, although there had been much preliminary hesitation, this claim had been considered without being expressed throughout in unequivocal terms. The main point established was that as presumptive successor to the duke the elector should accept the duke's treaty with the king of Sweden; and that in the event of the anticipated contingencies, he should provide the king with money to cover the accumulated cost of the war from his own pocket, and not from the treasury of the country. No doubt it was this point that caused the Brandenburg ambassador, who came upon the scene after the day on which the agreement had been made, to demand of the king a promise that the restoration of Pomerania should be gratis. The king expressed himself in very generous terms; he had come to support his friends, not to rob them. But for all this he would not have rested content with the restoration of the former condition of affairs. At the very outset he demanded a security for himself, which as he said could not depend on words—paper and ink—but must depend on real guarantees. With these conditions—that the costs of war should be provided, that he should remain master of Pomerania until they were paid, and that he should have real security—the king set foot on German ground.

It is perfectly obvious that it could not be easy for the elector of Brandenburg, from whom these stipulations were not in the slightest concealed, to regard the king as an ally in Germany. He would have preferred forthwith to give his adherence to the emperor and the empire; but all attempts made by the Saxon and Brandenburg plenipotentiaries at the college diet of Ratisbon to effect a withdrawal of the Edict of Restitution, or such a modification of it as would enable the constitution of their states to remain intact, were fruitless; a majority of the college stuck firmly to the edict. Wallenstein had once promised the Brandenburg minister that an exception would be made in favour of his master; but Wallenstein himself was compelled, by the majority which adhered to the Edict of Restitution, to resign. It was thought possible to repel the king of Sweden even without him, and some thoughts were entertained of inflicting new confiscation on those who should adhere to his side: such designs would have to be thwarted immediately. In Ratisbon there was an idea of forming for this purpose a union of all the evangelicals under the presidency of the two electors. The deliberations wavered long between loyalty and opposition; at the assembly at Leipsic the latter was determined upon.

Without reflecting, we may easily assume that the rising of Gustavus Adolphus and his victorious advance along the Oder lent the necessary enthusiasm. But as yet no agreement with the king had been arrived at; the probability that such an agreement was imminent was certainly taken into consideration. Already people began to talk of the conditions to which the king would have to acquiesce. Chief among these were the restoration of everything which he had conquered or should conquer, without indemnity, and the stipulation that he should conclude no peace in which the evangelicals received no satisfaction. We see that this is not altogether in agreement with what Gustavus Adolphus had allowed himself to promise in Pomerania. Moreover, he confronted Brandenburg with two further demands; for his security he demanded that the fortresses of Küstrin and Spandau should be open to him. The elector pleaded in his distress that by doing so he would offend emperor and empire. The king's reply was that as the emperor himself did not adhere to the imperial law, but acted as it suited his caprice, it was not likely that an elector could fail to be justified in doing what his situation demanded. It is easy indeed to understand that George William fought obstinately. The Swedes had possession of the Prussian coastlands; they established themselves

Pomerania, and they now demanded the evacuation of his most important fortresses. What weighty consequences were involved in consenting to all this! But it could no longer be evaded; either they must join the side of the reigning king, or expect the most disastrous effects from the party which ruled the emperor and empire. Several negotiations and meetings were broken up; for long time they resulted in nothing—what seemed to be determined upon on the day was revoked on the next.

BRANDENBURG ALLIES ITSELF WITH THE SWEDES

The eyes of all were directed to Magdeburg, which was besieged by Tilly—a venture by which the fate of both electors must at one blow be decided if they did not secure for themselves a firm support in the king of Sweden. At last, afraid that even the Swedes would regard him in a hostile light, George William determined to provide them with the right of occupation of Spandau, in a limited form, even of that of Küstrin. Gustavus Adolphus promised to defend these places against all enemies and at the conclusion of peace to restore them. We see to what a dependence upon the king Brandenburg had sunk; and yet as circumstances of extremity also comprise within them moments of salvation, so in this act lay the germ of a returning independence. The imperial party had stopped the elector from taking any active part in the defence of the country: they would not under any circumstances consent to withdrawing troops from Prussia; permission to do this was granted by Gustavus Adolphus. The elector was to be enabled to make military preparations similar to those for which the Protestants had received instructions in the decree of Leipsic. In these armaments we may see one of the first foundations of the Brandenburg army, which began its formation at that time in a Protestant spirit, in alliance with the Swedes.

Magdeburg meanwhile had fallen; the elector of Saxony was beaten in his own territory and punished with measures of violence. Even he no longer situated to open his passes to the Swedes, and to conclude an alliance of which the main condition was that neither party could make peace without the other, or even enter into negotiations for this object with the enemy. So the coalition of the two electors with the king was effected, which now actually succeeded in making a stand against the powerful foe and overthrowing him.

The result of the victory of Breitenfeld was, above all, that a permanent edict was put to the restitution of ecclesiastical property—a gain for Brandenburg that cannot be too highly estimated. The king maintained, and with no truth, that he had saved Brandenburg from total destruction, though it cannot be denied that he inflicted upon the country a depressing subordination which proved a formidable bar to the house in the realisation of its greatest prospect.

The character that these relations were to assume in their further development depended less upon the resources and efforts of Brandenburg, which did not make much weight in the scale, than on the trend of affairs illustrated in the great episodes of the world's history. As long as the king lived a sound relationship was maintained. Gustavus Adolphus did not disguise the fact that he wished to retain the sea coast, especially the greater part of Pomerania; he contended that Brandenburg might be indemnified by secularisation, and that the spiritual authorities were the less entitled to oppose such a course since they were the source of the whole war trouble. From all that transpired we may assume that there was some talk of an equalisation of the interests on both sides by the marriage of the electoral prince of Brandenburg with the daughter of Gustavus Adolphus.

[1693 A.D.]

But neither in the lifetime of the king nor after his death was any definite arrangement made. Allied with Sweden, but again overshadowed by her; saved by her, but again subjected to her oppression—Brandenburg incurred the risk of losing through the Swedes that great province the acquisition of which emperor and empire had assured to her.

In the marks the position was similar to that in Prussia. Here, as well as there, it was Brandenburg's interest to withstand the encroachments of the Swedes, and yet at the same time a greater interest was consulted by submitting to them. For without the Swedes a re-entry of the Teutonic order into the marks must have been looked for, and in Prussia the church property must have been taken back. The position in the territory of Jülich and Cleves was in accordance with this; without the help of Holland and the advantages which Holland at that time gained over the Spaniards in Wesel and Bois-le-Duc, the imperial sequestration pronounced by Tilly would have been maintained and the elector possibly deprived of his title.

It was the states-general that prevented this; but in return they disposed of the country, of which they possessed the greater part, without much regard for the allies. The immediate interests of those concerned were thus far from simple. In certain aspects the allies again appeared as enemies. Owing to the relations of Jülich and Cleves and Pomerania with the German Empire, there was a constant need of having regard to the emperor, even after a certain balance had been restored in Germany to the contending parties by the battle of Lützen, in which the Swedes maintained the field but lost the greatest king and general that they had ever had. The relations of Brandenburg to the great European powers took a similar form of development. Again the intention was stirred in the Spaniards, who at that time had no longer anything to fear from England, of renewing the war against France with full vigour.

THE SECRET COUNCIL

It may be easily understood that under circumstances like this the policy of Brandenburg remained undecisive and wavering. The elector George William possessed enviable social qualities; he was humane, polite, bounteous; but, after the manner of the princes of his day, inclined to seek comfort in the small pleasures of life: a fine horse, a fleet greyhound could make him forget the cares of government. His intellectual endowments were not below the average standard; but in such tempestuous times it required extraordinary capacity to steer a safe course. George William was not without ambition: his thoughts dwelt on what history would one day say of him; and he wished above all to figure before his contemporaries as an honourable and trustworthy man. In the complexity of affairs which characterised the epoch, however, the careful control of one matter or of another fell chiefly to his secret council. But in this council two conflicting tendencies were to be observed: one was represented by the members who had come to him from the governments of his father and of his grandfather, among whom the chancellor Goetze enjoyed the most prominent regard; to his side rallied Knesebeck, Leuchtmar, and Pfuel, who formed a close bond of association among themselves on account of the distaste they conceived for the colleague whom George William had given them in Adam of Schwarzenberg, who was particularly favoured with his confidence. Schwarzenberg had made himself indispensable to the elector in the intricacies of the Jülich and Cleves affair; Catholic as he was, he held firm to Brandenburg. And so it happened that the universal conflict which split up the world penetrated to the secret council of the elector and disintegrated it. The older councillors were for Sweden, Schwarzenberg for

the emperor; nevertheless they all wished to have credit for keeping in view only the interests of their master. That such was the intention of the older councillors had never been questioned; they had a support in Luise Juliane, the mother of the electress, who belonged to both houses, the house of Orange and the house of the Palatinate, and who kept the elector, who was accustomed to listen to her, mindful of their interests. With opposing tendencies like these at court, how could men expect firm and energetic decisions? This court itself was invaded and rent asunder by the war-tossed elements dividing the world. Happily the association in imperial concerns with Saxony, to which Brandenburg had clung for a decade without intermission, exercised a certain check which George William would under no circumstances consent to abolish.

In the summer of 1633 the French ambassador Feuquieres appeared in Berlin to urge the elector to enter the Treaty of Heilbronn. In return, he promised him the support of France, especially in the matter of Julich. The elector gratefully took up this guarantee and entreated Louis XIII for his immediate intercession in the points of disagreement with the Netherlands, as well as for his support in the concerns of Prussia and Pomerania, especially if matters ever came to really serious negotiations for peace; with regard to the immediate alliance with him, however, which would have been sealed by entry into the Treaty of Heilbronn, he postponed a decision until the outcome of communications to be held with the court of Saxony. From this court he could not alienate himself, for Saxony was his neighbour, and in similar circumstances would be expected to act in a similar way towards himself.

Meanwhile everything took on a new colour from the fact that Wallenstein, who had again given a check to the emperor's cause before and after the battle of Lützen, and who acquired a still more independent position on the second assumption of his command than he had done on the first, proposed terms of peace in which the chief interests of the Protestant princes were assured; not only should they not be compelled to restore the property of the church, but also the joint constitution of the empire should be established on the lines of their scheme of government—either with or against the will of the emperor. More than once George William came into touch with the arms and designs of Wallenstein, in whom he placed little confidence.

THE MISSION OF ARNIM

When the plans of Wallenstein were matured, in the first weeks of the year 1634, Hans George von Arnim of Dresden (where there was a great tendency to favour the view of Wallenstein) was sent to Berlin in order to win the approval of the elector of Brandenburg. The majority of the elector's councillors met the envoy in an attitude of disinclination and contrariety, although the general plans for reform were chiefly their own; they insisted on first coming to terms with the Swedes, whom they still continued to regard as their allies. Schwarzenberg alone listened to Arnim, who then tried to win the elector himself to his side. The prince was at that time compelled by illness to keep his bed—a circumstance, however, which did not deter him from granting an audience to Arnim; the uncertain character of George William's policy illustrated by this interview. He could not declare for Sweden, because he had been told that if he remained in alliance with this power he must cease ever to reckon upon the acquisition of Pomerania. But he had great scruples about entering into a closer union with Wallenstein on account of his unreliable nature; the man's policy in the end, said he, would be an alliance with France and Sweden; otherwise, if he fell out with the emperor, the em-

[1635 A.D.]

peror might gain the upper hand and again become master of Germany. For himself, the one result was as insupportable as the other—the complete supremacy of the French and Swedes as intolerable as the return of imperial tyranny. To one thing alone he adhered—to his determination that the association with Saxony must be preserved. “No,” he exclaimed, “from Saxony I will not divorce myself!” The issue proved that George William, in spite of all his weak-kneed complaisance, had not judged wrongly. What he had probably foreseen actually took place: when the split came between Wallenstein and the emperor, it was the emperor who maintained the authority.

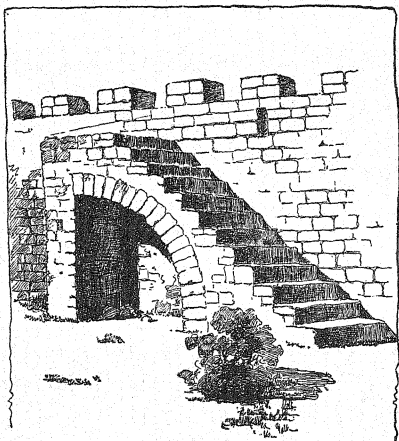
And herewith took place, as George William had prophesied, a general reversal of the situation. The army of Wallenstein joined the emperor; and so the imperial policy, ably supported by the Spaniards, acquired a preponderating influence. After a few months followed the battle of Nördlingen, which turned the tide in another direction. The defeat suffered by the Swedes robbed them of their popularity in Germany, which rested more upon fear than natural liking.

THE PEACE OF PRAGUE

The elector of Saxony, in consequence of this change, felt himself moved to conclude the Peace of Prague, in which, it is true, the emperor now allowed the Edict of Restitution to lapse; in religious matters a condition was to be restored similar to that existing before the issue of the edict in the year 1627. The accession of Brandenburg was reckoned upon, which at the same time comprehended a separation from Sweden, inasmuch as the association of the two princes with Sweden had been the outcome of the opposition to the edict. But was Brandenburg in this also to follow the example of Saxony? It is obvious that by the Peace of Prague no satisfaction was afforded to the just demands and claims of Protestantism which had begun to be oppressed long before 1627. But amongst other ideas the provisions of this treaty contained one of the most difficult questions which have ever been put to the policy of Brandenburg; they embraced the condition of the state and the essential quality of its being at that time, and they seemed to decide its future.

In the narrative of his journey Feuquières observes that George William would be the mightiest prince in Germany if his territories had not been taken possession of by others; Jülich and Cleves, so far as his claims to possession prevailed against those of the count palatine of Neuburg, were in point of fact withheld from him by the Dutch; he could draw no revenues from them. The same was the case in Prussia, held by the Swedes; in the chief territory, the mark, upon which the title of elector rested, several strongholds had been evacuated in favour of the Swedes: the elector was directing his whole attention to Pomerania, to which, in the event of the death of the frail old duke, his right of succession could not be disputed; he wished to live only long enough to conclude a treaty with Sweden. Instead of the Peace of Prague George William might have wished for another peace, which should have made possible a peaceable understanding with France and Sweden; he was terrified at the thought that he had to go over from one side to the other—that he had to fight against those with whom he had previously been in alliance. But the general circumstances did not make for peace, but most decidedly for war. As a result of the battle of Nördlingen the Spaniards were powerful enough to penetrate into France, where they terrified everybody, with the exception of the great cardinal and his trusted Father Joseph, who then succeeded in making France capable of resistance. In this war Europe was divided even more than before into two parties. Between them the elector of Brandenburg

had to choose; the consideration of his situation drove him to the imperial side. It was still not possible to hope that Holland, in Jülich, or Sweden, in Pomerania, would renounce their claim to the position they had taken up; and from France in its present plight no successful interposition with regard to these two powers could be expected. The authority of emperor and empire was too deeply rooted to admit of being dispensed with. The estates of the mark were partly, at all events, sound partisans of the emperor; moreover, did not the claim to Pomerania rest upon a share in the reversion of the emperor and the empire? Only with their help could it be carried to a successful conclusion. By union with the emperor a tolerable situation in general German affairs might be expected. And what would happen if the demand



DETAIL OF FORTIFICATION, MIDDLE AGES

agreement were repudiated and a breach opened with the emperor? The emperor was told that Sweden could lay waste his country; the emperor could do him of it: he was reminded of the events of the Palatinate—the destruction of the elector palatine, whom no foreign interposition had succeeded in restoring to his position.

So it happened that Schwarzenberg maintained the preponderating influence over the other members of the secret council who remained faithful to their Protestant sympathies. Undoubtedly the most important question embodied in the article of the Peace of Prague which provided that if the elector of Brandenburg would enter the agreement he should be assured the reversion especially of Pomerania and the feudal possessions going with and should receive the protection of the emperor. What offer had Sweden set against this promise? Moreover, whatever might be said in the course of the negotiations, there was no doubt of the intention of this power which had established itself on the German coastlands. Its policy ran precisely

[1635-1637 A.D.]

counter to the claims of Brandenburg. It seemed an advantage of the peace, which could not be valued too highly, that the oldest and greatest reversion of the house should be taken under the protection of the emperor and the empire.

Brandenburg did not intend to make the interest of Austria entirely and absolutely her own. On entering the peace she added certain limitations, especially the repetition of the favourable reservation of the rights of the palatine family, as well as of the college of electors, and the proviso that she should not herself be compelled to contribute to the carrying on of war against those who were excluded from the amnesty.

In his reply, the emperor neither expressly repudiated these limitations nor expressly acquiesced in them. But from the demand itself we see that Brandenburg was not altogether inclined completely to abandon her own policy. The same intention was evident when it was determined, according to the emperor's wish, to raise his son, the king of Hungary, to be king of the Romans. In the charter which was drawn up and set before him, no opportunity was lost of guarding against encroachments similar to those purposed by Ferdinand II. Publications of bans, such as the recent one, were expressly forbidden if unaccompanied by the consent of the council of the electors, even in the case where there should have been a good excuse for them—that is, where the crime was notorious and undoubted. Also in the Pomeranian affair the assembled electors took sides for Brandenburg. They rejected the claim of Sweden to occupy a portion of Pomerania as security for the payment of the indemnity money; they condemned the treaty made by Gustavus Adolphus with Bogislaw XIV; they would hear nothing of satisfaction for Sweden: there was no ground for it; what Sweden herself had spent was very trifling.

GEORGE WILLIAM AN ALLY OF THE EMPEROR

On this basis George William joined sides with the emperor. His whole zeal was directed to the acquisition of Pomerania for his house in alliance with the emperor and the empire: to effect this he suffered himself to be seriously prejudiced in his territorial independence; he agreed to the demand that the troops which he had in the field should be immediately taken into the service of the emperor and the empire. But the results of the war which was undertaken under these auspices were far from satisfactory. The Swedes maintained themselves not only in Pomerania against the attacks of the imperial troops and of the Saxons, but they also penetrated into the mark itself. And here were evidenced the ruinous consequences which a change of political system always involves when it has not the support of the populace. While Schwarzenberg brought the elector over to the side of the emperor, the Swedes retained the sympathies of the inhabitants; this could be seen at the first military engagement, when Wrangel penetrated into the mark. Not only did he nowhere find any resistance, but the town of Berlin assured him that it had no share in the counsel and decisions of the court. So in Pomerania was to be observed also the conflict of religious interests opposed to the peace, with the authority of the empire which had led to it. The last years of the duke of Pomerania were deeply saddened and overclouded by this conflict. In his soul he struggled against the supremacy of the Swedes, whom nevertheless he saw plainly growing stronger and stronger in his country. His death (May, 1637) had chiefly the effect of causing the great subjects of contention, which occupied not only Pomerania but the whole empire, to stand out in full prominence.

POMERANIA

As a result of the first treaty the Swedes immediately laid claim to Pomerania. The elector of Brandenburg, who had never agreed to this treaty, published patents which assured the right of occupation, and raised recruits with which, in conjunction with the then advancing imperial army, to take immediate possession of the dukedom, where his claim had long been recognised. At this time the star of good fortune rose upon the enterprise. The Swedes were expelled from the borders of the mark in every direction; they lost Havelberg, Werben, and Schwedt. In the spring of 1638, Klitzing appeared at the head of the Brandenburgers with a force of considerable magnitude for these times, two thousand infantry and four hundred dragoons; and succeeded in making in a rapid assault the town of Garz, to the possession of which considerable value had always attached, and in carrying off the Swedish command as captives. In upper Pomerania the Swedes were confined to a few settlements, Stralsund, Anklam, and Greifswald: it looked as if there were still some likelihood of the country being acquired for the empire and Brandenburg. We are assured that it must have been possible at this juncture to bring about a treaty suitable to the interests of the two parties in Sweden. But once more it became evident that the war, which had arisen from a general European combination, could not be terminated by provincial and local efforts. In the conflict of Spain and France, which governed the whole crisis, a moment was reached in which France would not have been averse to suspension of hostilities: in that case she would possibly have abandoned Sweden to her fate. But when the conditions proposed by both sides came to be discussed, the impossibility of coming to terms was made clear. In order to satisfy Spain, the cardinal would have had to forego the most important elements of his foreign policy; so far from doing this, he determined once more to rally all the forces at his command and to give a new impulse to the old chances which had become slack. Most important of all was that with Sweden, by means of which, eight years ago, the supremacy of Austria in Germany had been shattered: it was not to be permitted that they should be chased from Germany. Thanks to the subsidies offered by France, the Swedish imperial council, which believed it had a right to maintain what had been won, then also enabled to make fresh armaments.

It was of no slight advantage that Sweden, in consequence of the Treaty of Bromsbo, had nothing to fear from the Poles. [This treaty between Sweden and Poland had been negotiated by the French diplomatist Count d'Avaux, and was concluded in September, 1635. By it the contracting parties agreed on an armistice for twenty years; the dukedom of Prussia was assigned to Poland and Sweden's right to Livonia recognised, the Catholic inhabitants being granted freedom of worship.] The treaty was so far favourable to Brandenburg, inasmuch as possession of the Prussian coasts was restored to the elector in exchange for the evacuation of Marienburg. But another great disadvantage was associated with this: the twenty years' suspension of hostilities was due to the efforts of France, which realised her ambition in enabling the elector to direct their forces to Germany. Thus Brandenburg, while seeking to remove the Swedes from Germany, in alliance with the emperor and the empire, committed the political blunder that enabled this very people by the treaty sealed in Prussia to concentrate their forces in that country. The Swedish general could then raise a superior force in Stettin (in the summer of 1638). He left the newly arrived troops in the fortified towns. With the rains he plunged into the field; without much trouble he again took Garz and demolished it. It was of no use to think of reconquering Pomerania for

[1638 A.D.]

Brandenburg at such a moment: the Swedes were more formidable to the imperial troops than the imperial troops to the Swedes.

Once more the fate of Pomerania depended on the vicissitudes in the war that broke out between France and Spain and involved the world. The Brandenburg forces were completely disorganised when the elector sought safety for himself and his son in Prussia. Schwarzenberg, who remained behind as governor, now had the task of carrying to a conclusion the provincial war which had been undertaken at his instigation. On him depended the administration of the country and the organisation of the militia. The commanders in the fortresses, who fortunately still held out, were mostly his personal dependents. Yet he had no thought of yielding; from time to time there was talk of extensive operations with the co-operation of Saxony. The Brandenburgers made raids into the Swedish quarters in Pomerania; the Swedes retaliated by making plundering inroads upon the mark. In short, a bitter, devastating, desperate war was going on when George William died.

THE RESULTS OF GEORGE WILLIAM'S VACILLATION

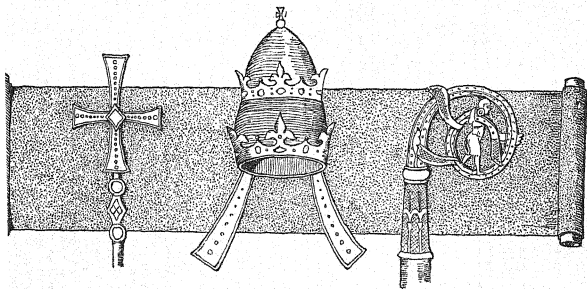
Up till now the conflict, though of a universal nature, had broken out more in petty opposing tendencies in which but a small exhibition of force had played a determining part. Brandenburg had acquired the foundations for its power, united considerable territories in east and west, and entered upon the course of its own peculiar policy. In the Thirty Years' War, however, everything assumed larger proportions; a state like Brandenburg, composed of different portions remote one from another, could acquire no consistency, still less any practical influence upon the world: it was enough that it was not then and there annihilated. George William took his impulses from the dangers which threatened him. In the first years of his government he ran a risk of being involved in the ruin of the palatine house. His fear of coming under the ban of the empire, which at that time had again acquired fruitful authority, was not so ill founded as had been assumed. In avoiding everything which could provoke the publication of the ban, he was exposed to the misfortune of seeing the existence of his electorate and of his dukedom placed in jeopardy by the Edict of Restitution. Hereupon, not without a sense of the disaster which might result from his conduct, but under pressure of extreme danger, he went step by step to the opposite side, and joined the king of Sweden.

No doubt this was the only condition under which Brandenburg could continue in that singular configuration which it had acquired. But the Swedes were indeed a grievous burden—for none more grievous than for the house of Brandenburg, whose greatest prospects they blighted. It was cooped up between two powers which, like the Cyanean rocks in the old sea legend that continually crushed everything between them, threatened it with extinction.

At last George William, satisfied with the added prospect of safety, having obtained from the emperor an assurance for the subsistence of his territories and their Protestant character, entered into alliance with him against the Swedes and proceeded to indicate his chief territorial claim. It is not weakness, nor an undue servility to the emperor that are the vices ascribed to him by the Brandenburg statesmen of that time, but rather a reckless ambition: he wanted to win fame for himself by association with others, and by the raising of troops in person; but how little did the issue of events correspond with his estimate. His allies devastated his territory before his very eyes; he, the elector himself, had barely enough left to live upon and had to flee to Prussia. In the contest against the Swedes in Pomerania, which he accordingly under-

ook, he was struck by the blow dealt by its opponents to the allies of the house of Austria.

On the whole this mishap was due to the variety of his provinces and their remoteness one from another; the dissensions of his councils which he had not the personal capacity to overcome; but above all to the superiority of the great world-elements embodied in the struggle, and to deficiencies inherent in his own resources. Amid the storms and tempests in which the times were raged George William saved at least the dynastic possession of his territories, not, it is true, without serious damage; he left them in extreme danger and misery. But in such a condition of affairs the state of Brandenburg was of little use to the world. These territories, peaceably and cautiously gathered together by the men of the past, offered no warrant that they would rise to a peculiar and fateful significance; the successor to them would have to be fashioned of harder metal, informed by genius, and favoured with a larger share of fortune.^c





CHAPTER II

THE BIRTH AND GROWTH OF A KINGDOM

[1640-1740 A.D.]

AT a terrible crisis the German nation had sacrificed her position in the world and utterly ruined her old political unity. But the seeds of new life were in her and in the independence of those fractions which had now a national guarantee confirmed by imperial law. The pedantic imperial jurists might continue to see in this imperial constitution a marvellously wise mixture of monarchy, aristocracy, and democracy; they might continue to prize the emperor as the legal successor of the Roman Cæsars: clear-sighted minds could see deeper. A Swedish publicist of Pomeranian origin, Bogislaw Chemnitz (*Hippolithus a Lapide*), sought as early as 1640 to establish the unlimited independence of the imperial estates on a historical basis, in the contention that these were original and that the empire rested upon usurpation; and the Saxon, Samuel Pufendorf, indicated as early as 1667, as the best aim for the political development of Germany, separation from Austria, annihilation of the spiritual princedoms, and a purely secular confederacy of states. As a matter of fact, all living forces were directed to the single states—upon them rested the fate of the nation. Certainly no one could as yet say how a new imperial constitution was to be developed from these contingent independent states, which were all guided by the reckless pursuit of their separate interests, by what they called the *Staatsraison*. But the fate of the imperial constitution, which still maintained a formal existence, overtook the organisation of the single states, based upon estates and confessions—it outlived itself. In the crisis of the great war their incapacity had received actual illustration. A general with absolute command on the field had won the greatest successes for the emperor, and he had trodden under foot all the rights that belonged to the estates. The evangelical estates had been saved from this dominion of force by a foreign king, whose authority was unlimited in the field as well as in his cabinet.

THE IDEAL STATE

In this way a new ideal state rose into existence—the state with a supreme prince at its head, based upon the concentration of all the powers of the state in the hand of the monarch, upon the subordination of the estates to his will,

and upon the economic isolation of the country, after the manner of the French mercantile system. In opposition to the close confessional system of the *Landeskirche* was the fundamental doctrine of the equal justification of all Christian confessions; that is to say, the doctrine of personal freedom of belief, which found strong support in the liberation of science from theological tutelage. True, this spiritual transformation took its rise entirely in the middle classes, but their lack of understanding, and so of active co-operation, made them none the less the natural opponents of the new absolute state. Its guidance was transferred to the nobility, which absorbed the man-of-the-world culture of the French. As a rule, these changes were chiefly effected in the Protestant states, especially in the greater ones, for here the inmost force of the nation was best preserved; whereas in most of the Catholic territories it had suffered heavily by the violence of re-catholicism. The small imperial estates, on the other hand, spiritual princedoms as well as imperial towns, were altogether incapable of solving the problems of the modern state.

So it came about that the political and economic pre-eminence, and soon also the superior guidance in spiritual matters, passed to the colonial east. It was on the border-land between upper Saxony and Thuringia, the old and the new Germany, that the reforms of Luther had already sprung into existence; but the southwest still weighed heavily in the balance, and at the beginning of the Thirty Years' War the politics of Kurpfalz had exercised a decisive influence. The south German imperial towns, however, had played out their political rôle since the war of Schmalkald; the whole of the southwest had taken little more than a merely passive part in the later progress of the great war, and the battle, so far as it was not conducted by foreign powers, had been fought out by east German powers, including Bavaria. Now the whole of the west had fallen into a number of impotent small states; it had lost its old economical significance by the removal of the trade routes of the world; the possibility for the formation of larger economic units was nowhere present; besides, the political supremacy of foreign powers was nowhere so narrowing and so oppressive, the national self-consciousness nowhere so small, as in these oldest German centres of civilisation. It was only towards the end of the seventeenth century that a considerable secular state was formed in the northwest—that of electoral Hanover; but this succumbed rapidly to foreign influence, owing to the personal union with England, which dates from 1714.

Considerable secular state organisations existed therefore only in the east. Side by side in the northeast were the lower Saxon-Thuringian colonial provinces of Brandenburg and electoral Saxony; in the southeast, Bavaria and Austria—that is to say, actually the countries of Bavarian origin. Of these four state organisations, two, Bavaria and electoral Saxony, were purely inland territories—that is, without any immediate interest in the great foreign problems of German policy, and so without any compulsion to gather all their powers tightly together. Only Austria and Brandenburg-Prussia were border states. But Austria's main stream, the vein of her life, the Danube, flowed out of Germany into an inland sea then almost inaccessible in view of its remoteness; it was connected with the north, it is true, by the Elbe and the Oder, but Bohemia was the site of a population that was foreign, although at that time half crushed; and only Silesia was in the main German territory. Furthermore, the border-lands in the east were under the same sway as Austria, so that a feeling of strong national pride was not allowed to rise into prominence, and the only great national ambition in the pursuit of which the Habsburgers were immediately occupied was the expulsion of the Turks from Hungary; they were interested in relationships with France only in so far as their remote western possessions extending up to the upper Rhine were con-

[1640 A.D.]

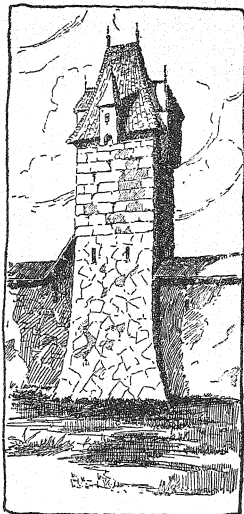
cerned. Finally, the reaction in the church had disturbed the mark of the Habsburg nations and interrupted their spiritual association with German culture, the nature of which was essentially Protestant.

THE TERRITORIES OF THE HOHENZOLLERN

It was otherwise in Brandenburg. In strips of land still territorially separated but of considerable dimension, the lands of the Hohenzollern stretched right across the whole breadth of north Germany and farther away, from the lower Rhine to the Memel; in their hands was the territory between the Elbe and the Oder, that is to say, the connection between the German interior and the coast; they had a share in the Weser as well as in the Rhine, and commanded portions therefore of the great streams which were the conduits of conveyance to the North Sea—now the most important of German seas—and by establishing a connection between the Elbe and the Oder they could acquire a great trade route from the southeast to the northwest, from Silesia to the mouth of the Elbe. And the same vital interests brought the states into immediate opposition to Poland, to whose feudal superiority the dukedom of Prussia was still subordinate; to Sweden, which separated the mouth of the Oder from the Hinterland; and to France, which threatened the ill-conditioned west of Germany. So the Hohenzollern were confronted with the greatest problems of German politics.

Finally, there existed in these preponderating lower Saxon races, accustomed for centuries to hard work on poor soil, a strong self-consciousness; and the attitude of the reformed reigning house to its subjects, of whom the great majority were Lutheran, begat a measure of tolerance that was far in excess of what the imperial law enjoined. Thus the Hohenzollern, by working for their state, unsuspectingly created the basis for the new unity of the nation—first a strong middle state, then a *Grossmacht*. At the same time the Habsburgs, by conquering Hungary, founded an independent power of the first rank, half of which, however, lay outside Germany.

By the relation existing between these units of power—the north German and lower Saxon Protestant and the south German Bavarian Catholic—was the fate of the nation for two centuries immeasurably more determined than by its imperial constitution in its process of stagnation. Great as was the evil that their competition brought upon Germany, it was only the rise of great independent states which could insure the political endurance of a German nation and save it from foreign supremacy. For it was a time of the keenest struggles for supremacy. True, Spain as a leading power soon disappeared from the contest, but Bourbon France, under its unlimited monarchy,



WATCH-TOWER OF THE MIDDLE AGES

was a neighbour far more to be feared; England was on the ascent, forcing back the Netherlands into a secondary position—in trade and colonial enterprise she became supreme; in the whole of the north, Sweden exercised a powerful military influence; and Russia, with her czar, was slowly pressing towards the west behind a Poland that was sinking into hopeless ruin through the conduct of a sovereign nobility that had no one to lead it.

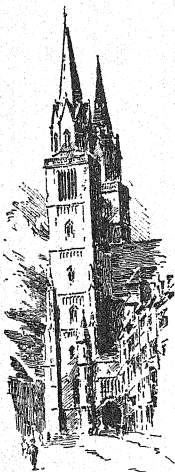
THE GREAT ELECTOR (1640-1688 A.D.)

A succession of great or at all events considerable rulers raised Brandenburg-Prussia from the depths of her former weakness. The first, Frederick William (1640-1688), who even in his own time was called the Great Elector (born 1620), owed far less to his weak father, George William, than to his witty and energetic mother, Elizabeth Charlotte of the Palatinate. It was she who gave him his decided leaning towards the line of opposition adopted by evangelical princes of the empire, while Count Schwarzenberg, the Catholic minister of his father, with much assiduity kept Brandenburg after 1635 on the side of Austria. The accession of the youthful elector to the throne, in December of 1640, marks an important political crisis.^f

The situation of the young elector, at this time only twenty years old, was sufficiently gloomy. Of the countries of which he was lord by birth (Brandenburg, Cleves, and Prussia), he possessed only the legal title. He had not yet been invested with Prussia; Brandenburg and Cleves were in great part in the hands of foreign powers, and the hope of winning his hereditary Pomerania from the Swedes seemed almost unattainable. And even if he could establish himself in possession of his state—if we may apply the term state to territories dwelling under totally different conditions and only by chance under the same head—was it to be hoped he would guide it successfully through all the dangers which surrounded it? Yet Frederick William showed himself equal to the difficult task, young as he still was.

The perils of war, before which the elector's children had often been compelled to flee from castle to castle, had beat around Frederick William's earliest youth. When he was approaching manhood his father had sent him to the Dutch court to be under the care of the great soldier and statesman, Frederick Henry, son of William of Orange. He was already strong enough to flee from the allurements and pleasures of the Hague with as courageous decision as he sought the dangers of war—for instance, in the siege of Breda.

But it was not only his character that he steeled while in this distant country. Here he saw, under his own eyes, a little state which yet was at that time incontestably one of the first on the earth; he saw that this state had become so powerful by means of religious and political liberty, order and law at home, and, above all, through trade and navigation. To the keen, wide-open eyes of the young man this lesson was not lost. On the coast of his Prussia, also,



CHURCH OF ST. LAWRENCE,
NUREMBERG

[1640-1654 A.D.]

beat the sea which unites the countries, and Pomerania with the mouths of the Oder must, according to an ancient treaty, soon be his hereditary possession; for his marks too—sandy, swampy, desert as they appeared, and indeed furnished with but scanty natural resources—prosperity and power might be won by strenuous diligence and the skilful utilisation of all available forces. So the prince, enriched with great views, returned first to Cleves and then to Berlin; then he accompanied his father to Prussia, where the latter died in 1640.

The young elector soon perceived what, in the deplorable condition of the country, was his first task: the erection of a standing army—the *miles perpetuus*, as they said in those days—by means of which Sweden and Austria had become powerful. To possess such an army was the object of all the considerable powers of the time. The first beginnings were small and insignificant. At first he was usefully served by Colonel von Burgsdorf, then by General von Sparr; but the true hero and leader of his continually increasing army was Field-Marshal von Derfflinger, a man of unknown origin who had risen from the ranks and had served his apprenticeship, first under Matthias von Thurn, then in the Saxon, and, most important of all, in the Swedish army. To promote his work Frederick William needed peace with the Swedes; in 1641 he concluded a peace with them, regardless of the emperor's indignation. Thus he maintained himself till the end of the great war.

By this peace the Swedes received Hither Pomerania with the islands and the mouths of the Oder, and he obtained only the greater part of Farther Pomerania, although, since old Bogislaw XIV had died in 1637, Frederick William should have inherited the whole of Pomerania. In compensation he received the archbishopric of Magdeburg with Halberstadt and the bishoprics of Minden and Kammin, beautiful, fertile districts, the first three of which were of great value for communication between Brandenburg and the Rhenish provinces; but yet they seemed to him no true equivalent for Stettin, the mouths of the Oder, and the sea-coasts, for he knew how to value the importance of a sea power. But the elector was a man who calculated on existing conditions. Hither Pomerania was lost for the present and it was of no use to lament; it was better to establish himself in the districts which he had, and to restore the wasted territories to prosperity. The elector accomplished this by means of a (for that period) wise method of taxation; instead of the old land tax he imposed the excise, that is, a percentage on articles of consumption, both native and foreign—a tax which was easier to collect and to which, of course, all classes contributed. By this means he gradually increased the revenues of his state (which at his accession had amounted to only 400,000 thalers) to 2,500,000 thalers, and yet the country quickly recovered itself. The elector, economical and prudent in the employment of all resources, soon had sufficient money to add to his army, which at the close of his reign amounted to twenty-seven thousand men. Soon the first laurels beckoned to the new army, the first important gain to the elector.

PRUSSIA CEASES TO BE A VASSAL OF POLAND

In Sweden, Queen Christina, the daughter of Gustavus Adolphus, laid aside the crown (1654). Her cousin, Charles (X) Gustavus, had followed her, but was not recognised by King John Kasimir of Poland, in whom a scion of the house of Vasa still survived. Frederick William stood exactly between the two kingdoms, which now made war on each other. The elector had at first attempted to mediate a peace, but the Swedes, with the haughtiness of veteran conquerors, marched through his territories of Pomerania and Neu-

mark into Poland, quickly occupied the whole Polish kingdom, and then beset the elector (who had at first only attempted to protect his dukedom of Prussia) in his second capital, at Königsberg. But soon Charles Gustavus offered him peace, and even an alliance; for John Kasimir, with imperial assistance, had meantime won back his country. The elector now saw an opportunity to shake off the Polish suzerainty, which was exceedingly oppressive.^c

The king of Sweden (Charles (X) Gustavus), had taken Warsaw; the king of Poland had fled to upper Silesia; a large section of magnates did homage to the king of Sweden and joined his ranks. Facing him with his army and the estates of both countries—for West Prussia made with him common cause—Frederick William assumed an imposing attitude. At the same time, however, he did not consider it his duty, nor did he believe himself to be strong enough, to interfere in favour of the king of Poland and to try the fortune of battle against the victorious Swedes. Charles Gustavus, also, had scruples as to whether he should undertake to overpower him by force of arms. His own inclinations, apart from other considerations, would have counselled such a course of conduct. It may be easily imagined that since the Swedes had taken Finland centuries ago, Esthonia and Livonia in the reign of the last king, Hither Pomerania and Wismar by the Peace of Westphalia, they now thought to complete their supremacy over the coastland of the Baltic. They had a grievance in the agreement at Stuhmsdorf by which they had surrendered the harbours that had already been taken; Charles Gustavus held it to be almost a point of honour to regain them. His suggestion to the elector was to occupy Prussia forthwith, as the vassal of Sweden. Under the stress of the political situation and the immediate danger which threatened, Frederick William after much hesitation (he refused an extension of the country which was offered to him) agreed to this proposal; but he did so with the greatest reluctance—he had never before looked so melancholy. He had to surrender the coasts to the Swedes, to give up his alliances. Nevertheless, there was one consideration which made this agreement acceptable. The feudal duties exacted by Sweden were not so mercilessly definite as those formerly exacted by the Poles; certain other characteristics give this feudal agreement the appearance of an alliance; but the stupendous importance of the matter is signified in a moment of what may almost be called universal historical meaning; it rests on the common interests of the Germanic and Protestant powers in opposition to the supremacy of the Poles.

The common nature of their cause became all the more insistent when the fugitive king returned to awaken all national and religious feelings to the value of his aims. Charles Gustavus was not entirely wrong when he said that if the Poles were to win, both he and the elector were lost. In order to bind him permanently to his side, he offered to make him archduke, even king of the best-situated palatinates, which had for the most part been reduced to subjection. The elector did not refuse this, because in greater Poland he thereby acquired that independence which was denied to him in Prussia. However the negotiations and intentions of those concerned might shape themselves at different moments, the main result was the common reaction against that great Catholic power which had formerly reigned in the north. Waldeck, in opposition to the other councillors of the elector, continued a policy of Catholic supremacy. In this combination, which threatened a revival of the Polish and Catholic system to overpower the alliance of Protestant and German forces, Brandenburg, Prussia, and Sweden joined arms in order to bid defiance to the Poles, who in the mean while had again taken their capital.

Such is the historical significance of the three days' fight at Warsaw in which the Poles were defeated and dispersed. Since the Teutonic order had been overwhelmed by the Poles in the battle of Tannenberg, the Poles had

[1656 A.D.]

maintained the upper hand in German colonial territory on both sides of the Vistula; the first signs of the prevalence of an opposite tendency are to be observed, as we have shown, in the advantages maintained by Gustavus Adolphus against the Poles. If Charles Gustavus now took up this contest, at first with great success, which subsequently however became dubious again, it was of the greatest importance that the duke of Prussia, who had now acquired a supreme position of his own, should join the other side. It was from the very centre of the order that he gathered the necessary power and stimulus. The change in the times is apparent in the difference of the military organisation: the knighthood had not been capable of withstanding the fighting forces of eastern Europe, which the king of Poland at that day gathered round him; now, however, a different military system had arisen, before the representatives of which the masses of undeveloped disorderly Polish troops were bound to fall back. The military organisation, under which the natives of the territory belonging to the order joined forces with the fighting material of the German provinces, is the basis, no longer of the Brandenburg army alone, which numbered only a few regiments outside these, but also of the Brandenburg-Prussian army, as it was to exist henceforward. It is to be regarded as a remarkable achievement that this army, which first stood its ground against the encroachments of Charles Gustavus, inflicted in alliance with him a crushing defeat on the Poles. Not only by the interchange of diplomacy but also by these master strokes was the independence of Prussia founded: it is the first great military accomplishment of the Brandenburg-Prussian army. What a trifling rôle it had played but a short time ago, when Swedish forces were united with a Protestant army!

Frederick William stood now on an equal footing with the king of Sweden. True he was his vassal, but only for one province, which was far from including the power that was his in virtue of the development of Germany. It is less important to consider to what degree he thought at the beginning of these disturbances to raise himself—to the rank of an independent sovereign prince—than to reflect that in fact he acquired an independent position: in virtue of his fighting power, he was actually an independent prince before he was so called. But the name was to be his, too, as soon as the general circumstances had reached the point of development which could lead to this end. The first decisive turn in the affairs of the north was the attack of the Russians on Sweden. For it was even more difficult for the Russians than for other powers to acquiesce in the Baltic's becoming definitely, so to speak, a Swedish lake; and at this moment their entry into Livonia did not hurt the Poles at all. It made little impression upon them that the czar even brought himself to demand the feudal supremacy over Prussia; they saw in him at once a new ally, and proceeded with renewed zeal to oppose the Swedes and the elector.

THE TREATY OF LABIAU (1656 A.D.)

Worried by the claim of three powers at once to superior feudal relations, and depending on none of these in his actual position, the elector-duke most naturally hit upon the thought of dispensing altogether with a subordinate relation of that kind; this object, however, could not be forthwith accomplished in so far as the Poles were concerned; for, since the Russians had broken loose, they had again obtained the upper hand and made powerful advances in West Prussia; they already held the king of Sweden to be a man defeated and abandoned. The Prussian estates had wished for an armistice at least; but the Poles refused it. They would enter into a definitive agreement with the elector only if he would return to the old feudal dependence; his

[1650-1687 A.D.]

alliance with the Swedes was regarded by them as felony in the sense of the feudal law, to say nothing of the peculiar position which he occupied. If the elector would not abandon this alliance and submit again to the supremacy of the Poles, whom after all he had defeated, there was nothing left for him but to continue an alliance with Charles Gustavus, and once more to face the Poles with all the might at his command. King Charles X, oppressed on all sides, saw his salvation in a renewed combination with Brandenburg, and so agreed to the proposals which the elector made to him in favour of the sovereignty of his dukedom. The subject had already been mooted before; the elector had never wished to enter upon it: now, however, he saw himself compelled by his plight to do so. The feudal relation enforced upon the elector had less significance for him now than formerly, inasmuch as his great plan was ruined by the invasion of the Russians; his thoughts turned on peace with Russia, and to effect this he reckoned upon the co-operation of Brandenburg. In the Treaty of Labiau (November 10th, 1656), he consented to abandon the feudal connection and to substitute a league of alliance in its place.

PRUSSIAN ALLIANCE WITH SWEDEN

This agreement has not a very prominent place in the confusing whirl of episodes of which the times are composed; for the establishment of Prussian political relations it is of high importance for all ages: for not alone did the king renounce all his own claims, but it was established that Prussia should be made separate from Poland forever. The elector and his successors were never again to enter into a similar relationship with Poland or any other power: they were to be supreme, absolute, and sovereign princes, and to enjoy all the rights of sovereign princes. Once again, the elector linked his fate with the decision of the war between Sweden and Poland, by which yet another wide prospect was opened up to him. Great Poland signified its desire to be under his protection henceforward. No hope seemed to be too extravagant, for at his moment the Transylvanian troops broke into Poland under Prince Rákóczy: it was as if the old Bethlen Gábor, who had once belonged to the European coalition against Austria, had come to life again. Like Bethlen, George Rákóczy entered Hungary as the champion of the Protestants—as the restorer of this country's old-time freedom; the products of his mines made him a rich man: he is known as one of the greatest opponents the order of the Jesuits has ever had. A successful expedition of Transylvanians and Swedes would have exercised a crushing and retrogressive effect upon Poland, as well as upon the stability of Austrian power. Brandenburg-Prussia also belonged to this combination at the time.

Waldeck, whose sole efforts were always directed against the two powers, Austria and Poland, accompanied the king on the expedition. All-embracing as were the expectations based upon the campaign of 1667, the main results were of trifling significance. Certainly the alliance with Rákóczy was concluded; but it led to no decision, for the Poles evaded every serious attempt to bring about a meeting. Rákóczy was not so easily satisfied as people assumed; he was not for the king, and still less for the elector: on the contrary, when Brzesc had been taken, he appeared to be very much inclined to conclude an agreement with the Poles, especially as his country was threatened with a Tatar invasion; he offered King John Kasimir an alliance against Charles X, with whom he came to loggerheads. Not only had the Poles nothing to fear from the alliance of Sweden and Transylvania, but it was of service to them in that Austria was thereby moved to make common cause with them; at the same time they found a new ally in Denmark.

[1667 A.D.]

THE TRIUMVIRATE

Impatient to revenge the loss suffered at the last peace, and encouraged by the hostile intentions evidenced against the Swedes in every direction by the agency of the house of Austria and its influence, the Danes rose to a fresh attack upon this power. The participation of Denmark and Austria in the Polish affair may be regarded as the second great episode in this war. Charles Gustavus was compelled on the spot to turn his weapons from Poland to Denmark; but he saw no misfortune in doing so. All over the world, people began to regard him more and more as an object of fear; for it was not held to be probable that the Danes would offer any opposition. It was even thought he would acquire possession of the Sound, and would be put in a position to set new armies in the field by raising duties so as to gain the mastery over northern Europe; he was in league with Mazarin and with Cromwell. This triumvirate threatened the existing dynastic relations of Europe; an intention was formed of establishing in Germany an emperor who should not come from the house of Austria, to supply the new vacancy. The elector of Brandenburg was still regarded as one of her allies; should they prevail, he might hope to retain Great Poland, and even to conquer Silesia. But think of the consequences that might ensue from this! The king was far away—he already saw himself exposed without aid to the hostilities of his enemies; under stress of this danger he had no scruples, abandoned as he was by the king, against abandoning his cause. It was impossible for him to suffer Denmark to be completely defeated, or Sweden's aspirations of supremacy in the Baltic (doubly oppressive at this juncture) to be realised. Still less could he brook that France and Sweden should control the German throne. The great march of general politics and the prospects to which they led drove him every day more and more on to the other side: it would naturally be more agreeable to him to see the imperial authority continue unbroken in the house of Austria than to see raised to this dignity one of his opponents, even his neighbour in Jülich and Berg, the count palatine of Neuburg who was the competitor next favoured. That Sweden should dominate Poland had equally little interest for him, inasmuch as this power herself dispensed with his former dependence on her. All his present efforts were directed towards securing the recognition of the independence of his dukedom from Poland and from the other powers. At no cost would he any longer remain involved in the unstable internal concerns of Poland: besides, who could guarantee that the czar or the emperor would not take possession of the Polish throne? What would become of him then? The considerable army which he possessed in the field gave weight and effectiveness to his representations. Nobody did such justice to his ideas as the leading men in the states-general, especially Jan de Witt, in other respects



DETAIL OF THE WALL OF HEIDELBERG CASTLE, BEGUN LATE IN THE THIRTEENTH, AND COMPLETED EARLY IN THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY

[1657 A.D.]

an opponent of the house of Orange—which was so closely allied with Brandenburg—but a man of sufficiently wide perceptions not to regard the great political issues from this point of view. The interests of his own republic demanded the independence of the Prussian coastlands from Sweden as well as from Poland, in order to secure the safety of her trade in the Baltic and her connection with Russia.

Less determined was the declaration of the Danes; at first they were opposed to the whole suggestion—it would not be well regarded by the subjects of Prussia, and in the future the protectorate of Poland would always put a certain check upon the elector; the points of grievance in the relations hitherto subsisting might be redressed. The Brandenburg ambassador replied that Poland had abused her rights in an unbearable fashion, and made it impossible to return to a subordinate relation which, once for all, with good reason, had been broken: the elector observed that he had rendered a service to Poland; for it was owing to the resistance which at the beginning he offered to the Swedes, and which secured for him independence from them, that the Danes had been enabled to gather together and re-establish themselves in some measure. By this means the Danes were emboldened to tender their good services to the elector. Without doubt the favourable view of this policy entertained by Lisola, the ambassador of the house of Austria, contributed much to its success; because for this power everything depended on withdrawing the elector from the opposite side and from the alliance with an enemy. With the united co-operation of the allied powers, by which the Danes could hope to be defended from Sweden, it was brought about that the elector acquiesced in the condition which the elector made for his concurrence.

THE TREATY OF WEHLAU (1657 A.D.)

After long negotiations, shrouded in the deepest secrecy, no suspicion of which reached the ears of the French ambassador at the court, the Poles agreed at Wehlau on the 19th of September, 1657, that the elector, who on that part agreed to ally himself with them, should possess Prussia with its old boundaries, but with the right of supremacy under his absolute control and free from all burdens hitherto imposed upon it. The agreement applied both to himself and to his male descendants. These were practically the same stipulations as those accepted by the king of Sweden. But what a different significance it acquired by being acquiesced in by the Poles! The Swedish feudal supremacy had been imposed only latterly upon Prussia, while that of Poland is centuries old, and had been recognised by Europe as an unquestionable relation based upon constitutional law. At the personal meeting at Bromberg which took place between the king and the elector, who now withdrew to the parks, we are confronted with an unexpected internal relation. Without doubt it was the work of the queen of Poland, Ludovica Gonzaga, and of the actress Luise: they were both peaceably intentioned, and had come to an understanding with each other. A few points of minor importance had still to be settled here, and new difficulties did not fail to arise; but the main object—the recognition of the sovereignty—was established by form of oath in an open air. Such was the consequence of the change in the relative position of the world-powers. The feudal dependency which, after severe defeat, had been inflicted upon the masters of the order, and had been recognised by the rest of them [Albert of Brandenburg, 1490–1568], who secularised himself and his country, was again thrown off, after the Poles on their side had not only offered defeats, but had also fallen into difficulties out of which they could extricate only by this admission. The abolition of the feudal relation had

[1657-1660 A.D.]

been demanded by the duke of Prussia, who might still have proved very formidable, as he was at the head of a considerable army and in alliance with the most distinguished enemy; it was the price paid for his transference from this enemy to the European powers, which had come to an agreement with the Poles. Truly an achievement of far-reaching historical significance! The great German colony in the east, which owed its foundation to the long continued efforts of the German nation, was thereby established in its original independence of the neighbouring powers—at all events, in so far that it acknowledged the elector of Brandenburg, duke of Prussia, as its head. For this prince himself, and for his house, what incalculable meaning lay in this achievement! In the midst of the large kingdoms which until now had imposed their will upon them, and thwarted the development of a policy peculiar to their interest, the prince and his country now appear on an equal footing, with equal rights, owing dependence to no one but themselves. It was the work of an able pilot who, in the political storm that rose around him, more than once changed his course and at last arrived safely in port. For the structure of the state, the value of what had been gained is immeasurable, in that it freed the elector from all consideration for the political future of Poland: henceforward he could pursue his own objects.^b

Charles X, now attacked by both Holland and Denmark, the latter of which had designs on Bremen and Verden, displayed indeed the most brilliant military qualities, drove the Danes from Holstein, Schleswig, and Jutland, even traversed the frozen belt to Fünen, then by Langeland, Laaland, and Falster to Zealand, and compelled his opponents to the unfavourable Peace of Roeskilde (in Zealand) in 1658; but when, immediately afterwards, he broke this peace and attempted to conquer Denmark and Copenhagen, Frederick William, with auxiliaries, marched against him into Holstein and even into Jutland and Fünen, where the troops of Brandenburg played a decisive part in the battle of Nyborg (1659). Charles X, relying on the assistance of France, was still unbent when, in February, 1660, he was overtaken by an early death. The regency which governed for his young son hastened to conclude at Oliva, a monastery near Dantzic, on the 3rd of May, 1660, the peace which had already been initiated. The Wehlau Treaty with Poland was confirmed and guaranteed by the great powers. Henceforth, Frederick William was sovereign prince in Prussia.

OPPOSITION OF THE ESTATES

Now, for the first time, Frederick William might turn his attention to amalgamating into one state the different provinces over which he ruled. It was the estates of the various districts which set themselves against the unity of the state. By it their "liberty," that is the unrestrained freedom with which they held sway in their circles, was endangered. Instead of ruling by the aid of the sovereign estates, the elector attempted to do so by means of his officials, and he chose these officials not merely from the narrow districts in which they were to labour—he also took them from "the stranger." The estates vehemently opposed him; but their day had gone by. Only those in Cleves maintained their general position, after they had abandoned to the elector the right to raise and maintain troops in the country and to appoint officials; the estates of Brandenburg and Prussia lost this right almost entirely. The prerogatives of the estates in Brandenburg were obsolete, their administration was clumsy, and since, thanks to the new tax on commodities, the elector had little need of the grants of money from the estates, henceforth he seldom called them together, until gradually they fell into oblivion.

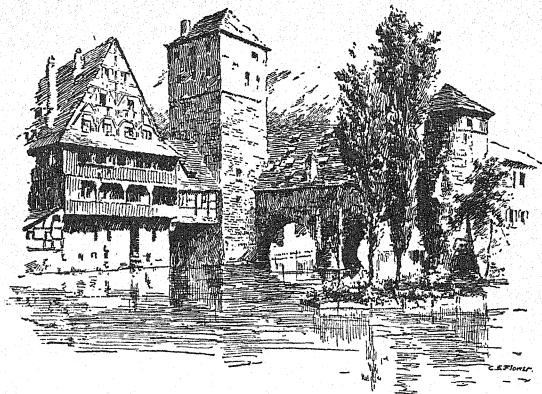
The struggle in Prussia was more severe. The Prussian estates were accustomed to a certain share in the government, and showed themselves ill-disposed towards the severe order and discipline of Brandenburg. The example the unbridled freedom of the Polish estates had a demoralising effect upon them. They had from the first maintained in the face of the Great Elector that Poland had not the power to hand over the sovereignty to him without their acquiescence; and they therefore persisted in a defiant attitude towards him; the most eager party among them even entered into treacherous negotiations with Poland, and Poland was not disinclined to utilise the insubordination of the Prussian estates for her own ends. At the head of the elector's opponents stood the *Schöppenmeister* of Königsberg, Hieronymous Roth, and Daniel von Kalkstein. But when the elector had failed to attain his object, either by mildness or by threats, he took his measures with an iron hand. He was accused of high treason and condemned to lifelong imprisonment (1662), during which he died unsubdued (1678). Kalkstein, who had uttered threats against the elector's life, and had been imprisoned, but afterwards pardoned, fled to Poland, in defiance of his plighted word. In 1677 he gave himself out as a representative of the Prussian estates, and in his name and with vehement abuse of the elector demanded that Poland should resume her ancient rights. On this, Frederick William, through his ambassador, caused him to be secretly seized and conveyed out of the town; when he was brought wrapped in carpet to Prussia, and his head struck off at Memel (1672). Henceforth, all resistance in the estates was broken, and Frederick William was absolute monarch in his own state. If in this reckless method of procedure he resembled the type of the age, Louis XIV, yet the difference between the Prussian absolute rule and the French lay in this: it saved the state, but did not sacrifice it to its own vanity and selfishness; and it was a blessing to the state whose unity it founded and which it freed from petty influences.

WAR WITH FRANCE AND SWEDEN

For twelve years Brandenburg enjoyed peace. It was not until 1672 that the Great Elector entered into the European struggle against Louis XIV, when, deaf to all enticements and promises of money on the part of the conqueror, he was the first of all the princes to hasten to the assistance of Holland, whose value for the liberty of Europe and the preservation of the Gospel he recognised. Hampered by the envy and disfavour of Austria, and attacked by Cleves and Westphalia by Louis XIV in full force, he found himself, in 1673, in the necessity of concluding with France the Peace of Vossem (near Assels); but when, in 1674, the German empire entered into the war, he speedily again on the Rhine, and this time with many more troops than was pledged to put into the field—twenty thousand men. Then Louis XIV, means of his influence in Sweden, roused a new enemy in the elector's rear. In the winter of 1674, the Swedes from Hither Pomerania fell upon Further Pomerania and Neumark, as well as upon Uckermark, Priegnitz, and Havelland. At first they behaved with moderation, but soon went about plundering, burning, and wasting, as in the worst days of the Thirty Years' War, and prepared to cross the Elbe and even to break into Altmark itself.

The elector had gone into winter quarters on the Main. As soon as he was sufficiently prepared he started with the army, soon left the infantry, with the exception of a small, picked body, behind him, and appeared in Magdeburg on the 21st of June, 1675. Here he had the gates closed, that no news might precede him, and rested two days. Then, with only six thousand horse

[1675-1678 A.D.]



HANGMAN'S FOOTBRIDGE, NUREMBERG, WITH THIRTEENTH-CENTURY FORTIFICATIONS

and twelve hundred foot, forwarded on carts, he hurried on. On the 25th he took Rathenow, and thus divided the hostile army, which was posted from Havelberg to Brandenburg. The left wing of the Swedes made haste to cross the Rhine, which forms the old boundary of Havelland and the countship of Ruppín and leaves only a few fordable places. At one of these, near Fehrbellín in the province of Bellín, a sandy plateau full of fir woods, the elector compelled them to give battle, June 28th, 1675. With 5,600 horse, which alone had followed his lightning speed, and 13 cannon, he attacked the Swedes, 11,000 strong (4,000 on horseback, 7,000 on foot, and 38 cannon). At the very beginning he espied, with the keen eye of a general, an unoccupied hill, which commanded the battle-field; thither he hastened with the cannon. It was here that the fight was hottest; here his faithful horsemen had to cut out a way for the elector himself from the midst of the foes who surrounded him; here his master of the horse, Emanuel Froben, fell at his master's side, and here the fate of the day was gloriously decided for the Brandenburgers.

The young power had conquered the Swedes, whose warlike renown had subsisted unshaken since the days of Gustavus Adolphus; the elector had performed the most glorious task which can fall to the lot of a soldier—he had freed his fatherland from foreign violence. Seven days later not a foe remained on the soil of the mark. The empire now declared war against Sweden, while Denmark, covetous of Bremen and Verden, which indeed were also Swedish, entered into an alliance with the Great Elector, as his contemporaries already called him.

Thus supported, Frederick William proceeded to an attack on the German provinces of Sweden. In 1676 almost all Pomerania, in 1677 Stettin, and in 1678 Stralsund itself had been conquered. In order to bring the last-named town to surrender, the Brandenburg troops had been transported by Danish assistance to Rügen, being supported at the same time by the little fleet which the elector already had on the Baltic. Soon Greifswald also fell. Not a foot

[1678-1679 A.D.]

German land now remained to Sweden. Then, whilst Frederick William himself was in Westphalia for the purpose of protecting Cleves against the advancing French, came the news that the Swedes had invaded Prussia from Pomerania (November, 1678). With all speed, and in the bitterest winter weather, he set the army in motion, journeyed thither himself, though he was ill, and in January, 1679, held at Marienwerder a muster of troops, which were nine thousand strong. The Swedes were already in retreat. The elector had sledges collected from the whole neighbourhood, and these he sent forward his infantry, hastened after the enemy, cut off his retreat by risking the direct way across the ice of the Frisches and the Kurhes Haff, but overtook only the fragments of their flying army. Of sixteen thousand Swedes scarcely a tithe escaped the fearful cold and the eager pursuit of the Brandenburg troops, which penetrated as far as the neighbourhood of Riga.

Thus the war had been brought to an end in all quarters. But the elector's allies had already, independently of him, concluded a peace with Louis XIV (at Nimeguen). Envy had induced Austria to leave her ally in the lurch. The fear to which expression is so well given in the so-called "Stralendorf judgment" (Stralendorf was imperial vice-chancellor in the days of Maximilian II)—"It is to be feared that the Brandenburg will now betray him whom the Calvinist and Lutheran mob yearn for"—grew with every success of the Great Elector, and entirely governed the Habsburg policy. He was left alone against Louis XIV, who immediately occupied first Cleves, then Mark and Ravensberg, and laid siege to Minden, Frederick William could do nothing, and Louis demanded the restoration of all that had been taken from Sweden. Mournfully the elector at last acquiesced, uttering the wish that from him might descend the avengers who should repay the outrage to his faithful allies. In the Peace of St. Germain, in 1679, he gave back to the Swedes all the conquered country with the exception of the strip on the left bank of the Oder, and thus Sweden continued to preserve her German territories.

THE GREAT ELECTOR AND AUSTRIA AND SPAIN

In addition to this mortification the elector received another. In the year of his victory of Fehrbellin (1675), the ducal house of Liegnitz, Brieg, and Hainau had become extinct, and in accordance with the old treaty of 1537 these provinces also should have fallen to Brandenburg. But Austria decided them for herself as Bohemian fiefs, and marched into them without paying any heed to the legal claims of Brandenburg. It was openly said in Vienna, "It is not pleasing to the imperial majesty that a new Vandal empire should raise its flag on the Baltic." More than this, the aid against the Turks several times offered by the elector in the distress of Austria which now ensued, was rejected because it was feared that the opportunity might be taken of a military occupation of those provinces. Full of anger with his allies, Frederick William directly after the Peace of St. Germain had allied himself with Louis XIV—an unnatural relation which did not long subsist. Spain, which still owed him a subsidy for the last war, he attacked by sea with his fleet. Even before the war, Frederick William, who well knew the importance of a naval force, had begun to create himself a fleet with the aid of shipbuilders; it then consisted of ten frigates which had already given the Swedes plenty of trouble. With this fleet he made prize of various merchant vessels, but, on the other hand, it had failed to capture the plate fleet, which annually carried to Spain the treasures of the American mines, and the

[1685-1686 A.D.]

ships of Brandenburg, driven by storms and pressed by a superior enemy, had to seek refuge in a Portuguese harbour.

But when in the Turkish wars the emperor had need of aid from Brandenburg in order that he might completely recover Hungary, he surrendered to the elector the circle of Schwiebus (in the east of the province of Brandenburg) as an indemnity for the Silesian claims (1686), and also resigned to him a claim he had on East Friesland, whereby Frederick William came into possession of Emden and Gretsyl as pledges. From here his ships went out to his colonies, for as early as 1683 he had occupied a strip on the Gold Coast of Africa, and had there erected the fort Gross-Friedrichsburg; besides this, he had acquired from the Danes a port of the island of St. Thomas in the West Indies. But these colonies, founded in unfavourable places and soon threatened by the jealousy of the Dutch, had no future, and were already abandoned by his second successor in 1721.

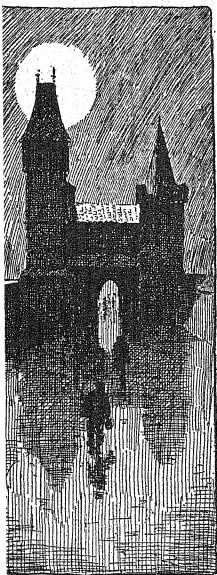
WORK AND CHARACTER OF THE GREAT ELECTOR

Thus Frederick William was ceaselessly active, even where circumstances proved too strong for his small forces. From Louis XIV, who was cast in such a different mould, he soon again fell off. In 1685 Louis had abrogated the Edict of Nantes, which secured toleration to the Huguenots, and had oppressed them in every possible way, in order to lead them back to the Catholic Church; for as he knew only one royal will, so he recognised only one faith in France. Far different was the Great Elector: "He first calls in the healing word into the disputes of the church and demands a general amnesty for all three confessions." How could he have looked with indifferent eyes on the necessities of his co-religionists in France? By his Potsdam Edict he opened his territories to the fugitives, who brought their industry and skill with them. Louis was already angered at this; but now the elector offered a helping hand to his wife's nephew, William III of Orange, in the acquisition of the English throne, from which William, in collusion with the great nobles of England, was preparing to hurl his father-in-law, the Catholic James II. Louis XIV, who kept James II in his pay and in subjection, drew from these transactions fresh hatred against Frederick William, who bequeathed the execution of his plans, from which he was himself prevented by death, to his son, Frederick III.

The Great Elector stands forth as the only really great ruler that Germany produced in the seventeenth century. It was by him that the melancholy Peace of Westphalia was first made to yield blessings to Germany. For when this peace dissolved the imperial form of government in Germany and made sovereign rulers of the princes, Frederick William was the first who in this capacity laboured for the good of Prussia and Germany; to him Prussia owes it that the provincial distinctions vanished before the sense of belonging to one state, so that every man, whether he were of Cleves or of Brandenburg, of Pomerania or of East Prussia, felt himself to be a member of one whole, and thus he built up for Germany the new power which was to take the place of the decaying empire. By means of the alliances which he concluded in and beyond Germany, he, with his insignificant forces, opposed the overwhelming power of Louis XIV, and was thus enabled to prevent the preponderance of one realm in Europe. He was the first who stood forth against Louis in 1672; the last to retire from the battle-field before him in 1679. Well-versed in the often faithless and violent statecraft of his time, he understood how to make his influence felt on all occasions. He was no less great as a soldier; with slight materials he founded a great state.

[1688 A.D.]

But the heroic figure of the Great Elector changes into that of the careful economist, when we consider his internal administration. Prudent and economical, he strengthened the resources of his country, and although he put a severe strain on the tax-paying forces of the population, yet their prosperity increased. For the cultivation of the soil, settlers were attracted into the depopulated villages, especially Dutch peasants, who might be regarded as the best teachers for the marks. By the reception of the French refugees, whom he subsequently installed as a regular colony in Berlin, he advanced industry, which was still in its infancy. By means of a regular postal service, and especially by the construction of roads and canals, he increased communication and rendered it more easy. His principal work in this direction is the Friedrich-Wilhelms or Müllroser canal, which united the Oder and the Havel, and, consequently, the Oder and the Elbe. And this man, whose mind embraced the greatest conceptions, whose ambassadors and court appeared on



OLD GERMAN GATEWAY

ceremonial occasions in all the dazzling splendour consonant with the custom of the age, at home was simple, unpretending, *bourgeois*, and childlike. In Potsdam he fished in the carp ponds, in the pleasure-grounds of Berlin he watered his tulip-bulbs, raised the first cauliflowers in the marks, and himself carried home in cages the singing birds he had bought in the market. Though, as a political character he, like Gustavus Adolphus, was not always free from reproach, in his home life he was full of a deep, genuine piety. In worthy, amiable fashion, he was seconded by the wife of his youth, Luise Henriette of Orange; his second wife, Dorothea, also devoted to him her careful solicitude. When he died (April 29th, 1688) he left behind him in north Germany a political power which, though not cohesive, was still so considerable—greater than modern Bavaria, Würtemberg, and Baden together—that to be a kingdom it lacked only the name.

PRUSSIA BECOMES A KINGDOM

The Great Elector was succeeded by his son Frederick III. His father had rated his abilities as small, as even less than they were, and the two had not always been on the best of terms. Austria had contrived to use this disunion to the best advantage. In his distrust of his father, and because he regarded an adherence to Austria as absolutely necessary, the electoral prince had let

himself be beguiled into promising Austria the restoration of the circle of Rhenish as soon as he should enter on his reign. In accordance with this agreement, when he became elector he actually did give back the circle of Rhenish (1695), but refused to make at the same time a formal resignation of the Silesian dukedoms, as was demanded of him. In his foreign policy he

[1688-1701 A. D.]

at first followed in the track of his great father. In accordance with the latter's intention he supported William III at his landing in England, and it was the troops of Brandenburg which conducted this consolidator of English liberty and power to his palace of St. James. When Louis XIV began his third predatory war, that of the Palatinate (1688), and the emperor Leopold, occupied with the Turkish war, was at a loss how to defend the empire, Frederick III proved himself worthy of his father; and uniting Saxony, Hanover, and Hesse-Cassel in an alliance, like the Great Elector in former days, he appeared in person on the Rhine and conducted the taking of Bonn, into which the French had thrown themselves.

Like his predecessors, he also cared for the enlargement of his state. But his most important achievement was the elevation of the electors of Brandenburg to be kings in Prussia. In this century of Louis XIV, an impulse towards splendour was, as has been said, manifested both at the greater and lesser courts, and to this no ruler was more susceptible than Frederick. It was only recently and, indeed, with Frederick's assistance, that William III of Orange and Frederick Augustus of Saxony had acquired kingly crowns, and the house of Hanover had a prospect of being raised to the English throne. Frederick desired a similar splendour for his own country, which, since the time of his father, whom Louis XIV is said to have urged to make himself king, was already equal in power to at least the lesser kingdoms of Europe. Circumstances were just now peculiarly favourable to this long-prepared and much-desired step. About the year 1700 Europe was shaken by two mighty wars. In the north, Russia under Peter the Great, Poland under Augustus II, and Denmark under Frederick IV had concluded an alliance against the young, heroically minded Charles XII of Sweden, who, with the impetuous military spirit of his ancestors, anticipating his enemies in the so-called Northern War (1700-1721), rapidly humiliated one opponent after another. But in the south the war of the Spanish Succession was preparing. The elector was therefore in the fortunate position of seeing himself the object of universal solicitation; and since Austria was especially zealous in her efforts to obtain his friendship and his help, Frederick seized the occasion to obtain, in exchange for the promise of supporting the emperor in the struggle for Spain, the consent of Leopold to his own assumption of the royal title—not indeed in his German territories, as that seemed out of the question, but in his extra-German, sovereign province, Prussia. Prince Eugene, who was not well disposed towards the Prussians, did indeed declare that the ministers who advised his imperial majesty to accede to the assumption of the royal crown of Prussia were worthy of the hangman, but in Vienna the momentary advantage prevailed. And so at Königsberg, on the 18th of January, 1701, Frederick set the royal crown on the heads of himself and his consort in the midst of the most tremendous pomp, and henceforth styled himself Frederick I, king in Prussia. It was only from the future that this step received its significance. "It was," said Frederick the Great, "as though by it he said to his successors, 'I have won for you a title; make yourselves worthy of it. I have laid a foundation for your greatness; you must complete the work.'"

It was in accordance with the king's temper to surround the kingly crown with royal magnificence. He made Berlin his capital, which was laid out according to the measure of the future. Schlüter's splendid buildings rose—the royal castle, the arsenal, Charlottenburg; the long bridge was adorned with the statue of the Great Elector from the hand of the same artist. The town was extended by a whole new quarter, the Friedrichsstadt, and the fine street "Unter den Linden" came into existence. The king's consort, the clever, accomplished Sophie Charlotte of Hanover, the friend of the great scholar Leibnitz, vied with her husband in the encouragement of science and

art. The academy of science was founded in Berlin in 1711. But institutions of immediate benefit also came to life in Prussia; such was the University of Halle (1694) beside which rose in the same place that pious work of Hermann August Francke, the orphan asylum. In accordance with his father's grand conceptions, Frederick I also continued to permit religious liberty to prevail, and to be everywhere a protector of the Protestants. It must be confessed that in his love of display he forgot the old wise economy which had characterised almost all the Hohenzollerns: the country groaned under a heavy pressure of taxation, and whilst until 1697 Brandenburg had owed much to Eberhard von Danckelmann, who had ingratitude for his reward, Frederick's finances, under the influence of the clever but light-minded Kolb von Wartenburg, were brought to the verge of ruin. The king's last years were also clouded by sickness and other severe dispensations. Fortunately, he had in his son a successor who was master in those very departments of finance and administration which the father had neglected.

THE FATHER OF FREDERICK THE GREAT

Frederick William I (1713-1740) was the counterpart of his father: strictly simple, soldierly, economical, and devoted only to the practical, he disdained the splendour which was then held necessary for a prince. In opposition to the immorality which prevailed in almost all courts, he desired to be a good, strict, generous housefather both in his own family and in his country; not fashionable French trumpery and magnificence, but pious German morality should rule with him. In the mere force of character with which he set himself in opposition to the tendency of his age Frederick William I showed himself great—greater still in the method and spirit in which he ordered the administration of his state. In 1723 he united all the different departments (supreme, finance, war, and demesne), into the General Directory; like a great landowner he superintended everything himself; he inculcated economy in everything. "*Quidquid vult, vehementer vult* [whatever he desires he desires intensely]; he sees all, concerns himself with all; he is sterner than Charles XII and Czar Peter"—so ran the reports of the foreign ambassadors at his court even in the early days of his government. According to a design of his own, he created a bureaucracy which, simple, severe, but conscientious, like the king himself, formed the system of wheels in the machinery of state administration in which Frederick William's great son himself found little to be altered. He simplified the judicial administration, stood forward for the rapid disposal of lawsuits, and made preparations to replace the "Roman law which is confused and partly unsuitable to our own country," by a special national code. Science, in so far as it was not, like medicine, directly useful, he did not promote; but, on the other hand, he spared neither trouble nor expense to improve the education of the people. Each of his subjects should be able to read the holy Scriptures, write what was required, and calculate. Thousands of village schools were opened, and the compulsory attendance which the king introduced furnished them with scholars. The foundation was laid for the regular system of popular instruction in Prussia.

In accordance with the views of his age, he sought to increase the industries and productiveness of his own country by strict exclusion and high taxation of foreign products. For instance, he forbade the wearing of garments made of fabrics which had not been prepared in the country, and with his family set a good example. He also improved agriculture, and, like his predecessors, invited foreigners into his land—for example, many Bohemians, who had been

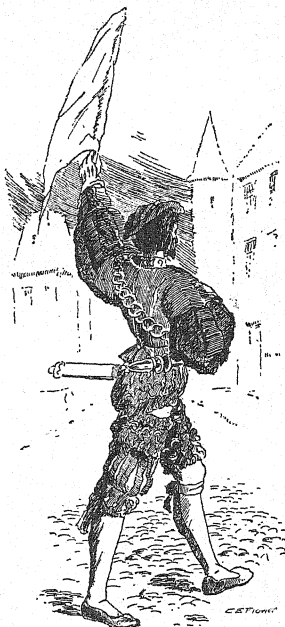
[1713 A.D.]

compelled to leave their own country on account of religion; but he derived a peculiar advantage from the reception of seventeen thousand citizens of Salzburg whom he settled in East Prussia, which had just been desolated by a frightful pest. Not as serfs, but as free peasants, they established themselves in the newly founded villages; the king was well aware "how noble a thing it is for subjects to glory in their liberty." But his endeavours to abolish the existing serfdom came to nothing, and he had to content himself with at least protecting the peasants from being expelled from their farms and from extreme oppression.

What he accomplished, he accomplished in a consciousness of the supremacy of the royal will, which endured no opposition. The absolute form of government, as the Great Elector had established it, in contrast to the dreadful confusion of the estates, was brought by him into full play; he gave stability (according to his own expression) to the sovereignty, and settled the crown firm "as a rock of bronze." For relaxation he had recourse to hunting, of which he was passionately fond, painting, turning, and the unrestrained simple evening society which is known by the name of the Tobacco College. Eager in his patriotism and terrible in his sudden bursts of anger, he made many a one feel the weight of his Spanish cane; but in his healthy mind he generally discerned the just and useful, although he was not wanting in singularities. In his dealing with foreign powers he had little success. He attached himself to Austria with a zeal directed by an intention to keep faith and by patriotism towards the empire, and here his field-marshal Von Grumbkow and the crafty Austrian ambassador Von Seckendorf knew thoroughly well how to direct him, so that his sense of honour was often misused by the diplomatic arts of the time.

FREDERICK WILLIAM I AND HIS ARMY

His whole, often one-sided preference turned him to the army. His father, Frederick I, had also remained true to the example of the great founder of the state, in that he had unremittingly strengthened, improved, and drilled the army. Prince Leopold of Dessau, surviving in the popular recollection under the name of the "old Dessauer," was the king's most faithful assistant in the perfecting of the army. Under his leadership the Prussians had rendered decisive assistance at the battles of Blenheim and Turin, and had first made the name of the new kingdom respected. Frederick William I lived and



GERMAN NOBLE, CARRYING BANNER OF TOWN

moved in his soldiers. Indeed his preference for his "blue children" and for "long knaves," in his love for whom he forgot even his economy, was wonderful; but it was a very just idea that the little state could enforce its claims on the future only by means of a superior army. So he increased the army to eighty-three thousand men—a great parade for the little country, as many said mockingly; but later on, in his son's hands, this became the effectual means to the greatest ends. The Prussian officers, all appointed by the king himself, and treated by him as comrades, formed a body of men who had not their equals for their devotion to their military superiors, for ability, training, and capacity for sacrifice. The nobility of the marks, hitherto so intractable, now, when educated in the king's cadet school and accustomed to a strict obedience, became the first prop of the army, and consequently of the state. The Prussian soldiers were looked upon as a pattern for Europe; Leopold of Dessau, a military genius, introduced the bayonet, gave the infantry the disposition in three members, which was generally adopted, and especially accustomed them, by continuous drilling and by the use of the iron ramrod, to the greatest rapidity in loading and firing, and so made them troops of inestimable value in deciding a battle. The training indeed was barbarous, and necessarily so, for only the smaller half of the army was composed of children of the country who were taken from the enlistment circles (cantons) set apart for the different regiments; the majority were foreigners, collected from the countries of all princes. Only an iron discipline could hold together this motley crowd, in which there was plenty of barbarism.

Frederick William I did not often engage in war. When he came to the throne the war of the Spanish Succession was just ending, and in the Peace of Utrecht to which he acceded he received from the Orange inheritance a part of the duchy of Gelderland. Twice after this he made use of his army. First it was against the Swedes. Charles XII had made a brilliant beginning to his career in the Northern War; he had in particular made King Augustus II of Poland feel the weight of his anger, and had forced unhappy Saxony to pay for the ambition of her elector. In the year 1706 he had invaded Saxony, had fearfully bled it, and here in the heart of Germany had forced from Augustus II the Peace of Altranstädt (not far from Leipsic). Incidentally, faithful to the example of his great predecessor Gustavus Adolphus, he had interfered powerfully and successfully in behalf of the heavily oppressed Protestants in Silesia and Austria. Thereupon he had plunged into the deserts of Russia, had been beaten at Pultowa by Peter the Great (1709), and had then wasted five valuable years among the Turks, whilst his enemies, Russia, Poland, and Denmark, attacked his country on all sides. In 1713, as Hither Pomerania was threatened by Russia and Denmark, the Swedish regency in the absence of Charles XII had itself requested King Frederick William, as a neutral power, to occupy the country. But as the commandant at Stettin would not hand over the town without a special order from his king, Saxons and Russians had conquered it by force of arms; but had afterwards resigned it to Frederick William for 400,000 thalers, to defray war expenses. When finally Charles XII returned from the Turks (1714), he would hear nothing of this whole transaction, nor of the repayment of that sum. Frederick William, therefore, went over to the enemies of the Swedish king, though he had a high respect for him personally. In conjunction with the Danes he immediately besieged him in Stralsund and took the city. Charles himself escaped with difficulty. Even before he met his end at the Norwegian border fortress of Frederikshald, in 1718, the power of Sweden had fallen to pieces. The Prussians once more occupied Hither Pomerania, with Rügen and Stralsund.

George I, who since 1714 had been king of England, but was still in his

[1719-1736 A.D.]

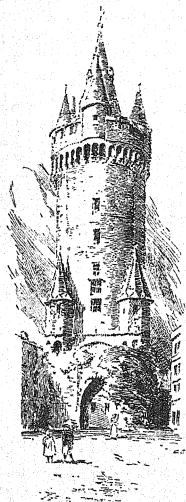
heart a far more zealous Hanoverian, bought for his hereditary territories the Swedish districts of Bremen and Verden, which had been occupied by Denmark and which he acquired permanently by the Peace of Stockholm in 1719. On the other hand Denmark obtained for herself the portion of Schleswig-Holstein which belonged to the house of Holstein-Gottorp, to which Charles XII was related by marriage.¹ In accordance with the Peace of Stockholm of 1720, Hither Pomerania as far as the Peene fell to Prussia; only the farthest point of the province, with Greifswald, Stralsund, and the island of Rügen (afterwards called New Pomerania), still remained Swedish (until 1814). Frederick William especially rejoiced over the acquisition of Stettin, for through this maritime city he had obtained a footing on the sea which would allow of participation in the commerce of the whole world. Thus, then, the one power which had intruded itself into the 'Thirty Years' War, was if not entirely expelled from German territory at least rendered harmless, and this had been accomplished chiefly by the Prussian arms. On the other hand, it was an undeniable fact that under the bold rule of Peter the Great a decided advance had been gained by Russia, who had received most of the Baltic provinces—Livonia, Esthonia, Karelia, and Ingermanland—resigned by Sweden in the Peace of Nystadt (1721); she was moreover already preparing the way for dominion in Courland: Russia was now a great power, and was acquiring in Sweden's place a threatening preponderance in the north of Europe. They were for the most part Germans—often mere desperate adventurers who, as generals and statesmen, assisted to found the new great state.

THE WAR OF THE POLISH SUCCESSION (1733-1735 A.D.)

The second war in which Frederick William I engaged was the war of the Polish Succession (1733-1735; final peace not till 1738). After the death of Augustus II (1733), Cardinal Fleury, the minister of France, endeavoured to recover the Polish crown for the father-in-law of his young sovereign, Louis XV, Stanislaus Leszczyński, whom Charles XII had on a former occasion caused to be elected king of Poland. The electors of Mainz, Cologne, the Palatinate, and Bavaria were on his side. On the other hand, Austria and Russia supported Frederick Augustus II of Saxony, the former on condition that Saxony should recognise the Pragmatic Sanction, the latter with the proviso that Courland, hitherto a Polish fief, should be handed over to Russia on the extinction, then imminent, of the German ducal house of Kettler. A Russian army advanced on Dantzic, which at this time belonged to Poland, and compelled it to capitulate; later on twelve thousand men marched through Silesia, Bohemia, and Franconia, as far as the Rhine. Thus the new great power began to play a part on German soil. Once again the veteran Eugene of Savoy proceeded to the upper Rhine with an army to which the Prussian king sent an auxiliary corps. His old opponent, Villars, led the French. However, no sanguinary encounter took place; France withdrew her demands: but Stanislaus Leszczyński received as compensation the duchy of Lorraine, which subsequently, at his death (1766), fell by virtue of the treaty to France. The young duke of Lorraine, Francis Stephen, who since 1736 had been the consort of the emperor's daughter, Maria Theresa, was indemnified with Tuscany. On her part France recognised the Pragmatic Sanction. Thus was Lorraine torn from the empire in the interests of the Austrian family.

¹ The eldest sister of Charles XII had married Frederick IV of Schleswig-Holstein-Gottorp. She died before her brother, leaving a son, Charles Frederick. On the death of Charles XII, Charles Frederick's claims to the Swedish throne were set aside in favour of Charles XII's younger sister, Ulrica Eleonora, who became queen of Sweden (1718).

King Frederick William, who in this instance as on previous occasions had adhered faithfully to the emperor, and had shown more patriotism than any other prince, had previously been encouraged to hope for the acquisition of the duchy of Berg, soon to become vacant by the expected extinction of the palatine house of Neuburg. But the emperor obtained its preservation to the palatine electorate and the palatine house of Sulzbach, which was next in succession to the Palatinate, and at the end of the war Frederick William saw himself deceived in his hopes, nay, more, wilfully and insultingly passed over. Like the Great Elector he too hoped for an avenger, and looked for one in his son, the crown prince Frederick.^c



MEDIEVAL WATCH-TOWER

THE KING AND THE CROWN PRINCE FREDERICK

The king's relations with his son at an earlier day had been anything but cordial. Indeed, there is scarcely a more singular chapter in history than the story of old Frederick William's treatment of his prospective heir. At least one of the tales that have found currency must be retold here; namely, the famous incident through which the life of a comrade of the prince was sacrificed and the life of Frederick himself endangered. This incident will bring out in strong relief the domineering, despotic character of the king,—who nevertheless always acted, when not under stress of temper, on what he conceived to be the dictates of conscience and a love of justice. It appears that Frederick William had so exasperated his son that the future hero of the Seven Years' War determined to forfeit his inheritance and escape secretly to England, where, it was rumoured, he intended to espouse Anne, the princess royal.^a

The greatest circumspection had been used to conceal the correspondence with England; and in fact the letters from London were forwarded by a commercial house in that city, under cover, to a magistrate held in high esteem, and a man the least calculated to meddle with political intrigues; but he had been assured that the correspondence related purely to private affairs and commercial subjects. The magistrate put the letters he received, and which were addressed to a merchant at Berlin, into the post-office; the merchant opened his cover, and found enclosures to the address of one of the aides-de-camp of the prince, both of whom were also confidants and favourites. These last had nothing further to do but to take off a cover, and deliver the letters to their intended destination. The despatches from Berlin to London were forwarded in an inverse order, so that the merchant at Berlin supposed these letters to relate to the pecuniary concerns of some of the young prince's household in Franconia, and believed the correspondence to be pursued agreeably to the advice of the magistrate of Nuremberg.

The magistrate at length, however, conceived some uneasiness on the subject, and became somewhat scrupulous: he was at a loss to imagine why two commercial houses should choose so circuitous a route for the discussion of fair and honourable proceedings, which for the most part must be supposed to

[1736 A.D.]

require despatch. His scruples soon became suspicions, next apprehensions, and at length ended in a breach of trust. He opened a packet that came from Berlin, and by a singular fatality it contained the plan for the prince's escape, and the steps that had been taken to ensure its success. It would be difficult to describe the alarm of the merchant on finding himself implicated in so serious an affair. It appeared to him that the most effectual way of securing his own safety was to send the letter to the king of Prussia, accompanied with the disclosure of all that had passed between himself and the two commercial houses.

Frederick William observed the most profound secrecy respecting this discovery, but took effectual measures for seizing the prince at the moment of his escape. The king went once a year, on fixed days, into the provinces, for the purpose of reviewing his troops. During his journey into Westphalia, he slept one night with his suite in a small village a short league distant from the frontiers of Saxony. In this village the young prince and his attendants slept in a barn on some straw; and from this village he was to make his escape, about midnight, in a cart that was to come from Saxony and meet them at that time near a certain tree in a field. As on these occasions it was customary for the king to set out early, he naturally went early to bed; and the fatigues of the day gave reason to hope that every eye would be closed by midnight. The prince accordingly left the barn while all around him seemed perfectly quiet; even the sentinels made as if they did not perceive him; and he arrived without accident at the fatal tree: but here no cart appeared, different patrols having stopped and detained nearly half an hour the man who conducted it; and when it at length arrived, and the prince was getting into it, the same patrols again made their appearance and stopped him. Frederick, perceiving himself surrounded, leaned upon his hand against the tree, and suffered his person to be seized and conducted back to the village without pronouncing a single syllable. Frederick William conducted his son to Berlin as a state prisoner, and had him confined in the palace of the prince of Prussia, while Katte [one of his attendants] was thrown into a dungeon. Different circumstances convinced the king that his eldest daughter was concerned in the intended escape; and he punished her by beating her with his stick, and kicking her so violently that she would have been precipitated from the window to the pavement if her mother had not held her by the petticoats.

Frederick William resolved that his son should perish on the scaffold. "He will always be a villain," said he, "and I have three other sons of better qualities than he." It was in this temper of mind that he ordered his ministers of state to put the prince on his trial. This order was a source of infinite perplexity to the ministers, since they knew not what means to devise to save the heir to the throne. One of them found at least a pretence that exempted him from being one of the judges in this affair: he represented to his majesty that, the prince being an officer, his crime was consequently aggravated, and that he ought to be tried by a council of war; and the more since the empire in that case would have no right of interference, the laws of the empire not extending to the discipline of the army.

Frederick William, unable to reply to these suggestions, but irritated by the occurrence of obstacles and suspecting his ministers of the desire to defeat his purpose, told them they were a pack of scoundrels; that he understood their project; but that, in despite of them, his son should suffer death, and that he should have no difficulty in finding among his officers men who were more attached to the true principles of the government. He accordingly appointed a council of war, composed of a certain number of generals, under the presidency of the prince of Anhalt-Dessau, known by the name of Anhalt with the Mustaches, the same who is often mentioned in the wars of Freder-

ick, and who in 1733 at the head of six thousand Prussians, succeeded in compelling the French to raise the siege of Turin. Frederick was tried at this tribunal; and, when sentence was about to be passed, the president, with his formidable mustaches, rose and declared that, on his honour and conscience, he, for his part, perceived no cause for passing sentence of death on the accused prince, and that none among them had a right to pass such a sentence; then, drawing his sword, he swore he would cut off the ears of any man who should differ from him in opinion. In this manner he collected the suffrages, and the prince was unanimously acquitted. Frederick William, rendered furious by this decision, substituted another council of war, which consisted of men of timid and docile tempers, who had no will but his own.

Seckendorf now perceived the prince's fate to be inevitable, without immediate assistance; and persuaded himself that, having rendered one essential service to the house of Austria in preventing a dangerous alliance, he should render it a second of no smaller importance if in the name of that house he should save the future king of Prussia, and thus attach himself to his employers by the bonds of affection and gratitude. To this effect, he undertook to suppose orders which had not had time to reach him, and in the name and on the part of the emperor demanded a private audience that Frederick William did not dare refuse. In this audience he announced, in the name of chief of the empire, that it was to the empire itself Prince Frederick belonged, and that he in consequence made requisition of the maintenance of the rights and laws of the Germanic body: he insisted that the accused should have been delivered up, together with the official charges existing against him, to this body; and finally declared that the person of his royal highness Prince Frederick, heir to the throne of Prussia, was under the safeguard of the Germanic empire. This was a terrible stroke for Frederick William: he dared not bring on himself the resentment of all the states of the empire at once, and thus involve himself in a destructive war. He was, therefore, obliged to yield, notwithstanding his ferocious choler and unrelenting temper.

The life of the prince was saved, but he was still detained a state prisoner for an indefinite period. He had been previously stripped of his uniform and dressed in a grey coat, such as is worn by the councillors of war. In this attire he was conducted to the fortress of Küstrin, in Pomerania.^b

Meantime Frederick William was obliged to content himself with exacting what he called justice from a minor offender. The council had decreed that Katte should be imprisoned for two years (or, as some authorities say, for life); but the king overruled this finding, and imposed the death penalty. The curious moralising with which he accompanied this verdict is worth quoting, as throwing a striking side-light on the character of the man. The shrewd commentary of Carlyle will appropriately finish the picture.^a

Frederick William asserts, then:

That Katte's crime amounts to high-treason (*crimen læsæ majestatis*); that the rule is, *Fiat justitia, et pereat mundus*;—and that, in brief, Katte's doom is, and is hereby declared to be, Death. Death by the gallows and hot pincers is the usual doom of Traitors; but his Majesty will say in this case, Death by the sword and headsman simply; certain circumstances moving the royal clemency to go so far, no farther. And the Court-Martial has straightway to apprise Katte of this same: and so doing, "shall say, That his Majesty is sorry for Katte; but that it is better he die than that justice depart out of the world."

FRIEDRICH WILHELM.

(Wusterhausen, 1st November, 1730.)

This [says Carlyle] is the iron doom of Katte; which no prayer or influence of mortal will avail to alter,—lest justice depart out of the world. Katte's Father is a General of rank, Commandant of Königsberg at this moment; Katte's Grandfather by the Mother's side, old Fieldmarshal Wartensleben, is

[1730 A.D.]

a man in good favour with Frederick Wilhelm, and of high esteem and mark in his country for half a century past. But all this can effect nothing. Old Wartensleben thinks of the Daughter he lost; for happily Katte's Mother is dead long since. Old Wartensleben writes to Frederick Wilhelm; his mournful Letter, and Frederick Wilhelm's mournful but inexorable answer, can be read in the Histories; but show only what we already know.

Katte's Mother, Fieldmarshal Wartensleben's Daughter, died in 1706; leaving Katte only two years old. He is now twenty-six; very young for such grave issues; and his fate is certainly very hard. Poor young soul, he did not resist farther, or quarrel with the inevitable and inexorable. He listened to Chaplain Müller of the Gens-d'Armes; admitted profoundly, after his fashion, that the great God was just, and the poor Katte sinful, foolish, only to be saved by miracle of mercy; and piously prepared himself to die on these terms. There are three Letters of his to his Grandfather, which can still be read, one of them in *Wilhelmina's Book*, the sound of it like that of dirges borne on the wind. *Wilhelmina* evidently pities Katte very tenderly; in her heart she has a fine royal-maiden kind of feeling to the poor youth. He did heartily repent and submit; left with Chaplain Müller a Paper of pious considerations, admonishing the Prince to submit. These are Katte's last employments in his prison at Berlin, after sentence had gone forth.

CARLYLE DESCRIBES KATTE'S END (NOVEMBER 6th, 1730)

On Sunday evening, 5th November, it is intimated to him, unexpectedly at the moment, that he has to go to Cüstrin, and there die;—carriage now waiting at the gate. Katte masters the sudden flurry; signifies that all is ready, then; and so, under charge of his old Major and two brother Officers, who, and Chaplain Müller, are in the carriage with him, a troop of his own old Cavalry Regiment escorting, he leaves Berlin (rather on sudden summons); drives all night, towards Cüstrin and immediate death. Words of sympathy were not wanting, to which Katte answered cheerily; grim faces wore a cloud of sorrow for the poor youth that night. Chaplain Müller's exhortations were fervent and continual; and, from time to time, there were heard, hoarsely melodious through the damp darkness and the noise of wheels, snatches of "devotional singing," led by Müller.

It was in the grey of the winter morning, 6th November 1730, that Katte arrived in Cüstrin Garrison. He took kind leave of Major and men: Adieu, my brothers; good be with you evermore!—And, about nine o'clock, he is on the road towards the Rampart of the Castle, where a scaffold stands. Katte wore, by order, a brown dress exactly like the Prince's; the Prince is already brought down into a lower room, to see Katte as he passes (to "see Katte die," had been the royal order; but they smuggled that into abeyance); and Katte knows he shall see him. Faithful Müller was in the death-car along with Katte; and he had adjoined to himself one Besserer, the Chaplain of the Garrison, in this sad function, since arriving. Here is a glimpse from Besserer, which we may take as better than nothing:

"His (Katte's) eyes were mostly directed to God; and we (Müller and I), on our part, strove to hold his heart up heavenwards, by presenting the examples of those who had died in the Lord,—as of God's Son himself, and Stephen, and the Thief on the Cross,—till, under such discoursing, we approached the Castle. Here, after long wistful looking about, he did get sight of his beloved Jonathan, "Royal Highness the Crown-Prince," at a window in the castle; from whom he, with the politest and most tender expression, spoken in French, took leave, with no little emotion of sorrow."

President Münchow and the Commandant were with the Prince; whose emotions one may fancy, but not describe. Seldom did any Prince or man stand in such a predicament. Vain to say, and again say: "In the name of God, I ask you, stop the execution till I write to the King!" Impossible that; as easily stop the course of the stars. And so here Katte comes; cheerful loyalty still beaming on his face, death now nigh. "*Pardonnez-moi, mon cher Katte!*" cried Frederick in a tone: "Pardon me, dear Katte; O, that this should be what I have done for you!"—"Death is sweet for a prince I love so well," said Katte, "*La mort est douce pour un si aimable Prince*"; and fared on,—round some angle of the Fortress, it appears; not in sight of Frederick; who sank into a faint, and had seen his last glimpse of Katte in this world.

The body lay all day upon the scaffold, by royal order; and was buried at night obscurely in common churchyard; friends, in silence, took mark of the place against better times,—and Katte's dust now lies elsewhere, among that of his own kindred.

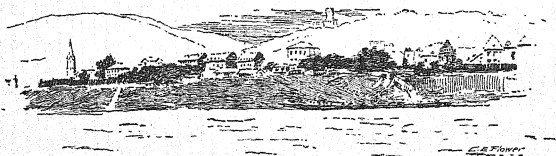
"Never was such a transaction before or since, in Modern History," cries the angry reader: "cruel, like the grinding of human hearts under millstones, like—" Or indeed like the doings of the gods, which are cruel, though not that alone!^e

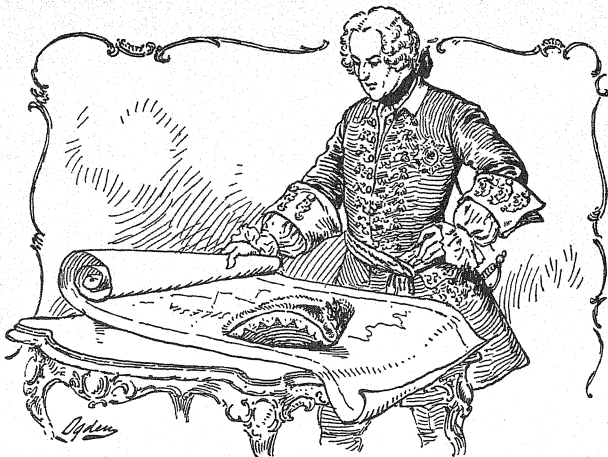
RECONCILIATION; THE END OF FREDERICK WILLIAM

Frederick was for a time kept under strict watch, but gradually this was relaxed, and ultimately the prince was released, and father and son were fully reconciled.^a

The marriage of Frederick in a short time succeeded his liberation; his sister, the duchess of Brunswick, by dint of reasoning, and the most affectionate entreaty, having at length prevailed on him to gratify the king in a favourite project. He accordingly espoused Elizabeth Christina, daughter to Duke Ferdinand Albert, of Brunswick Wolfenbüttel.^d The marriage was entered into much against the inclinations of the prince, and it brought nothing but unhappiness to the future king. But the domineering father had had his way.^a

When, broken in his powerful physical and mental forces, Frederick William died, on the 31st of May, 1740, he left his heir an efficient army of 83,000 men, a state treasure (not counting uncoined silver) of 9,000,000 thalers, and a state of some 2,250,000 inhabitants. Frederick William had brought the revenues of the state from 3,500,000 to 7,000,000 thalers. Berlin had at this time about 100,000 inhabitants.^e





CHAPTER III.

THE EARLY YEARS OF FREDERICK II

[1740-1756 A.D.]

AT the death of Frederick William I in May, 1740, Frederick was only twenty-eight years of age; his essentially active mind, excited still more by incessant application to the sciences, and by constant communication with learned men, was adapted for the most profound subjects of research. The study of history had transported his thoughts far beyond the narrow confines of his own times, and had instilled within him the most elevated ideas of the dignity of kings, of which his first acts as sovereign gave immediate evidence. It was soon shown that he was resolved to be his own ruler; his activity in the administration of affairs, the attention he devoted to all subjects, from those of the most grave import down to those of the most trivial nature, his sacrifice of rest and pleasure, the strict distribution of his hours, so that not one should be lost in inactivity—all this excited the greatest astonishment in those of his court, who had never heard of, or been accustomed to witness their sovereigns imposing upon themselves so many sacrifices for the government of their dominions. The extraordinary effect thus produced is very aptly described by a resident ambassador when writing to his own court. "In order to give you a correct idea of the new reign," he says, "it is only necessary to state that the king positively does all the work himself, whilst his prime minister has nothing to do but to issue forth immediately from the cabinet the commands he receives, without ever being consulted upon the subject. Unfortunately,

there is not one at the king's court who possesses his confidence, and of whose influence one might avail oneself in order to follow up with success the necessary preliminaries; consequently, an ambassador is more embarrassed here than at any other court." In truth, the policy introduced by France into Europe, which consisted in envenoming all relations of sovereigns between each other, by employing every art of cunning and espionage in order to discover the projects of foreign courts, even before they had been matured by those courts themselves, could not be brought to bear against Frederick II; for he weighed over every plan within the silence of his own breast, and it was only in the moment of its execution that his resolution was made known.^b

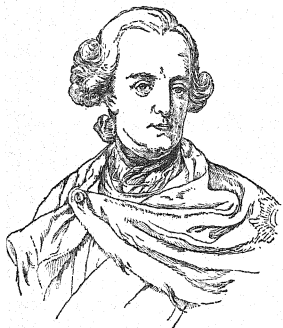
CARLYLE ON THE OPENING OF FREDERICK'S REIGN

The idea of building up the Academy of Sciences to its pristine height, or far higher, is evidently one of those that have long lain in the Crown Prince's mind, eager to realise themselves. Immortal Wolf, exiled but safe at Marburg, and refusing to return in Friedrich Wilhelm's time, had lately dedicated a Book to the Crown Prince; indicating that perhaps, under a new Reign, he might be more persuadable. Frederick makes haste to persuade; instructs the proper person, Reverend Herr Reinbeck, Head of the Consistorium at Berlin, to write and negotiate. "All reasonable conditions shall be granted" the immortal Wolf,—and Frederick adds with his own hand as Postscript:

"I request you [*ihn*] to use all diligence about Wolf.

"A man that seeks truth and loves it, must be reckoned precious in any human society; and I think you will make a conquest in the realm of truth if you persuade Wolf hither again."

This is of date June 6th: not yet a week since Frederick came to be King. The Reinbeck-Wolf negotiation which ensued can be read in Busching by the curious. It represents to us a creaky, thrifty, long-headed old Herr Professor, in no haste to quit Marburg except for something better: "obliged to wear woollen shoes and leggings"; "bad at mounting stairs"; and otherwise needing soft treatment. Willing, though with caution, to work at an Academy of Sciences;—but dubious if the French are so admirable as they



FREDERICK THE GREAT (1712-1786 A.D.)

seem to themselves in such operations. Veteran Wolf, one dimly begins to earn, could himself build a German Academy of Sciences, to some purpose, if encouraged. This latter was probably the stone of stumbling in that direction. Veteran Wolf did not get to be President in the new Academy of sciences; but was brought back, "streets all in triumph," to his old place at Halle; and there, with little other work that was heard of, but we hope in arm shoes and without much mounting of stairs, he lived peaceably victorious the rest of his days.

Frederick's thoughts are not of a German home-built Academy, but of a French one: and for this he already knows a builder; has silently had him

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in his eye, these two years past,—Voltaire giving hint, in a *Letter*. Builder shall be that sublime Maupertuis; scientific lion of Paris, ever since his feat in the Polar regions, and the charming Narrative he gave of it. “What a feat, what a book!” exclaimed the Parisian cultivated circles, male and female, on that occasion; and Maupertuis, with plenty of bluster in him carefully suppressed, assents in a grandly modest way. His Portraits are in the Print-shops ever since; one very singular Portrait, just coming out (at which there is some laughing): a coarse-featured, blustering, rather triumphant-looking man, blustering, though finely complacent for the nonce; in copious dressing-gown and fur cap; comfortably squeezing the Earth and her meridians flat (as if he had done it), with his left hand; and with the other, and its outstretched finger, asking mankind, “Are not you aware, then?”—“Are not we!” answers Voltaire by and by, with endless waggeries upon him, though at present so reverent. Frederick, in these same days, writes this Autograph; which who of men of lions could resist?

TO MONSIEUR DE MAUPERTUIS AT PARIS:

[No date:—dateable June, 1740.]

My heart and my inclination excited in me, from the moment I mounted the throne, the desire of having you here, that you might put our Berlin Academy into the shape you alone are capable of giving it. Come then, come and insert into this wild crabtree the graft of the Sciences, that it may bear fruit. You have shown the Figure of the Earth to mankind; show also to a King how sweet it is to possess such a man as you.

Monsieur de Maupertuis,—*Votre très-affectionné*,
FRÉDÉRIC.

This Letter,—how could Maupertuis prevent some accident in such a case?—got into the Newspapers; glorious for Frederick, glorious for Maupertuis; and raised matters to a still higher pitch. Maupertuis is on the road, and we shall see him before long.

And Every One shall get to Heaven in his own Way

Here is another little fact which had immense renown at home and abroad, in those summer months and long afterwards.

June 22nd, 1740, the *Geistliche Departement* (Board of Religion, we may term it) reports that the Roman-Catholic Schools, which have been in use these eight years past, for children of soldiers belonging to that persuasion, “are, especially in Berlin, perverted directly in the teeth of Royal Ordinance, 1732, to seducing Protestants into Catholicism”: annexed, or ready for annexing, “is the specific Report of Fiscal-General to this effect”:—upon which, what would it please His Majesty to direct us to do?

His Majesty writes on the margin these words, rough and ready, which we give with all their grammatical blotches on them; indicating a mind made up on one subject, which was much more dubious then, to most other minds, than it now is:

“*Die Religionen Musen [mussen] alle Tollerirt [tolerirt] werden und Mus [muss] der Fiscal muhr [nur] das Auge darauf haben, das [dass] keine der andern abrug Tuhe [Abbruch thu] den [den] hier mus [muss] ein jeder nach seiner Fasson Selich [Facon selig] werden.*”

Which in English might run as follows:

“All Religions must be tolerated [Tollerated], and the Fiscal must have an eye that none of them make unjust encroachment on the other; for in this Country every man must get to Heaven in his own way.”

Wonderful words; precious to the then leading spirits, and which (the spelling and grammar being mended) flew abroad over all the world; the enlightened Public everywhere answering his Majesty, once more, with its loudest "Bravissimo" on this occasion. With what enthusiasm of admiring wonder, it is now difficult to fancy, after the lapse of sixscore years. And indeed, in regard to all these worthy acts of Human Improvement which we are now concerned with, account should be held (were it possible) on Frederick's behalf, how extremely original, and bright with the splendour of new gold, they then were; and how extremely they are fallen dim, by general circulation, since that. Account should be held; and yet it is not possible, no human imagination is adequate to it, in the times we are now got into.

Free Press, and Newspapers the best Instructors

Toleration, in Frederick's spiritual circumstances, was perhaps no great treat to Frederick; but what the reader hardly expected of him was Freedom of the Press, or an attempt that way. From England, from Holland, Friedrich had heard of Free Press, of Newspapers the best Instructors: it is a fact that he hastens to plant a seed of that kind at Berlin; sets about it "on the second day of his reign," so eager is he. Berlin had already some meagre *Intelligenz-Blatt* (Weekly or Thrice-Weekly Advertiser), perhaps two; but it is a real Newspaper, frondent with genial leafy speculation, and food for the mind, that Frederick is intent upon: a "Literary-Political Newspaper," where it even two Newspapers, one French, one German; and he rapidly makes the arrangements for it; despatches Jordan, on the second day, to seek some Frenchman. Arrangements are soon made; a Bookselling Printer, Haude, bookseller once to the Prince-Royal, is encouraged to proceed with the improved German article, Mercury or whatever they called it; vapid Formey, a facile pen, but not a forcible, is the Editor sought out by Jordan for the French one. And, in short, No. 1 of Formey shows itself in print within a month; and Haude and he, Haude picking up some grand Editor in Hamburg, do their best for the instruction of mankind.

In not many months, Formey, a facile and learned but rather vapid gentleman, demitted or was dismissed; and the Journals coalesced into one, or split into two again; and went I know not what road, or roads in time coming,—one that led to results worth naming. Freedom of the Press, in the case of these Journals was never violated, nor was any need for violating it. General Freedom of the Press Frederick did not grant, in any quite Official or ready way; but in practice, under him, it always had a kind of real existence, though a fluctuating, ambiguous one. And we have to note, through Frederick's whole reign, a marked disinclination to concern himself with Censorship, or the shackling of men's poor tongues and pens; nothing but some officious report that there was offence to Foreign Courts, or the chance of offence, a poor man's pamphlet, could induce Frederick to interfere with him or it, and indeed his interference was generally against his Ministers for having long informed him and in favour of the poor Pamphleteer appealing at the main-head. To the end of his life, disgusting Satires against him, *Vie privée* by Voltaire, *Matinées du Roi de Prusse*, and still worse Lies and Non-sense, were freely sold at Berlin, and even bore to be printed there, Frederick saying nothing, caring nothing. He has been known to burn Pamphlets publicly,—one Pamphlet we shall ourselves see on fire yet:—but it was without the least hatred to them, and for official reasons merely. To the last he would answer his reporting Ministers, "*La presse est libre* (Free press, you must consider)!"—grandly reluctant to meddle with the press, or go down upon the press barking at his door. Those ill effects of Free Press (first stage of the ill

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effects) he endured in this manner; but the good effects seem to have fallen below his expectation. Frederick's enthusiasm for freedom of the press, prompt enough, as we see, never rose to the extreme pitch, and it rather sank than increased as he continued his experiences of men and things. This of Forney and the two Newspapers was the only express attempt he made in that direction; and it proved a rather disappointing one. The two Newspapers went their way thenceforth, Frederick sometimes making use of them for small purposes, once or twice writing an article himself of wildly quizzical nature, perhaps to be noticed by us when the time comes; but are otherwise, except for chronological purposes, of the last degree of insignificance to gods or men.

"Freedom of the Press," says my melancholic Friend, "is a noble thing; and in certain Nations, at certain epochs, produces glorious effects,—chiefly in the revolutionary line, where that has grown indispensable. Freedom of the Press, is possible, where everybody disapproves the least abuse of it; where the "Censorship" is, as it were, exercised by all in the world. When the world (as, even in the freest countries, it almost irresistibly tends to become), is no longer in a case to exercise that salutary function, and cannot keep down loud unwise speaking, loud unwise persuasion, and rebuke it into silence whenever printed, Freedom of the Press will not answer very long, among sane creatures and indeed, in Nations not in an exceptional case, it becomes impossible amazingly soon!"—

All these are phenomena of Frederick's first week. Let these suffice as sample, in that first kind. Splendid indications surely; and shot forth in swift enough succession, flash following flash, upon an attentive world. Betokening, shall we say, what internal sea of splendour, struggling to disclose itself, probably lies in this young King, and how high his hopes go for mankind and himself? Yes, surely:—and introducing, we remark withal, the "New Era," of Philanthropy, Enlightenment and so much else; with French Revolution, and a "world well suicided" hanging in the rear! Clearly enough, to this young ardent Frederick, foremost man of his Time, and capable of doing its inarticulate or dumb aspirings, belongs that questionable honour; and a very singular one it would have seemed to Frederick, had he lived to see what it meant.

Frederick's rapidity and activity, in the first months of his reign, were wonderful to mankind; as indeed, through life he continued to be a most rapid and active King. He flies about; mustering Troops, Ministerial Boards, passing Edicts, inspecting, accepting Homages of Provinces:—decides and does, every day that passes, an amazing number of things. Writes many Letters too; finds moments even for some verses; and occasionally draws a snatch of melody from his flute.^c

THE EUROPEAN SITUATION AS FREDERICK SAW IT

At that time the belief in a system of balance, as inculcated by William III of Orange, was still uppermost in people's minds, and fully prevailed in the conventions adhered to by the diplomatic world: namely, that the peace of Europe and the security of the different kingdoms rested on the recognition of France and Austria as the two great continental kingdoms, whilst the two sea powers, England and Holland, by inclining first to one, then to the other, maintained the balance. Frederick II rejected this view as now completely unsound; he discerned the true state of the powers, and evolved a very different system.

"The two chief powers," said he, "are France and England. I give

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France the first place, because within herself she has almost all the elements of power in the highest degree; she is superior to all others by reason of the number of her soldiers, and of the inexhaustible resources which she has at command through the clever handling of the finances, through her commerce and the opulence of her private citizens. England is perhaps even richer, has an infinitely larger commerce, has a greater naval power; but the insular position, which serves her for protection, is at the same time a hindrance to her influence on the outer world, and her population hardly reaches the half of the population of France. Both powers are contending for the position of universal arbitrator. France seeks conquest and supremacy, to be law-giver to the nations. England seeks not conquests, but, by ever-increasing trade, to stifle other nations, to monopolize the traffic of the world, and to use the treasures so acquired as instruments for her ambition. France seeks to subdue, through force of arms, England by bribery and gold to purchase slaves. England," he adds, "has not yet the rank which she means to claim among the powers."

Besides these two—the only great powers, because they alone are able to follow an independent policy—are four others, who, as the king says, are fairly equal among themselves, but who are to a certain extent dependent on the first two: Spain, Holland, Austria, Prussia. He explains in what way, and for what reason each of these can move independently only to a limited degree.

Of Austria, he says: "It is stronger in population than Spain and Holland; but weaker than they through its faulty finances, and takes a lower place than either because it has no navy. By dint of taxes and loans it can raise the means for a few campaigns; but then again, suddenly breathless and exhausted in the midst of battle, it requires foreign supplies to enable it to mobilise its forces, and so becomes dependent. Paradoxical though it seems, Austria will hold its own longer in warfare if waged in its own territory, because while on the defensive strength may be derived from the invading army, but it is not possible without actual cash to carry war into an enemy's country. Enmity between the house of Austria and the Bourbons is perennial, because the finest conquests of the Bourbons have been provinces torn from Austria, because France works unceasingly for the humiliation of the Austrian house, and because France upholds the Germans in their stand for freedom against the emperor, so long as they are not strong enough to take the emperor's crown for themselves."

The characterisation of Prussia is no less remarkable: "Prussia is less formidable than the Austrian house, but strong enough to sustain alone the cost of a war that is not too heavy and does not last too long. The extension and intersection of its territory multiply its neighbours innumerable. Its policy in finance and trade permits it to use a situation and, if promptly handled, to snatch advantage from opportunity; but wisdom should counsel it to beware of becoming too deeply involved. On account of its numerous neighbours and the scattered nature of its possessions, Prussia cannot act except allied with France or England."

Then the others are represented as powers of the third rank, who cannot take action without the aid of foreign subsidy. They are, says the king, as it were machines, which France and England set in motion when they have need of them. He then continues: "It appears from this survey, that the two chief rôles in the drama of European politics will be played by France and England; that the four powers can only act on occasion, within limits, with a killed use of circumstances, and that those princes who seek aggrandisement ill, on a given opportunity, ally themselves with France; those who seek prosperity and well-being rather than glory, will hold to England."

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"Such," he concludes, "is the system which arises out of the actual state of affairs; it may no doubt fall out otherwise in isolated instances, or appear to fail through bad policy, through prejudice, through faulty logic, through corrupt ministers; but the system itself will in a short time always readjust itself, just as water and oil, poured together and shaken, will soon after separate themselves again."

Thus Frederick II had in his mind quite another system from that founded on the accepted balance, a system which, based as it was on real facts, proved valuable. On this system he grounded his policy.^d

FREDERICK'S REASONS FOR THE FIRST SILESIAN WAR

Frederick early resolved to reclaim the principalities of Silesia, the rights of his house to which were incontestable: and he prepared, at the same time, to support these pretensions, if necessary, by arms. This project accomplished all his political views: it afforded the means of acquiring reputation, of augmenting the power of the state, and of terminating what related to the litigious succession of the duchy of Berg. Before however he would come to a fixed resolution, he weighed the dangers he had to encounter, in undertaking such a war, and the advantages for which he had to hope for.

On one hand stood the powerful house of Austria; which, possessed of advantages so various, could not but procure resources. The daughter of an emperor was to be attacked, who would find allies in the king of England, the republic of Holland, and the princes of the empire, by whom the Pragmatic Sanction had been guaranteed. Biron, duke of Courland, who then governed Russia, was in the pay of the court of Vienna, and the young queen of Hungary might incline Saxony to her interest, by the cession of some circles of Bohemia. The sterility of the year 1740 might well inspire a dread of wanting supplies, to form magazines and to furnish the troops with provisions. These were great risks. The fortune of war was also to be feared; one lost battle might be decisive. The king had no allies, and had only raw soldiers to oppose to the veterans of Austria, grown grey in arms and by so many campaigns inured to war.

On the other hand, a multitude of reflections animated the hopes of the king. The state of the court of Vienna, after the death of the emperor, was deplorable. The finances were in disorder; the army was ruined, and discouraged by ill success in its wars with the Turks; the ministry disunited, and a youthful, inexperienced princess at the head of the government, who was to defend the succession from all claimants. The result was that the government could not appear formidable. It was besides impossible that the king should be destitute of allies. The subsisting rivalry between France and England necessarily presupposed the aid of one of those powers; and all the pretenders to the succession of the house of Austria would inevitably unite their interests to those of Prussia. The king might dispose of his voice for the imperial election; he might adjust his pretensions to the duchy of Berg in the best manner, either with France or with Austria. The war which he might undertake in Silesia was the only offensive war that could be favoured by the situation of his states, for it would be carried on upon his frontiers, and the Oder would always furnish him with a sure communication.

The death of Anna, empress of Russia, which soon followed that of the emperor, finally determined the king in favour of this enterprise. By her decease the crown descended to young Ivan, grand duke of Russia, son of prince Anthony Ulrich of Brunswick, brother-in-law to the king, and of the princess of Mecklenburg. Probabilities were that, during the minority of the

young emperor, Russia would be more occupied in maintaining tranquillity at home than in support of the Pragmatic Sanction, concerning which Germany could not but be subject to troubles. Add to these reasons an army fit to march, a treasury ready prepared, and, perhaps, the ambition of acquiring renown. Such were the causes of the war which the king declared.^c

The first important engagement of the war took place at Mollwitz on the 10th and 11th of April, 1741. This first effort of the Prussian king in a field where he was to become pre-eminent merits detailed attention.^a

THE BATTLE OF MOLLWITZ (APRIL 10-11, 1741)

Count Neipperg and his staff [says Oncken] were at dinner, his men were busy with their cookery, when at noon signal-rockets were seen to go up from the fortress of Brieg. Neipperg sent out some hussar skirmishers to see what was the matter, and before they had gone far they came upon the hussars of the Prussian vanguard under Rothenburg, and returned with the news that the whole of the enemy's army was advancing in order of battle to the attack. If the said attack had ensued immediately, Römer's regiments would not have had time to saddle their horses, to say nothing of moving into line; they must have been scattered and the village taken before Berlichingen and the infantry were across the brook.

But it did not. Rothenburg had been sent out to reconnoitre, not to attack; he turned back in conformity with his orders, and the king deliberately and methodically formed his columns in order of battle with the village of Pampitz on his left. The infantry was drawn up in two divisions, the first under Schwerin, the second under the hereditary prince Leopold of Anhalt-Dessau; the cavalry was on both wings and the sixty pieces of artillery at the head of the whole array. The left wing seemed to be sufficiently covered by the swamp of Pampitz, and Frederick had made a two-fold provision for the covering of the right wing, where the first cavalry division was to deploy and surround the left wing of the Austrian army; he had drawn two battalions of grenadiers up in line between the squadrons of the first division and had placed three more in perpendicular column between the two divisions. Thus the order in which his infantry was ranged resembled an elongated quadrangle, closed by the swamp on the left and the three battalions on the right.

The ranging of the troops took until two o'clock, and then, with beating drums and flying colours, the men advanced to the attack. The sixty guns opened a rapid fire on Mollwitz and the shells dropped with deadly effect in the midst of General Römer's half-formed squadrons.

Römer's Defence

These thirty-six squadrons dashed in a furious charge upon Schulenberg's dragoons, who were in the act of wheeling to the left, and now found themselves seized as by a tornado, driven back, flung into disorder, and scattered in every direction. The carabineers, whom the king sent to their assistance, were routed; some of the fugitives galloped across the front with the enemy in pursuit; others rushed into the gap between the two divisions and carried the king's gendarmes and the king himself along with them; others, again, sought shelter behind the second division. The cavalry on the right wing seemed to have been annihilated, the infantry was encompassed by dense swarms of horsemen, who charged them again and again; while on the right wing Count Berlichingen's cavalry had put Colonel Posadowsky's eight squad-

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rons to flight and even made a breach in the line of infantry. In the hideous tumult which raged along the whole line of battle, to right and left, in front and behind, within the ranks and without them, even brave men lost, not courage, but confidence in their ultimate victory.

"Most of the generals," says Frederick, "thought that all was lost," and it was presumably at this moment that he himself yielded to the urgent entreaties of Count Schwerin and rode hurriedly away from the field. Caught in the whirlwind of his own routed cavalry, he little thought that the grenadier battalions on the right wing, which he fancied had been borne down like the rest, had held their ground like a wall, and that their inflexible firmness and the frightful effect of their rapid fire had been to baffle the charge which the enemy five times repeated in vain. Like impregnable fortresses the two grenadier battalions on the right of the first division and the three on the flank had held their ground in the midmost tumult of the cavalry fight, had closed their ranks to resist the shock of the fugitives, had met and broken the onset of the pursuers with bayonet and quick musketry fire. Again and again General Römer's squadrons hurled themselves upon this hedge of steel in the hope of making a breach in it; they came within bayonet range and every time a crashing quick fire flung them back upon the plain in a torrent of blood. The gallant General Römer fell in the attempts to carry the position, and when they ceased the battle was decided.

Advance of the Infantry.

The Austrian infantry had not supported these heroic cavalry charges. When the cavalry came back, repulsed, shattered, in wild disorder, they were still on the spot where they had been ranged at the beginning of the battle. Austria had nothing but raw young recruits, who were filled with indescribable consternation at the quick fire of the Prussians, and abandoned themselves to despair when their wooden ramrods broke, making it impossible for numbers of them to shoot at all. They heaped their knapsacks on the ground to afford them cover from the fearful fusillade; each sought to shelter himself behind his comrades, the battalion gathered into a dense and disorderly mass. Nothing would induce this mob to go forward, but neither did they give ground until Count Schwerin, who took the chief command after the king had left, ordered the whole body of his infantry to fix bayonets and advance to the attack with drums beating.

An Austrian officer testifies to the impressive effect of such a spectacle on the heart of a true soldier, even when it is rent by the thought that the enemy offers it. A splendid parade march across a battlefield drenched with blood, not in sport but in grim earnest, yet carried out with the same strict order, with the same mechanical precision, the same attention to detail, as on the parade ground—such was the final act of the 10th of April. The Austrian battalions did not wait for the encounter, though the dreaded grenadiers had soon shot away all their cartridges and had nothing but their bayonets left. A couple of regiments in the first division wheeled round, one from the second took to flight. In vain did Neipperg and his generals endeavour to induce their men at least to stand; there was no stopping them, and a general retreat became inevitable. Neipperg began it at seven o'clock, got back to Mollwitz unpursued under cover of the darkness and Berlichingen's cavalry, and marched past the Prussian left, below Strehlen, to Grottkau and thence to Neisse, where he arrived in safety on the 11th. There were eight thousand men at Strehlen under the duke of Holstein, whose misfortune it was that his sovereign's commands never reached him at the critical moment, and who

on the 10th had been deaf to the audible thunder of the cannon of Mollwitz, which would have been more than a command to any other man. Just as he had let General Lentulus reach Neisse without impediment when he was stationed at Frankenstein, so he let Neipperg get back there under his very eyes, and even an Austrian who tells the tale judges this an unpardonable military offence.

In spite of this unmolested retreat the Austrian loss was very considerable; the cavalry loss numbered 638 killed, 30 of whom were officers; 1,017 horses were killed and 699 wounded. Of the infantry, 392 men (26 officers) had fallen, 2,328 (106 officers) were wounded, and 1,448 missing. The victors' loss was equally great if not greater. Frederick himself estimates it at 2,500 killed, among whom were Markgraf Frederick, the king's cousin, and General Schulenberg, and more than 3,000 wounded. Unless these figures are exaggerated we must explain the proportion by the fact that by their rapid and unmolested retreat the Austrian cavalry escaped losses which would have more than counterbalanced those suffered by the Prussians from the defeat of their cavalry. But the true measure of victory was not the comparison of losses, nor the seven cannons and three standards which the victors captured; it must be judged by the enormous moral effect of the issue of this first passage of arms between Austrians and Prussians.

None of the incalculable elements which come into play in warfare and so often frustrate the best-laid plan, no accident of any sort, and—what is more remarkable—no brilliant generalship decided the fortune of the day; the excellence of Frederick's incomparable infantry alone turned the scale of a battle already lost, and wrested from the superior strength of the enemy's cavalry the victory they had practically won. The secret of the dénouement is told by the same Austrian officer, who, his mind still full of the sight of the final advance of the Prussian grenadiers, says after describing it: "Then our army lost heart altogether, the infantry could not be prevailed upon to stand, the cavalry would not face the enemy again." The much-derided machine of the old prince of Dessau had seen its first glorious day. When Frederick speaks of these "living batteries," these "walking bastions," he is merely extolling the precision of mechanism which answered to the hand of its commander as a ship answers to the helm. At Mollwitz there was neither effective command nor definite plan of action left when these "animated machines" did their work, unflinching in defence, irresistible in attack, an offensive and defensive weapon which did not fail of its effect even when left to itself, and drew out of the wealth of its own power of resistance the means of compensating for the worst of strategical errors.

By the most whimsical of all accidents Frederick did not witness his grenadiers' baptism of fire. He had ridden away from the battlefield to Oppeln with a few attendants, and arrived there about midnight. The town had just been occupied by the enemy's cavalry, Frederick was driven back by their musketry fire; some of his suite, among whom was Maupertuis, were taken prisoner by the Austrians. He himself galloped away, crying, "Farewell, friends, I am better mounted than any of you!" When he reached Löwen early next morning he was met by an adjutant of Prince Leopold's with the news of victory. In his memoirs he passes over the whole incident without a word, and he never forgave Field-Marshal Schwerin for the precipitate retreat into which he had been beguiled.

"One should never despair too soon," was one of the lessons he carried away from Mollwitz. "Mollwitz," he says in his *History of my own Times*, "was my school; I reflected seriously upon my mistakes and profited by them later." It is worth while to set down here the ruthless criticism which Frederick himself passed upon his first campaign. "From the recital of these

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events it is evident that Herr von Neipperg and I vied with each other to see which of us could make the worst mistake. The Austrian seems to have outdone us in the plan of campaign, we out-did him in its execution. Neipperg's plan was judicious and well thought out; he invades Silesia, divides our quarters, relieves Neisse, and is on the point of getting possession of our artillery (at Ohlau). He could have seized me at Jägerndorf and thus have ended the war at a blow; when he arrived at Neisse he might have captured the duke of Holstein's corps which was encamped half a mile away from there; with a little vigilance he could have made it impossible for us to cross the Neisse at Michelau; or he might have marched day and night to cut me off from Breslau; and instead of doing any of these things he lets himself be surprised through his unpardonable negligence and is beaten by his own fault.

"My mode of action was far more blameworthy than his: I am informed of the plans of the enemy in good time and take no measures to oppose them; I disperse my troops in quarters too far apart to admit of rapid concentration; I let myself be cut off from the duke of Holstein, and expose myself to the risk of having to fight in a position where I had no line of retreat open to me in case of defeat and the whole army must have been irretrievably lost; when I reach Mollwitz, where the enemy is in cantonments, I neglect to make an immediate attack which would have separated the quarters of their army and split it in two; I waste two hours getting into methodical formation in front of a village where there is not a single Austrian to be seen. If I had made that prompt attack the whole of the Austrian infantry would have been caught in the villages about Mollwitz as the twenty-four French battalions were caught in the village of Blenheim. But there was no experienced general in the army except Field-Marshal Schwerin; the others groped about in the dark and fancied that all was lost if they deviated from ancient usage. What saved us in spite of everything was the rapidity of our resolutions and the extraordinary precision with which they were carried out by the troops." And in a later edition he says even more decidedly, "What really saved the Prussians was their own valour and discipline."

EUROPE IN LEAGUE AGAINST AUSTRIA

For Frederick's cause the consequences of the battle of Mollwitz were surprising; for the noble princess who sat on the throne of Hungary and Bohemia they were lamentable. The news of the victory of Prussia and the defeat of the Austrian army, once so much dreaded, spread with lightning speed; in France the sensation it caused was particularly great and gave the war party the victory over the party for peace. Spain took fresh courage and soon a great league was formed to deal Habsburg its death-blow and to dismember Austria.

At Versailles the German question was the subject of very serious discussion, it was known that Maria Theresa wished to secure the imperial crown for her husband. King Augustus of Poland, small though his mental gifts were, nevertheless considered his head worthy of the crown of Charlemagne, and he sent to Paris and Madrid for support. But it was the elector of Bavaria who was most urgent in suing for the help of the French cabinet to obtain the imperial crown. "I threw myself into his majesty's arms," he wrote to Fleury, "and shall always regard the French king as my only support and help."

Thus Versailles was called upon to occupy itself with the German question and did so with the proud feeling that the decision was indeed in its hands, since Frederick's advance reduced its dread of Austria. At first the Prussian king was not in favour; on the arrival of the news of his invasion of Silesia.

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the king said, "Frederick is a fool, Fleury; he is a knave." But gradually his advance began to give pleasure. Amelot, Maurepas, and Belle-Isle, actually spoke in the king's council in favour of an alliance with Frederick and a war against Austria.

Belle-Isle, who was looked upon as the upholder of gallantry and military discipline in the army, was a lean man, hot-blooded still, in spite of his fifty-seven years. Cherishing the most audacious plans, and confident of his ability to perform the most difficult tasks in statecraft and war, he handed to the king at this time a treatise on the political situation of Europe. Certain ideas recur from time to time in the life of nations, and Belle-Isle's plan in this treatise is not something quite new, but merely the repetition of ideas already entertained by Henry IV and Richelieu—namely, to dismember Austria and make France the dominant power in Europe.

FLEURY'S TREACHERY

Fleury handed in an opposition report pointing out the poverty, the depopulation of France. In vain! The king was ruled by his mistress and she wished for war as a means of covering up the disgrace of her relations with the king and of winning over the nation, which hated and despised her, by a glorious war. When Fleury saw that his opposition to the war was being made use of as a lever to overthrow him in the king's favour, he gradually altered his course. His letters to Maria Theresa at first overflowed with protestations of devotion and with assurances that France would be faithful to the treaties. Now he excused himself on the ground of the necessity of his position; he would guarantee to Maria Theresa Tuscany only; he protested that the king must help an old friend, the elector of Bavaria; that the guarantee of the Pragmatic Sanction which Louis XIV had given to the late emperor could bind him to nothing by reason of the restricting clause: "without detriment to the rights of a third person." Thus at its close Fleury besmirched his meritorious and hitherto spotless career by falsehood and violation of faith, and laid the burden of a terrible war on his conscience, merely for the sake of retaining the power that had become so dear to him.

BELLE-ISLE'S POLICY

Belle-Isle was despatched to Germany as ambassador extraordinary of his most Christian majesty, with unheard-of powers and a sum of 8,000,000 livres. Received everywhere with royal honours, he made a triumphal progress through that country in order to weave the net in which that noble quarry, Austria, was to be snared and done to death.

In the beginning of March, 1741, Belle-Isle left Paris, proceeded up the Moselle to Cologne, Treves, and Mainz, then to Dresden, finally to the camp at Mollwitz, where Frederick remained for two months after the battle, to remodel his cavalry and render it fit to withstand the Austrian. The Frenchman came with an escort of a hundred and twenty horse, instead of a parade of troops. Frederick instituted in his honour an eight days' bombardment of Brieg, as the result of which the commandant, Piccolomini, was compelled, on May 4th, to surrender the town; the garrison was allowed, on a pledge not to serve against Prussia for two years, to depart with arms and baggage. The imaginative Belle-Isle was already quite certain of the dismemberment of Austria. Frederick II himself says scornfully: "To hear him you might have thought that all the lands of the queen of Hungary were under the hammer."

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One day when he was with the king, he had a more meditative and anxious look than usual, and the king asked if he had received unwelcome news. "Not at all," the marshal answered; "I am only perplexed because I do not know what we are to do with the Markgrafschaft of Moravia." The king suggested that it should be given to Saxony, so as to draw Augustus into the alliance by this bit of the booty. The marshal thought this an excellent idea and in fact tried later on to carry it out. Belle-Isle was overwhelmed with courtesies, but an alliance was only discussed, not signed. The sharp-sighted king of Prussia luckily saw through the French plan, for, if there arose out of the great state of Austria a little Bavaria, a little Saxony, a little Hungary, and Prussia, then France would be lord in Germany and Frederick would be dependent on her. She need only sow dissension among the little states and they would always have to appeal to her for help. But Frederick had no intention of working for France or Saxony or Bavaria, but meant to keep a free hand for his own advantage and, when the others had fought till they were exhausted, to come forward as arbiter in Europe. He therefore explained that his position was a difficult one, Neipperg was growing daily stronger, a Russian army was gathering in Livonia, a Hanoverian in Eichsfeld, a Saxon on the Elbe; an alliance with France would be the signal for all these forces to hurl themselves upon him. France must, therefore, send two armies to Germany forthwith, one to Bavaria with Vienna for its object, one to the lower Rhine to attack Flanders and Luxemburg, and keep the Dutch and George II in check; Sweden must be prevailed upon to declare war against Russia, Saxony must be won over to the league by the offer of Moravia; when all this had been accomplished, France might apply to him again. Belle-Isle thought this proposal reasonable, but Fleury, to whom he wrote, gave it as his opinion that Frederick was not to be trusted. He conceived that Frederick would sell himself to the highest bidder.

From Mollwitz Belle-Isle departed to Dresden, where his reception was equally brilliant. Opinion at court veered like the weathercock in varying winds; Augustus III was very ambitious, the queen was for Maria Theresa, Brühl was against Frederick, whose malicious tongue had loosed many a shaft at the extravagant minister, the growth of the Prussian power was looked on with disfavour. When the news of the defeat of the Austrians at Mollwitz arrived, Maria Theresa was regarded as lost and Saxony wished to share in the booty, although it continued negotiations with Maria Theresa and England and offered help—at an enormous price. Francis Stephen should be recognised as co-ruler, he should have the vote of Saxony at the election of an emperor, but Maria Theresa must in return pay within eighteen years 12,000,000 thalers, wrest the principality of Krossen from Prussia and give it to Saxony, together with a strip of land half a mile in width extending from Lusatia to Poland, in order to secure to Saxony an uninterrupted communication with that kingdom; in the event of Francis Stephen's election as emperor he must raise Saxony to the rank of a kingdom and designate the electoral prince king of Rome, if there was no heir of the Austrian house. But this was too much for Maria Theresa; the elevation of Saxony into a kingdom would, she thought, bring about the subversion of the imperial constitution, for other electors also would have to be created kings. This refusal wounded the sensitive feelings of the Saxon and it was at this moment that Belle-Isle and the Spanish ambassador came to Dresden, and the tempting bait of Moravia was offered him. Belle-Isle believed that he should soon clinch the matter and betook himself to Munich, where, political adventurer that he was, he was received as a protector. He was accorded royal honours, and was granted a private house in the city for his suite and apartments for himself in the elector's palace at Nymphenburg.

THE ALLIANCE OF NYMPHENBURG

It was in this castle that on the 22nd of May was concluded the celebrated Treaty of Nymphenburg between Bavaria, France, and Spain, in which the otherwise kind-hearted and amiable elector, infatuated by a fatal ambition, signed away his honour and brought disaster on himself and his country and on Germany at large. France promised money and an army to support Bavaria's so-called just claims to the Austrian succession, and Charles Albert's election as emperor; the elector undertook, if he became emperor, never to demand the restitution of the cities and lands occupied by the French army. Now since France intended to take Belgium and Luxemburg, the Bavarian would gain the imperial crown by treason against his fatherland. The chancellor Unertel had gone through the Spanish War of Succession and well remembered all the misfortune the alliance with France had brought upon that country and dynasty.

He received no summons to the council at Nymphenburg but, having a shrewd suspicion of what was in hand there and determined to save his prince even at the last moment, he tried to force his way into the chamber, but found the doors closed and admittance denied him. So he had a ladder set up against the wall of the council chamber, mounted it, broke a pane of the window with his hat, and putting his head through the opening cried with all the force of his lungs: "For God's sake, your highness, no war with Austria, no alliance with France, remember your illustrious father!" But Count Törring drawing his dagger cried, "War! war!" and the weak prince concluded the alliance; a few days later, on the 28th of May, he signed one equally disgraceful with Spain. Spain offered money for twelve thousand men, but demanded in return Milan and Tyrol. When the latter was refused, she demanded at least Trent and Friuli to round off the new kingdom of Milan she purposed founding. Six thousand Bavarians were at once to press forward through Tyrol against Milan. The Spanish envoy Portocarrero, Count of Montijo, paid down forthwith a million gulden.

DANGER CLOSES IN ON AUSTRIA

From Munich Belle-Isle betook himself to Versailles, where he was received in triumph and the treaty was ratified. Fleury absented himself from this sitting of the cabinet, so as not to be obliged to agree to the treaty. From Versailles Belle-Isle went to Frankfort, where he played the part of emperor-maker and claimed precedence over all German princes. He delivered his despatches in French, not, as had hitherto been customary, in Latin. The part he played cost France enormous sums, not only on account of the money he spent, the magnificence with which he staged his performance, but also on account of the banquets to which he issued invitations. "The Germans set a high value on good eating," he informed Paris, "and dainties are one of the best means of winning over and pleasing them." The French government established at this date a private postal service from Paris to Frankfort, by which every week during the years 1741 and 1742 the greatest delicacies were sent from Paris to the capital of the German empire. The negotiations between Saxony and Bavaria caused Belle-Isle many anxieties, for Saxony demanded in return for its adhesion, not only Moravia, but the northern half of Bohemia, and promised on its side to add twenty thousand men to the Franco-Bavarian army of conquest. The French cabinet finally decided that Saxony should have Moravia and a narrow strip of northern Bohemia from the Saxon

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to the Polish frontier. On the 4th of June Frederick II also joined the league on condition that the possession of lower Silesia was to be guaranteed to him, in return for which he would give the elector of Bavaria his support at the election of an emperor. About the same time French bribery and persuasion induced the "hats," at that time the stronger party in Sweden, to bring forward a motion for war in the council. After an hour's debate war against Russia was decided on and was declared at the end of June. In this way it was made impossible for the grand duchess Anna to give the hard-pressed daughter of Charles VI the help which was hers by right of treaty.

Thus in an ever-narrowing circle the danger closed in on unhappy Austria. Everywhere the die had been cast for her destruction. France, Spain, Naples, Sardinia, Saxony, Bavaria, Sweden, were arming. Frederick was already established with his victorious army in Silesia; one disappointment followed another, messengers of misfortune trod on one another's heels; when the news of Frederick's alliance with France arrived in Vienna, Maria Theresa's ministers sank back in their seats like men who had received their death-blow.^u

We have already learned (in volume XIV.) how the Hungarian queen rose to the occasion, and how unavailing were her efforts; but we must here follow out the story in greater detail, as its events marked steps of progress in the career of Frederick, and prepared the way for the future greatness of Prussia.^a

By one of those "miracles of the house of Habsburg" of which Frederick so often complained, the English subsidiary funds to the amount of £300,000, which for many months had been delayed by reason of the difficulties of transport, at last arrived in Vienna, and their arrival put an end to the more pressing financial needs.

CHARLES OF LORRAINE

The Hungarian contingent was at last raised and equipped, the reappearance of Frederick in the field having had a very accelerating effect upon the preparations. Thus the army in Bohemia received from Bavaria and Hungarian reinforcements, which gave it an overwhelming advantage over each of the three foes, and at its head there was now a general from whose youthful force and fire Maria Theresa hoped for a fresh impulse and a new turn in the whole conduct of the war. This general was her brother-in-law, the stately Charles of Lorraine, who certainly showed in the first days of his command that one might be very young in years and temperament without having a spark of the gifts of a general.

The youthful general who wrote such fine military disquisitions showed a pitiful vacillation in the field. "Which shall I attack—the French, the Saxons, or the Prussians?" he incessantly inquired of Vienna, and regularly he received the only appropriate answer: "The general on the spot must decide that point; not to question but to strike is his duty." The prince assembled a council of war on the 4th of March, and it was there decided that the strongest foes, namely the Prussians and the Saxons, were to be attacked first.

But the prince was not yet at ease and sent to Count Browne, whom illness had detained from the council; the latter advised: "On the contrary, let us beat the twelve thousand men of Marshal Broglie, then the Saxons will retire of their own accord and the Prussians will follow their lead." "What was to be done?" thought the unhappy prince. In this strait, he applied again to Vienna, and there, in opposition to Bartenstein, who was for attacking the French, Count Königsegg decided with Maria Theresa's concurrence that the Saxons and Prussians should be attacked first.

But the courier bringing this command fell into the hands of the Prussians.

From his papers Frederick learned that the plan of the enemy was to attack him with the main force from Bohemia, whilst the Hungarian troops were to take him in the flank. As there was no reliance to be placed in the Saxons, there remained nothing for him but to quit Moravia and repair to Bohemia. This he did, while the Austrians slowly followed him. In the mean-time another change had taken place in the command of the Bohemian army. Prince Charles had hurried off to Vienna to beg for a strategical mentor, and this he obtained in the person of Count Königsegg, who by his proverbial caution was to temper the fiery nature of the old prince Lobkowitz, and with the treasure of his experience was to counterbalance the inexperience of the prince. Thus three field-m Marshals shared a post which from its very nature can be filled by only one.

On May 10th, 1742, the three generals decided at a council of war held in the cloister of Saar, close to the Bohemian boundary, to march without delay to Prague and to retake that city. They knew that Frederick was already in Chrudim and concluded that he would retire across the Elbe, and thus leave the way open to them; contrariwise they were determined to fight with him a decisive battle. This battle took place on the 17th of May in the plain between Chotusitz and Czaslau, north of the great road which leads from Saar past Chotieborz, Willimow, Czaslau, and Kuttenberg, to Prague. It was the first battle which Frederick directed to the end and decided in person; the first in which the cavalry of the Prussians proved itself equal to their infantry and superior to the Austrian cavalry. Herein lay the importance of the battle, and herein alone. In its results it was far behind that of Mollwitz; for both sides were already bent on peace, and disagreed only as to the conditions.

With thirty thousand men of the best troops of Austria, Prince Charles advanced to the attack on the morning of the 17th of May, on the gently undulating plains north of Czaslau. The infantry was in two divisions with the cavalry right and left, one side under General Count Batthyányi, the other under General Count Hohenembs.

With eighteen thousand men, Prince Leopold¹ reached in the night the village of Chotusitz; and in the morning, hearing of the advance of the Austrians, he straightway began to range his troops in the line of battle. The village formed his centre, the pond of Czirkwitz covered his right, and the park of Schusitsch his left wing.^f

THE BATTLE OF CHOTUSITZ (CZASLAU) DESCRIBED BY CARLYLE

Kuttenberg, Czaslau, Chotusitz, and all these other places lie in what is called the Valley of the Elbe, but what to the eye has not the least appearance of a hollow, but of an extensive plain rather, dimpled here and there; and, if anything, rather sloping from the Elbe,—were it not that dull bushless brooks, one or two, sauntering to northward, not southward, warn you of the contrary. Conceive a flat tract of this kind, some three or four miles square, with Czaslau on its southern border, Chotusitz on its northern; flanked, on the west, by a straggle of Lakelets, ponds, and quagmires (which in our time are drained away, all but a tenth part or so of remainder); flanked, on the east, by a considerable puddle of a Stream called the Dobrowa; and cut in the middle by a nameless poor Brook ("Brtilinka," some write it, if anybody could pronounce), running parallel and independent,—which latter, of more concernment to us here, springs beyond Czaslau, and is got to be of some size,

[¹ The son of the old Dessauer.]

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and more intricate than usual, with "islands" and the like, as it passes Chotusitz (a little to east of Chotusitz):—this is our Field of Battle.

Frederick's Orders, which Leopold is studying, were: "Hold by Chotusitz for centre; your left wing, see you lean it on something, towards Dobrowa side,—on that intricate Brook (Brtlinka) or Park-wall of Schuschitz, which I think is there; then your right wing westwards, till you lean again on something: two lines, leave room for me and my force, on the corner nearest here. I will start at four; be with you between seven and eight,—and even bring a proportion of Austrian bread (hot from these ovens of Kuttenberg) to refresh part of you." Leopold of Anhalt, a much-comforted man, waits only for the earliest gray of the morning, to be up and doing. From Chotusitz he spreads out leftwards towards the Brtlinka Brook,—difficult ground that, unfit for cavalry, with its bogholes, islands, gullies, and broken surface; better have gone across the Brtlinka with mere infantry, and leant on the wall of that Deer-park of Schuschitz with perhaps only one thousand horse to support, well rearward of the infantry and this difficult ground? So men think,—after the action is over. And indeed there was certainly some misarrangement there (done by Leopold's subordinates), which had its effects shortly.

Leopold was not there in person, arranging that left wing; Leopold is looking after centre and right. He perceives the right wing will be best chance; knows that, in general, cavalry must be on both wings. On a little eminence in front of his right, he sees how the Enemy comes on; Czaslau, lately on their left, is now getting to rear of them:—"And you, stout old General Buddenbrock, spread yourself out to right a little, hidden behind this rising ground; I think we may outflank their left wing by a few squadrons, which will be an advantage."

Buddenbrock spreads himself out, as bidden: had Buddenbrock been reinforced by most of the horse that could do no good on our left wing, it is thought the battle had gone better. Buddenbrock in this way, secretly, outflanks the Austrians; to his right all forward, he has that string of marshy pools (Lakes of Czirkwitz so-called, outflowings from the Brook of Neuhof), and cannot be taken in flank by any means. Brook of Neuhof, which his Majesty crossed yesterday, farther north;—and ought to have recrossed by this time?—said Brook, hereabouts a mere fringe of quagmires and marshy pools, is our extreme boundary on the west or right; Brook of Brtlinka (unluckily not wall of the Deer-park) bounds us eastward, or on our left. Prince Karl, drawn up by this time, is in two lines, cavalry on right and left but rather in bent order; bent towards us at both ends (being dainty of his ground, I suppose); and comes on in hollow-crescent form:—which is not reckoned orthodox by military men. What all these Villages, human individuals and terrified deer, are thinking, I never can conjecture! Thick-soled peasants, terrified nursing mothers: Better to run and hide, I should say; mount your garron plough-horses, hide your butter-pots, meal-barrels; run at least ten miles or so!

It is now past seven, a hot May morning, the Austrians very near;—and yonder, of a surety, is his Majesty coming. Majesty has marched since four; and is here at his time, loaves and all. His men rank at once in the corner left for them; one of his horse-generals, Lehwald, is sent to the left, to put straight what may be awry there (cannot quite do it, he either):—and the attack by Buddenbrock, who secretly outflanks here on the right, this shall at once take effect. No sooner has his Majesty got upon the little eminence or rising ground, and scanned the Austrian lines for an instant or two, than his cannon-batteries awaken here; give the Austrian horse a good blast, by way of morning salutation and overture to the concert of the day. And Buddenbrock, deploying under cover of that, charges, "first at a trot, then at a gal-

lop," to see what can be done upon them with the white weapon. Old Buddenbrock, surely, did not himself ride in the charge? He is an old man of seventy; has fought at Oudenarde, Malplaquet, nay at Steenkirk, and been run through the body, under Dutch William; is an old acquaintance of Charles XII's even; and sat solemnly by Frederick Wilhelm's coffin, after so much attendance during life. The special leader of the charge was Bredow; also a veteran gentleman, but still in the fifties: he, I conclude, made the charge; first at a trot, then at a gallop,—with swords flashing hideous, and eyebrows knit.

The Dust Tempest

"The dust was prodigious," says Frederick, weather being dry and ground sandy; for a space of time you could see nothing but one huge whirlpool of dust, with the gleam of steel flickering madly in it: however, Buddenbrock, outflanking the Austrian first line of horse, did hurl them from their place; by and by you see the dust-tempest running south, faster and faster south,—that is to say, the Austrian horse in flight; for Buddenbrock, outflanking them by three squadrons, has tumbled their first line topsy-turvy, and they rush to rearward, he following away and away. Now were the time for a fresh force of Prussian cavalry,—for example, those you have standing useless behind the gullies and quagmires on your left wing (says Stille, after the event);—due support to Buddenbrock, and all that Austrian cavalry were gone, and their infantry left bare.

But now again, see, do not the dust-clouds pause? They pause, mounting higher and higher; they dance wildly, then roll back towards us; too evidently back. Buddenbrock has come upon the second line of Austrian horse; in too loose order Buddenbrock, by this time, and they have broken him:—and it is a mutual defeat of horse on this wing, the Prussian rather the worse of the two. And might have been serious,—had not Rothenburg plunged furiously in, at this crisis, quite through to the Austrian infantry, and restored matters, or more. Making a confused result of it in this quarter. Austrian horse-regiments there now were that fled quite away; as did even one or two foot-regiments, while the Prussian infantry dashed forward on them, escorted by Rothenburg in this manner,—who got badly wounded in the business; and was long an object of solicitude to Frederick. And contrariwise certain Prussian horse also, it was too visible, did not compose themselves till fairly arear of our foot. This is Shock First in the Battle; there are Three Shocks in all.

Partial charging, fencing, and flourishing went on; but nothing very effectual was done by the horse in this quarter farther. Nor did the fire or effort of the Prussian infantry in this their right wing continue; Austrian fury and chief effort having, by this time, broken out in an opposite quarter. So that the strain of the Fight lies now in the other wing over about Chotusitz and the Brtlinka Brook; and thither I perceive his Majesty has galloped, being "always in the thickest of the danger" this day. Shock Second is now on. The Austrians have attacked at Chotusitz; and are threatening to do wonders there.

Prince Leopold's Left Wing, as we said, was entirely defective in the eye of tacticians (after the event). Far from leaning on the wall of the Deer-park, he did not even reach the Brook,—or had to weaken his force in Chotusitz Village for that object. So that when the Austrian foot comes storming upon Chotusitz, there is but "half a regiment" to defend it. And as for cavalry, what is to become of cavalry, slowly threading, under cannonshot and musketry, these intricate quagmires and gullies, and dangerously breaking

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into files and strings, before ever it can find ground to charge? Accordingly, the Austrian foot took Chotusitz, after obstinate resistance; and old Königs-eck, very ill of gout, got seated in one of the huts there; and the Prussian cavalry, embarrassed to get through the gullies, could not charge except piecemeal, and then, though in some cases, with desperate valour, yet in all without effectual result. Königseck sits in Chotusitz;—and yet withal the Prussians are not out of it, will not be driven out of it, but cling obstinately; whereupon the Austrians set fire to the place; its dry thatch goes up in flame, and poor old Königseck, quite lame of gout, narrowly escaped burning, they say.

And, see, the Austrian horse have got across the Brtlinka, are spread almost to the Deerpark, and strive hard to take us in flank,—did not the Brook, the bad ground, and the platoon firing (fearfully swift, from discipline and the iron ramrods) hold them back in some measure. They make a violent attempt or two; but the problem is very rugged. Nor can the Austrian infantry, behind or to the west of burning Chotusitz, make an impression, though they try it, with levelled bayonets, and deadly energy, again and again: the Prussian ranks are as if built of rock, and their fire is so sure and swift. Here is one Austrian regiment, came rushing on like lions; would not let go, death or no-death:—and here it lies, shot down in ranks; whole swaths of dead men, and their muskets by them,—as if they had got the word to take that posture, and had done it hurriedly! A small transitory gleam of proud rage is visible, deep down, in the soul of Frederick as he records this fact. Shock Second was very violent.

The Austrian horse, after such experimenting in the Brtlinka quarter, gallop off to try to charge the Prussians in the rear;—"pleasanter by far," judge many of them, "to plunder the Prussian camp," which they deserv in those regions; whither accordingly they rush. Too many of them; and the Hussars as one man. To the sorrowful indignation of Prince Karl whose right arm (or wing) is fallen paralytic in this manner. After the fight, they repented in dust and ashes; and went to say so, as if with the rope about their neck; upon which he pardoned them.

Shock Third

Nor is Prince Karl's left wing gaining garlands just at this moment. Shock Third is awakening:—and will be decisive on Prince Karl. Chotusitz, set on fire an hour since (about 9 A.M.), still burns; cutting him in two, as it were, or disjoining his left wing from his right: and it is on his right wing that Prince Karl is depending for victory, at present; his left wing, ruffled by those first Prussian charges of horse, with occasional Prussian swift musketry ever since, being left to its own inferior luck, which is beginning to produce impression on it. And, lo, on the sudden (what brought finis to the business), Frederick, seizing the moment, commands a united charge on this left wing: Frederick's right wing dashes forward on it, double-quick, takes it furiously, on front and flank; fifteen fieldpieces preceding, and intolerable musketry behind them. So that the Austrian left wing cannot stand it at all.

The Austrian left wing, stormed in upon in this manner, swags and sways, threatening to tumble pellmell upon the right wing; which latter has its own hands full. No Chotusitz or point of defence to hold by, Prince Karl is eminently ill off, and will be hurled wholly into the Brtlinka, and the islands and gullies, unless he mind! Prince Karl,—what a moment for him!—noticing this undeniable phenomenon, rapidly gives the word for retreat, to avoid worse. It is near upon Noon; four hours of battle; very fierce on both the wings together or alternately; in the centre (westward of Chotusitz) mostly insignificant: "more than half the Prussians" standing with arms shouldered.

Prince Karl rolls rapidly away, through Czaslau towards south-west again; loses guns in Czaslau; goes, not quite broken, but at double-quick time for five miles; cavalry, Prussian and Austrian, bickering in the rear of him; and vanishes over the horizon towards Willimow and Haber that night, the way he had come.

This is the battle of Chotusitz, called also of Czaslau: Thursday, 17th May 1742. Vehemently fought on both sides;—calculated, one may hope, to end this Silesian matter? The results, in killed and wounded, were not very far from equal. Nay, in killed the Prussians suffered considerably the worse; the exact Austrian cipher of killed being 1,052, while that of the Prussians was 1,905—owing chiefly to those fierce ineffectual horse-charges and bickerings, on the right wing and left; “above 1,200 Prussian cavalry were destroyed in these.” But, in fine, the general loss, including wounded and missing, amounted on the Austrian side (prisoners being many, and deserters very many) to near seven thousand, and on the Prussian to between four and five. Two Generals Frederick had lost, who are not specially of our acquaintance; and several younger friends whom he loved. Rothenburg, who was in that first charge of horse with Buddenbrock, or in rescue of Buddenbrock, and did exploits, got badly hurt, as we saw,—badly, not fatally, as Frederick’s first terror was,—and wore his arm in a sling for a long while afterwards.^c

THE TREATY OF Breslau AND Frederick’s COMMENT

After this decisive battle, a peace was quickly negotiated. We give the terms of this so-called Treaty of Breslau in the words of the conqueror.^a

1. The queen of Hungary ceded to the king of Prussia Upper and Lower Silesia, with the principality of Glatz; except the towns of Troppau, Jaegern-dorf, and the high mountains situated beyond the Oppa.

2. The Prussians undertook to repay the English one million seven hundred thousand crowns; which sum was a mortgage loan on Silesia.

The remaining articles related to a suspension of arms, an exchange of prisoners, and the freedom of religion and trade.

Thus [continues Frederick] was Silesia united to the Prussian states. Two years were sufficient for the conquest of that important province. The treasures which the late king had left were almost expended; but provinces that do not cost more than seven or eight millions are cheaply purchased. Circumstances particularly favoured this achievement. It was necessary that France should suffer herself to become a party in the war; that Russia should be attacked by Sweden; that timidity should cause the Hanoverians and Saxons to remain inactive; that success should be uninterrupted; and that the king of England, though an enemy of the Prussians, should, in his own despite, become an instrument of their aggrandisement. What most contributed to this conquest was an army that had for two and twenty years been forming, and by its admirable discipline rendered superior to all the soldiers of Europe. Add to this, generals that were true citizens; wise and incorruptible ministers; and, finally, a species of good fortune which often accompanies youth, and deserts age.

Had the undertaking failed, the king would have been deemed a rash prince, enterprising beyond his strength. Success made men consider him happy. In reality, fortune only bestows fame; and he whom fortune favours is applauded, while he on whom she frowns is blamed. After the ratifications were exchanged, the king withdrew his troops out of Bohemia; some of them marched through Saxony to return to their native country, others were sent into Silesia, being destined to guard this new conquest.^c

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FREDERICK II IN HIS RELATIONS WITH EUROPE

It was in November of 1805 that a French statesman passed the following noteworthy judgment on the policy of Frederick the Great. "Frederick's successors failed to grasp the spirit and guiding principles of his reign. This prince was perfectly well aware that, with his army and his treasury, he would always be in a position to maintain the power that he had created and the rank that he had attained in Europe. But he was also aware that nothing could happen on the Continent that did not concern him, and that he could not permit any political event of a certain magnitude to take place without his concurrence; that the existing balance of power would certainly be altered to his detriment unless he took energetic action towards the establishment of a fresh equilibrium. He knew that if other states enlarged their borders while his own obtained no corresponding accession of territory the latter would be relegated by the change to a subordinate rank; he knew that if all the other armies of Europe collected their forces, fought, and through victory and defeat grew more and more highly efficient he must not enfeeble his own by slothful inaction; in other words, he could not suffer his military strength to be reduced by a falling-off in experience, valour, or confidence. Doubtless there was no one of these truths to which the great Frederick did not give its due weight, and I fancy that he would have smiled if any minister of his had undertaken to instruct him by expounding them."

Unquestionably for a state which lays claim to the rank of a European power, and which is affected by every variation of relative strength throughout the Continent, neutrality in the midst of a struggle of each against all is a shackle which may almost force it to resign the position of a great power. For the rising power of Prussia, in particular, the rôle of spectator, which it thought to acquiesce in at the Peace of Breslau, was all the more difficult to play since the war in which it was to take no further part had to be fought on German soil, with German countries, and the very crown of the empire at stake.

At the commencement of his first war the king had aimed at nothing more than the rounding-off of the Prussian dominions. In return for the cession of Silesia he had been ready to give his voice in the election to the imperial crown in favour of the husband of the heiress of the house of Habsburg, daughter of the late emperor; that is to say, he had been prepared to countenance the continuance of the Austrian hegemony in Germany. As crown prince, Voltaire had indeed flattered him with the prospect of succession to the empire, and, on the death of the last male Habsburg, had greeted the king of Prussia as the man who would be an emperor or make one. At that time Prince Leopold of Dessau also wrote to his chief without circumlocution, expressing the heartiest good wishes for his elevation to the imperial dignity, since in Europe there was no man living who deserved it more or was better able to maintain it. And the idea of claiming for Prussia a leading position in the empire was not strange to Frederick's minister, Podewils, at the end of 1740, though the realisation of it appeared to him absolutely unattainable. The envy of Prussia's neighbours within the empire, the most distinguished of whom held sway over kingdoms in the rest of Europe, would always present insurmountable obstacles. So thought Podewils.

Then came a moment when, quite unexpectedly, Prussia practically held the fate of Germany in her hands. The elevation of the elector of Bavaria to the imperial purple was in the main the doing of Prussia. Thus Bavaria was bound to eternal gratitude towards her benefactor, while, after the elector of Saxony had joined the coalition, the Saxon ambassador pathetically bewailed

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himself to Podewils, that now his court would throw itself blindly into the arms of Prussia. Podewils, reporting these words to his king, joyfully expressed the hope that "in future your majesty will be looked upon as the only great power in Germany, a good understanding with whom is to be preferred to any other alliance." During the Moravian campaign Frederick strove to make Prussia (which had been used by France to counterbalance Prussia within the coalition) dependent upon himself, so that, quit of French influence, he might manage the affairs of Germany according to his own ideas. In the same spirit he recommended the new emperor to increase the Bavarian forces "so as to put it a figure among the allies," the meaning of which was that he should withdraw by degrees from a position of dependence upon France. And when Frederick passed in review the reasons in favour of a prosecution of the war against the queen of Hungary, it did not escape him that after the complete overthrow of Austria, and after the conclusion of a general peace under the arbitration of Prussia, the whole empire would enter upon a close connection with that country, and "the king of Prussia would then have the authority of emperor, and the elector of Bavaria the burden of empire."

These brilliant prospects Frederick had resigned at the Peace of Breslau. But his policy soon resumed the course it had abandoned, for he could not be blind to the consideration that the degradation of the emperor involved a moral humiliation for the king of Prussia who had set the emperor on the throne.

The pitiable insufficiency of the resources of the house of Wittelsbach to meet the demands of the imperial station to which it had been elevated by the result of the election of 1742 clearly demonstrated the emptiness of the imperial title apart from a powerful ruling family. King Ferdinand perfectly understood why, after the battle of Mühlberg, he had dissuaded the emperor from exacting a "fixed revenue," which would have inaugurated a system of permanent public contributions to the expenses of the empire: a secure financial endowment of the imperial position (he warned him) would have made it possible for other princes besides the Habsburgs to undertake the charge of empire, which now their poverty prevented them from doing. And, as a matter of fact, it had been so, and as long as a male of the house of Habsburg survived the elective crown had never passed out of that one family. The empire had counted for something only when it was an appanage of the power of Austria.

As the heir to the Habsburg dominions in Bohemia, and as the ruler of an extensive and self-contained territory in south Germany, stretching from the Juretic Mountains to the Alps, Charles Albert too might have wielded the imperial authority, but an emperor humbly dependent upon the French was to the members of the empire an object of pity or scorn, as the case might be, or mere jest.

For if there was one point on which sentiment in Germany was unanimous, it was dislike of France. The king of Prussia, one of the few friends of his ally, was astounded and absolutely nonplussed when, on his journey to the baths of Aachen in the summer of 1742, he found fierce hatred of the French everywhere rampant. He declared that he could not comprehend this "frenzy," which went beyond the madness of Roland. And yet Frederick himself had had experience of the obstinacy with which his own advisers—Podewils above all—had opposed the conclusion of the French alliance. Less than seventy years had passed since the days of Mazarin's Rhenish Alliance. At that time the young Louis stood at the head of a confederacy of German princes, which his minister Lionne might well style the great driving-wheel of the Germanic policy of France. No man would then have inveighed against France as the enemy of the em-

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pire, or stigmatised it as the hereditary foe; at that time German liberty seemed a much more questionable factor in the situation than the French king, even to the emperor of Germany. Then Louis XIV's policy of conquest had thrown off the mask, and the Rhenish Alliance had fallen to pieces. Again and again the empire declared war against France, and matters soon came to such a pass that, instead of a well-organised body at the beck and call of France, there arose a distinct confederacy in favour of the Habsburg emperor and under his leadership. All the little states, temporal and spiritual, within the circles of the upper Rhine and the Palatinate, of Swabia and Franconia, each by itself so insignificant that its military resources were not worth the trouble of a summons or a bargain, together amounted to a body that had at least the semblance of power. It must be confessed that the leading states in these local leagues—the Palatinate, Würtemberg, Hesse-Cassel, and in Franconia the Markgrafs of Brandenburg—could not forego the chance of carrying out a policy of their own, suited to their various circumstances, and of setting up or preparing the way for an independent system of defence within the bounds of the local organisation; but nevertheless this association was as valuable to the emperor Leopold and his two sons as the Swabian League of former times had been to the emperor Maximilian. But by the very law of its being this confederacy, formed to repel French invasions, could have nothing in common with the ally of France, the empire of the house of Wittelsbach.

THE COUNCIL OF PRINCES

Similarly the representative of the new dynasty soon became painfully aware that he had not that substantial majority in the diet on which the last emperors of the Habsburg line had always been able to reckon. In the election of January 24th, 1742, the unanimity of the electoral college had been mainly due to fear, and now that this constraint was removed the adherents of Austria ventured to raise their heads in the highest council of the land. The motley elements of this many-headed college shaped matters within the council of princes after a fashion very inauspicious for the newly-elected emperor.

In this assembly Austria, though shorn of her imperial state, could rely on the unconditional devotion of two separate groups, and on every division in a body of ninety-six voters these formed the solid nucleus of an Austrian majority. In the first place there were the so-called "pensioners" of the court of Vienna, who gave their votes in accordance with the notorious formula, *in omnibus uti Austria*, the small temporal principalities which owed their admission into the council of princes of the empire to the favour of the Habsburg emperors, families whose scions had been for generations courtiers or soldiers of the ruling house: Lobkowitz, Salm, Dietrichstein, Auersberg, Schwartzenstein, Aremberg, Hohenzollern, Fürstenberg, and Liechtenstein. The nine hereditary votes of these houses were generally reinforced by four representative votes from the "Grafenverbände" of the Wetterau, Swabia, Franconia, and Westphalia. The second mighty stay, when it was necessary to secure a decision in Austria's favour, was to be found in the compact body of "*Germania Sacra*," at least as far as the institutions entitled to a vote were not in the gift of the Wittelsbach princes. The archbishop of Salzburg, co-director with Austria of the council of princes, the bishops of Bamberg and Würzburg, of Eichstädt and Passau, of Ausburg, Constance, Coire and Bâle, of Brixen and Trent, of Strassburg, Worms and Speier, the prince-bishops and abbots of Fulda, Kempten, Ellwangen, Berchtesgaden, Weissenburg, Stavelot, Prüm and Corvei, the Grand Master of the knights of St. John, and the two *curies* of Swabian and Rhenish prelates, were all only waiting for the signal to cast their

votes, twenty-five in number, into the scale for the honourable archducal house, the guardian of Catholic truth in the realm. If the Viennese court added its own two votes (for Austria and Burgundy) together with the vote for the markgrafschaft of Nomeny which the husband of Maria Theresa had retained as a last reminiscence of his possessions in Lorraine, there were very few votes needed to make the forty-one who were thus in accord into an absolute majority, even when the benches of the council were full.

The house of Wittelsbach, on the other hand, had only fifteen votes absolutely at its disposal; five for the much-ramified Palatinate line, two in the Bavarian line, one for the dukedom, and one for the landgrafschaft of Leuchtenberg, and eight clerical votes. The elector Clement Augustus of Cologne, a brother of the emperor, voted for the bishoprics of Münster, Osnabrück, Hildesheim, and Paderborn, and for the Teutonic Order; another brother, Bishop Theodore, voted for Ratisbon, Freisingen, and (since 1743) for Liège. The king of Prussia might come to the rescue with the five votes of Magdeburg, Halberstadt, Minden, Kammin, and Farther Pomerania, but every other ally had to be laboriously gained. And the chances that the emperor could successfully cope with his rival in securing the votes of the thirty or forty states whose attitude was still undetermined, were small indeed. Even with the Protestant courts the Hofburg maintained political and personal relations of various kinds, for the majority of them had steered a middle course amidst the clashing interests of the brief reign of Charles VII: the Brunswick line with a total of five or six votes, the Mecklenburg line with four, the houses of Brandenburg in Franconia and of Würtemberg with two apiece, the house of Brabant with three—for Cassel, Darmstadt, and Hersfeld, and the houses of Brunswick-Wolfenbüttel, Anhalt, and Cirkseña each with one.

Among these Protestant families, however, there was one, possessed of only six votes in the council of princes, which was actually allied to the emperor's great rival, and was assiduously and successfully striving to bring over further accession from the Protestant camp. That was the royal and electoral house of Hanover, with the whole power of Great Britain behind it.

THE SECOND SILESIAN WAR (1744-1745 A.D.)

Frederick had made good use of these two years, fortifying his new territory, and repairing the evils inflicted upon it by the war. By the death of the prince of East Friesland without heirs, he also gained possession of that country. He knew well that Maria Theresa would not, if she could help it, allow him to remain in Silesia; accordingly, in 1744, alarmed by her victories, he arrived at a secret understanding with France, and pledged himself, with Saxe-Cassel and the Palatinate, to maintain the imperial rights of Charles VI, and to defend his hereditary Bavarian lands. Frederick began the Second Silesian War by entering Bohemia in August, 1744, and taking Prague. In this brilliant but rash venture he put himself in great danger, and soon had to retreat.

Battle of Hohenfriedberg

In 1745 another master-stroke was executed by General von Zieten, when, in order to carry an important message which had come by way of Frankenstein from Frederick to his cousin Markgraf Charles at Jägerndorf, he made his way through the Austrian lines, unsuspected in the new winter uniform. And what of the chief of these skilled and heroic commanders? The king gave the alarm, and sent, under General du Moulin, only the vanguard from

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Jauernik towards Striegau against the duke of Lorraine, who had pressed forward as far as Bolkenhain. This manœuvre drew the foe down from his mountains into the plains; they encamped on the evening of the 3rd of June, resolved to surprise Du Moulin at dawn and continue their march upon Breslau. But Frederick stole in the night to Striegau, and, guided by the evening's camp-fires, drew up his army in readiness for battle. This enabled Du Moulin to remain in ambush at the foot of the Spitzberg, the summit of which had been taken by the Saxons under the duke of Weissenfels. Du Moulin attacked them towards four o'clock in the morning and, opening his batteries, gave a tremendous fire. Then the king advanced with the left wing by the Striegau River, his quickness and the difficulties of the ground throwing the enemy into disorder; Du Moulin succeeded, and the left wing under Prince Charles and the Saxons retreated. The Prussian cavalry of the left wing marched upon the enemy, and after six indecisive encounters drove them back as far as Hohenfriedberg; the king's infantry pushed their adversaries right and left with such impetus that the confusion became general; a cavalry charge of dragoons from Bayreuth made an end of the fight. Prince Charles withdrew to his old camp near Königgrätz, Du Moulin pursued him over the border, and the king pushed forward to Chlüm in Bohemia. Upper Silesia and Kosel were released.

In this splendid fight, which was won in five hours of one morning, between Jauer and Landsbut, the infantry did wonders, the artillery distinguished itself; but the cavalry celebrate this day as that of one of their greatest triumphs, for the determined General von Gessler with a single regiment of Bavarian dragoons defeated 20 battalions, made 2,500 prisoners, and captured 67 flags and 4 cannon. As a proof of lasting gratitude, Frederick bestowed on this heroic regiment a letter of grace and a diploma and presented them with a new seal with a remarkable engraving. The dragoons were given the right to have a grenade in flames on their cartridge-boxes, to beat the grenadier march on their drums, and to sound the cuirassier march on their trumpets. Colonel von Schwerin, the head of the regiment, was promoted to the rank of general, Gessler was made a count, and both he and Major de Chasot, who had brought the news of victory, were given heraldic insignia of honour. On Gessler's helmet red and green ensigns were added with the numbers 20 and 67, on the lower part of his escutcheon a Roman shield resting on other weapons, on which Marcus Curtius is seen on his horse leaping into the open gulf, with the words, "It is sweet to die for the fatherland." Chasot had the Prussian eagle added to his arms, and two flags with H. F. and 66; to his mother Frederick wrote a very jubilant letter, accompanied by a costly casket.

In the *History of My Own Times* Frederick¹⁶ speaks of the event at Hohenfriedberg as being so rare, so worthy of fame, that it should be inscribed in the Prussian annals in golden letters. He adds of the whole army present on that day, "the world resting on the shoulders of Atlas is not safer than Prussia upheld by such an army."

Frederick wrote to the king of France in less flattering terms; he had changed the order of things at Friedberg; the battle of Fontenoy and the taking of Tournay were honourable to him and advantageous to France; but for Prussia's immediate advantage a battle won on the banks of the Scamander, or the taking of Pekin, would have been equally useful.

Battle at Soor (September 30th, 1745)

The want of means drove the king from one camp to another. The enormous number of troops needed for the transport from Silesia reduced his force to 26,000 men. Prince Charles saw in his own superior numbers this advan-

tage. He pushed on from Jaromierz towards Königinhof, and concealed his strength so well behind the clouds of light infantry, that General von Katzler came back to the king's camp on the night of September 29th without having seen the main body of the enemy's force. The next morning Charles stood in battle array, opposite Frederick's right wing, and bombarded the Prussian camp before daybreak. The king had commanded a march to Trautenau the evening before; he now ranged himself under the enemy's fire in such a way that he was parallel and opposite to him; but the right wing of his cavalry attacked the Austrians and overthrew them; the infantry, after three attempts, succeeded in storming heights which were protected by cannon. The enemy drew upon a second and a third height, but the impetuous onslaught of the Prussian cavalry forced them to retreat.

Up to now the king had held the cavalry of the left wing in reserve; now he brought up that of the right wing to reinforce it, and with these two attacked the foe. The Austrian infantry held their position near Prausnitz for some time, but finally the flight became general and the victor encamped at Soor.

Nadasdi had intended attacking the Prussians, in face, in the rear and on their left, whilst Prince Charles simultaneously engaged them on their right. But his light infantry pillaged the camp and baggage, and so assisted the king to defeat them. "Just imagine," wrote Frederick to Fredersdorf, "how we fought—eighteen against fifty, my whole transport in confusion. In all my life I have never been in such straits as on the 30th; and for all that, I emerged—you see no bullet hurts me." The camp library was also lost at Soor, and Duhan¹ had to make haste and send Cicero, Horace, Lucian, Voltaire, Bossuet, Rousseau, and Gresset, so that the study of the muses could continue. The same friend was also commanded to have a fine edition of Racine in readiness for the return.

Victory of Hennersdorf (November 23d, 1745 A.D.)

The advanced season necessitated the journey into Silesia by the difficult pass near Schatzlar. Frederick divided his army, which Prince Leopold was to command, between Schweidnitz and Striegau; and on the 28th of October, the day when his convention with England was arranged in Hanover, he went to Berlin, where, on the 8th of November he heard from Wülffwenstierna, Swedish minister to the Dresden court, of a scheme on foot, projected by Count Brühl, for the invasion of Berlin, which should force him to yield Silesia up to Austria; and Magdeburg, Halberstadt, together with Halle and the surrounding districts, to Saxony.

The court of Dresden had long hankered after its neighbour on the Spree, for Berlin, thanks to a new system of government, began to be of importance. Prussia, steadily growing in moral strength, was at last becoming a power of the first rank in Europe, and could hold her own against the house of Habsburg in matters both of church and state. With whom then should Saxony side? The Second Silesian War had made her hateful to Prussia, as she had been an adherent of Austria, and Frederick, during his progress through her territory, had not kept his troops under the strictest discipline; even at Hohenfriedberg the bitterest animosity had been shown towards Saxony.

The prince von Grünne led 10,000 Austrians through Saxony and marched on to Berlin; Prince Charles pushed forward with 40,000 men into upper Lusatia, joined issue with the allies, and intended carrying on the war in the

¹ The King's tutor.

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mark of Brandenburg. Then Prince Leopold with 35,000 men hurried to Naumberg on the Queis; Frederick went towards him from Berlin, and on the 23rd of November at the Catholic Hennersdorf defeated four Saxon cuirassier regiments and one regiment of infantry under General von Büchner, all taken greatly aback at his appearance.

He further took possession of the great powder magazine in Görlitz, and commanded the count von Grünne to retrace his steps and unite with the Saxon main body under Count Rutowsky near Dresden. Ziethen begged for his regiment the silver drums which had been pillaged in the fight at Hennersdorf.

The happy result of this victory was seen in the fine public spirit created in Frederick's people. A candidate for the forest rights in Breslau, and Professor Stisser in Stettin, sang such stirring odes in honour of Frederick in the victories of Hohenfriedberg and of Soor that they sounded quite stately, even compared with Gleim's grenadier songs, when in their turn they resounded in the Berlin patriotic journals. The king's town was changing, as Count Grünne had threatened, into a fortified camp, and instead of a gay people, 16,000 citizens went armed. When the danger was over and Berlin was illuminated, the people indulged themselves in all kinds of witticisms—one design showed Grünne with many Austrian generals mounted on crabs, and Berlin in the distance inscribed

General Grünne
Will to Berlin.

Another showed many coaches drawn by four and six horses, also calashes and carts racing away from Berlin; in the middle was a hare in full flight, with under all the inscription—"In company."

The Battle of Kesselsdorf (November 29th, 1745)

The Saxon troops were already quartered for the winter round Leipsic when the king wrote, after the victory of Hennersdorf, to the old prince of Dessau, "I have beaten them in Lusatia, do you beat them at Leipsic; then we shall meet at Dresden." Then Leopold started out with his corps from Halle, captured Leipsic on the 29th of November, joined General von Lehwald on the 13th of December at Meissen, and marched on Dresden, whence Augustus had fled to Prague.

Rutowsky found himself in the most favourable position near Kesselsdorf—the chevalier de Saxe, his brother, commanded the cavalry; here they awaited Prince Leopold. Kesselsdorf lay at the foot of a hill, occupied by the left wing of the Saxons. In this village alone there were seven grenadier battalions; mountains, passes, even the great difficulty of attacking on slippery ice—everything was in favour of the Saxon. It was not till two o'clock in the afternoon that the Prussians advanced to the attack. General von Hertzberg moved with the grenadier battalions of Kleist, Aulack, and Münchow, who followed the three battalions of Prince Leopold of Dessau's regiment at 300 paces, supported by Bonin's dragoons. The first attempt was defeated by the locality and two of the enemy's batteries; many Prussians, among them Von Hertzberg, fell, and the prince drew the grenadiers to the rear. Then the Saxons came out into the open field to pursue them in their retreat. But now Von Bonin's regiment of dragoons rushed upon the seven Saxon battalions, so that they were instantly scattered and their batteries taken.

The Pomeranian infantry under Teetz took Kesselsdorf, with 20 cannon, 4 mortars, a flag and a pair of drums, and earned for themselves a new seal of

honour; all officers received the order of merit. Prince Leopold celebrated a splendid jubilee here, as it was in the spring of 1695 that he started his military career under the Brandenburg arms in the Netherlands.

The Peace of Dresden (1745 A.D.)

The defeated enemy joined in its flight with the prince of Lorraine who, the decisive moment over, was quite calmly betaking himself to Bohemia for safety. Frederick had been in Meissen during the fight; he inspected the battle ground, and on the 18th entered Dresden where he consoled the forsaken household of the prince and received Count von Harrach, who, delegated by Maria Theresa, began to negotiate with the Prussian, English, and Saxon plenipotentiaries for peace, which was concluded on the 25th; the Berlin Peace and division of territory were renewed; Prussia recognised Maria Theresa's husband as Francis I, emperor and head of the empire; Austria guaranteed to the king all his states, as also those privileges otherwise assured to him by Charles VII; Frederick agreed not to disturb the house of Austria in any of its German possessions; Saxony, Brunswick, Cassel, the Palatinate are all included in the Dresden Treaty of peace. The electorate of Saxony made a special treaty with Prussia; it paid to Frederick one million thalers, renouncing, as heir contingent to the house of Austria, all claim on Silesia, and agreeing to keep aloof from all differences and dissensions, such as there had been between Prussia and Saxony with regard to the customs at Fürstenberg on the Oder, and along the road to Schildau. In return for an equivalent to the country and its inhabitants, the town of Fürstenberg and its customs, together with the village of Schildau and lower Lusatia and all land in the electorate of Saxony on the right bank of the Oder, was to be abandoned to the Berlin court, so that the river with both its shores might be entirely Prussian. But so many difficulties were made by Saxony that this article of the Treaty of Dresden could not be arranged.

In this treaty of peace, Great Britain, warring with the Pretender, was again very useful to the king. The duke of Newcastle and his brother Pelham, who had replaced the friend of Austria, Lord Carteret, offered him in the Hanover agreement of August 26th, 1745, every security for Silesia, and persuaded the Vienna court to peace—a peace to which King George and later the emperor, as such, and the empire gave their especial guarantees.

Frederick was present in the Kreuzkirche in Dresden on the 26th of December when the peace sermon was preached; on the 28th, at midday, he drove in an open carriage, accompanied by his two brothers, back to Berlin in full state. The town was intoxicated with delight, and Frederick drove between double rows of citizens. The people called him "father of the fatherland" and "the great king." At the castle he was received on alighting from the carriage by Prince Ferdinand and the other princes, by the generals of the army and the nobles of the court. "Upstairs in the king's apartments there was the tenderest and most loving welcome from their two majesties, the queens." On this evening, in the midst of the shouts of triumph, the king left the joyful tumult of the illuminated city, to visit Duhan, who was dying in the Adlerstrasse!

The war had cost millions, without extending the confines of the country; the triumph was purely ideal. The pope sent congratulations to the king, and once more recommended to his protection those inhabitants of Silesia who still held the Catholic faith. The Catholic president of the head district in Oppeln, Count Henckel von Donnersmarck, freiherr zu Beuthen, was declared a forsworn traitor, and to have forfeited all honours and dignities, as well as the order of the Black Eagle; his hereditary sword was publicly broken by the executioner in Breslau.

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France continued the War of the Austrian Succession with great energy, and with no small measure of success.¹

Frederick, however, wearied himself unceasingly in endeavours to reconcile the three powers; but this was accomplished only by the Treaty of Aachen, which gave back all conquered territory and once more assured Silesia and Glatz to the king of Prussia.²

THE FREDERICIAN SPIRIT IN GERMANY

During the period which intervened between the end of the Silesian and the beginning of the Seven Years' War, the great personality of Frederick as a ruler, legislator, guardian of justice, and furtherer of the common welfare in his states, but also as the introducer of a new era, not merely for Germany but for the whole of Europe, was more and more clearly manifested. At this time he made his first tentative measures for the reform of justice and legislation, which make Prussia's example in this field a guide not merely for the other German states, but even for many foreign ones.

We may mention as belonging to this time most of those remarkable decisions by which Frederick with one stroke of the pen now overthrew some fragment of mediæval intolerance, now gave wings to the administration for the benefit of some subject suffering under it; and again unhesitatingly made his own kingly prerogative bow to the higher authority of a uniformly impartial justice. To this time also belongs the revival of the Academy of Science, which under his father's reign had decayed and, worse, had fallen into contempt. Though under Frederick this institution was organised too much after the French fashion and was in great part filled with Frenchmen, yet it also assembled many German celebrities within its precincts and advanced considerably many sciences, especially the exact ones. Now for the first time Germany perceived what she possessed in this king, and with conscious pride named as her own the man whom foreign countries to the very borders of civilisation had admiringly praised. The influence of Frederick's personality and method of governing now began gradually to extend and manifest itself in wider circles.

The result was kindred to the operating cause. It was not merely that certain defined branches of intellectual life were advanced and strengthened by Frederick's power and influence, but it was above all the whole being, the very life of the nation itself, which underwent a favourable change and won new vigour and strength. As to those whose official occupations were performed immediately under the eyes and the control of the great king, who had to fear his uncompromising look, which nothing escaped, they soon saw themselves compelled to fulfil their offices in a more strict and faithful manner than had generally been the habit in these circles, and this partly by force, partly by the exciting influence of example given from so high a place. And yet they were no longer the mere machines of an often capricious and despotic will, as had been the case under the far too one-sided government of Frederick William I. They might on occasion assert their own independent views before a king who respected ideas and principles, and knew how to appreciate them because he himself governed according to them; and under the government of a monarch, who by a writ under his own hand had exhorted the *Kammergericht*, the highest court of judicature in the land, never to proceed except according to the law and their convictions as judges, and not to respect orders even from him, if they were in opposition to this legal attitude. The judicial calling in particular acquired a spirit of independence and devo-

[¹ See volumes XI. and XIV.]

tion to duty which did not fail when the king did actually, as in the notorious lawsuit of Müller, let himself be beguiled into the mistake of interrupting the independent course of justice, though it had been done with the very best intentions.

Thus from Frederick's school there proceeded a host of officials who were objects of admiration and envy to the whole of Germany, compared as they were with the venal, inert, lazy, and ignorant men, who formed the same class in all the other states. It was they who withstood, and in a great measure successfully, the corruption of the government which followed, and preserved for later days the traditions of a conscientious and punctilious administrative and judicial body, operating for the public benefit, and possessed of intellectual culture and thoroughness, which produced a rich harvest for the regeneration of the Prussian state.^k

The period of eight years which had been allowed to the different states of Europe from the Peace of Aachen until a new war broke out, did not produce in them the desired feeling of united firmness and security; but, on the contrary, all seemed unsettled and in dread of the new commotions which hovered over this brief state of repose. For it was but too evident that the inimical powers so recently roused up—not having as yet found their equilibrium—had only made a pause for the purpose of soon resuming hostilities against each other with renewed vigour. The empress-queen could not brook the loss of Silesia, and she felt this loss the more acutely, inasmuch as she was obliged to undergo the mortification of knowing that the king of Prussia, by adopting a proper course of administration, had been able to double the revenue of that beautiful country. Frederick, on the other hand, was too clear-sighted not to foresee that a third struggle with her was inevitable. Among the other European powers, too, there was a restless spirit at work; they entered into alliances, looked about them—now here, now there—for friends, and increased their strength by land and sea. Europe was at this moment divided by two leading parties: France, Prussia, and Sweden adhered to the one, Austria, England, and Saxony to the other; the rest had not yet come to any conclusion as to which party they should support, but their assistance was eagerly sought by both. Maria Theresa at first cast her eye upon the powerful state of Russia, whose empress, Elizabeth, appeared inclined to hurl back her bold northern neighbour into his former insignificance; and eventually both parties concluded an alliance by means of the grand chancellor of Russia, Bestuschef, who had a personal dislike to the king of Prussia, because the latter refused to gratify his avaricious disposition. In order to induce Russia to take active measures against Prussia, England found it necessary to act upon the grand chancellor with her money, and by this means a war was all but declared already between Russia and Prussia. George II of England more especially desired this, in order that he might by such war be relieved of the anxiety he felt for his principality of Hanover; for as he was already engaged in a maritime war with France, with the view of acquiring new territories in other parts of the world, it was to be expected that France in union with Prussia would forthwith attack his electorate. Maria Theresa, however, on her part, saw this storm preparing in the north of Europe without fear or inquietude, as she nourished strong hopes that it would give her an opportunity of reconquering her Silesian territory.^l

PRUSSIA, ENGLAND, AND THE NEW PROVINCES OF FRIESLAND (1751-1753)

England lost an ally in the fresh conflict with France which loomed, a perpetual menace, on the horizon, while the relations between the English royal family and their near kin of the royal house of Prussia grew more and more

[1748-1751 A.D.]

strained. Besides the personal influence of the monarchs and the unfortunate choice of a British ambassador, there was another circumstance which embittered the relations between the two countries. England, jealous of her uncontested supremacy at sea, claimed the right to confiscate contraband of war in neutral ships. But the question as to what fell under this description was no less difficult to determine then than now. To Prussia the whole subject had been of small importance as long as her maritime trade was confined to the few seaports of the Baltic. But in the course of the War of the Austrian Succession Frederick had gained possession of East Friesland. And as he planted his foot for the first time on the shores of the North Sea he had a vision of the whole maritime trade of north Germany in his hands. To his eager zeal it seemed a simple matter to divert the whole transatlantic traffic into new channels. The English right of search in merchant vessels was therefore extremely annoying to him, the more so as it was exercised harshly and without consideration. In 1748, the last year of the war, two Prussian vessels laden with planks and hemp had been captured. The British officials simply declared these articles contraband of war, and laid an embargo on the ships. Frederick made representations and demanded compensation, but to no purpose. Meanwhile peace was concluded, but the embargo was not taken off. It availed nothing that the king called together a court of arbitration which unanimously affirmed that planks and hemp were not contraband of war. The English government, for its part, referred the matter to a prize court and a special commission. Years passed and they came to no decision, while Frederick continued to make more and more urgent demands for his ships.

Thus matters stood when, in July of 1751, the young king of Prussia paid his first visit to his new province. The welcome which greeted him gave profound offence to George II, who considered himself the rightful heir to the territory of which (as he thought) his nephew had violently deprived him. And now he learned, into the bargain, that the latter was attaching his new subjects to his person by a series of far-reaching enterprises for the public good, and rousing in them a spirit which astonished themselves. One undertaking, in particular, on which Frederick built great hopes was the expansion of Prussian trade with eastern Asia. He declared Emden a free port, and the "Asiatic Trading Company" and the "Bengal Trading Company" came into existence there under his protection. In the following years each of these companies sent out two ships. But they had no luck, and they could not keep the field in face of the rivalry of the Dutch. Moreover, one of the ships had an affray with an English man-of-war in the Channel. The naval officers who searched it discovered and claimed some British subjects among the crew. Despite vigorous protests they were carried off and (in virtue of an Act of Parliament, it was said) pressed into the fleet. Thus on all sides obstacles arose in the way of these new ventures, and the outbreak of the Seven Years' War shortly after put a final end to them. Nothing remained to bear witness of the unfortunate attempt to divert the commerce of Asia to East Friesland except the numerous specimens of old Chinese porcelain which were still to be found there forty years ago. At that time costly red vases with quaint raised gilt figures, precious dinner services of transparent ware, and little cups decorated with intricate and inimitable arabesque, might be seen among the possessions of rich Frisian farmers in the fen land, even in outlying "places." These treasures have now grown extremely rare, and china lovers have to pay exorbitant prices for the few remaining pieces left by collectors and Jew dealers.

It was natural that the East Frieslanders should never forget the brief blossoming time of their commerce and prosperity which followed upon the union with Prussia. For the vigorous life which throbbled through all circles

of society when, in place of a degenerate line of princes and after centuries of internal dissensions, a young and able monarch seized the reins of power, carried everything before it. The inhabitants suddenly felt themselves members of a mighty state, nor was this feeling troubled by the imposition of new and onerous burdens. With a wise caution Frederick refrained from exacting the annual quota of recruits from the new province, foreseeing that such a measure would be regarded with peculiar abhorrence by the "free Frisians." He therefore contented himself with the annual payment of a money contribution.

Nevertheless the impartial historian is bound to confess that the reasons why the tide of wealth did not flow back into the old channels, nor the flourishing times of the Hanseatic League return, lay deeper than either king or people supposed. The gorgeous chambers of the Guildhall at Emden remain as empty as ever, and through the great rooms, which in past centuries were thronged with merchants of every land and clime, flows only the yearly tide of tourists who flock in summer to the health resorts of the North Sea, admiring the curious mediæval weapons and richly inlaid suits of armour so tastefully arranged on the walls. The harbour has been choked with mud, and in the islands of East Friesland curious fences made of monster ribs are all that testifies to the many merchantmen that once put out hence for the northern seas. It is unjust to make the war, which turned Frederick's energies into another direction, solely answerable for this mournful issue. It was not this circumstance alone which brought his masterly projects to such pitiable wreck. And it is peculiarly unjust to reproach the succeeding Hanoverian government because the commercial enterprises of the first period of Prussian rule developed no farther. Both Frederick and the East Frieslanders overestimated the effect which the long-desired harbour was likely to exert from afar upon Prussia. They both overlooked the fact that the existing means of communication were inadequate to ensure a sufficient market for their wares inland. Moreover, ever since the discovery of the ocean route to the East Indies, the two maritime powers, England and Holland, had held almost absolute control over the trade with the East. Hamburg and Bremen had long since monopolised the small traffic of Germany beyond seas. A long time would therefore necessarily have elapsed before the great mercantile houses of the Continent made up their minds to import their wares from other sources or distribute them through other channels. And again, the royal interference with the existing conditions, though the inspiration of a master mind, was too precipitate and too much bound up with the king's personality to produce lasting results. The Hanoverian government, practical and thorough, though systematically deliberate and far less showy, did much more for the real good of East Friesland than the first period of Prussian administration. It turned its attention to immediate needs, and to it the province is indebted for its network of roads, its new Emden ship canal, its railway, the fostering of the trade of Leer and Papenburg, and the revived prosperity of the merchant-service. And the credit of bringing the bog land into cultivation by the system of dikes is solely due to the Hanoverian government.

One of the improvements, however, and that perhaps the most beneficial of all, is unquestionably the work of King Frederick. He was the first to teach the people how wide stretches of fertile land could be recovered from the sea by means of embankments against the floods which had formerly swept the soil away. The many flourishing "swamps" along the shores of the Dollart and the North Sea are speaking memorials of his activity. With the same zeal, though not with the same success, he undertook the cultivation of the extensive areas of marsh land which he had passed on his progress to Aurich. But if in the execution of this project he made many mistakes, who shall take him to task for them? He had before his eyes no examples of marshes profit-

[1752-1753 A.D.]

ably planted, such as we now see in the district of Stade and other parts of East Friesland. For one thing, the lots which he gave to the colonists to cultivate were too small. The proceeds of agriculture in this niggardly soil were not sufficient to maintain a family, and hence the descendants of the unfortunate peasants whom he transported hither from remote provinces form to this day a degenerate proletariat, eking out a miserable subsistence by begging on the highway. But when we read of the stimulus given to improvements in agriculture, home administration, and even domestic life, by Frederick's brief visit, we cannot but marvel at the insight and the indefatigable energy of the man, and at his constant thought for his subjects. Through the medley of official receptions his keen eye noted what was amiss, and the few hours of leisure left him were devoted to the consideration and invention of remedies.

ENGLISH COMPLICATIONS

In England this energy was looked upon with suspicion, and the sudden expansion of the trade of Emden roused envy and apprehension. King George was not alone in his wrath when a province he had intended to win for himself flung itself with enthusiasm into the arms of his nephew; the whole British nation shared his exasperation. Frederick's care for the prosperity of this part of his dominions was interpreted as a link in a long chain of hostile demonstrations against England. The unfortunate affair of the captured ships was still pending, and added to the discord. The communications exchanged between the two cabinets steadily assumed a more acrimonious and insulting tone. Finally, in the year 1752, Frederick determined to bring the matter to an issue. He declared through his agents that it seemed to him that the English courts were maliciously determined to postpone their decision indefinitely, but that he neither could nor would wait any longer, and would attempt to compensate his subjects by other means. After the lapse of three months (April 23rd, 1753) he should cease to pay interest on the Silesian loan, the securities for which were mainly in English hands.

A perfect tempest of indignation broke forth in England. The duke of Newcastle could not have yielded if he would. In a fresh note (April 12th) couched in the mildest terms, Frederick tried in vain to justify the step he had taken. The temper of the London populace rendered a reconciliation impossible. The coercive measure he had used as a threat was actually put into force. Then there arose throughout Great Britain a clamour against the "unjust," "obstinate," and "malicious" king of Prussia. No meanness was too base to be imputed to him. His object was to ruin England; he had a secret understanding with France and with the Jacobite plotters. The appointment of Keith to the Prussian embassy in Paris, the summons of Tyrcounel to Berlin, were evidence enough. In the general excitement it was even thought not unlikely that he might land fifteen thousand men in Scotland to restore the exiled dynasty. The unfortunate Dr. Archibald Cameron, brother of the famous Lochiel, being captured about this time on the lands of the laird of Glenbucket, was taken for a Jacobite emissary of Frederick's, and six years after the rising under Charles Edward this noble-hearted man perished on the gallows amidst the rejoicings of the mob. Caricatures and lampoons of the king of Prussia were circulated in England, and even persons of position and influence gave credence to tales of the most extravagant political projects on the part of Frederick. The idea was very natural and excusable. For it was impossible that his contemporaries should know that a wise moderation in his aims was the king's greatest quality, together with a singular faculty for distinguishing between the near and attainable and the visionary in politics. On

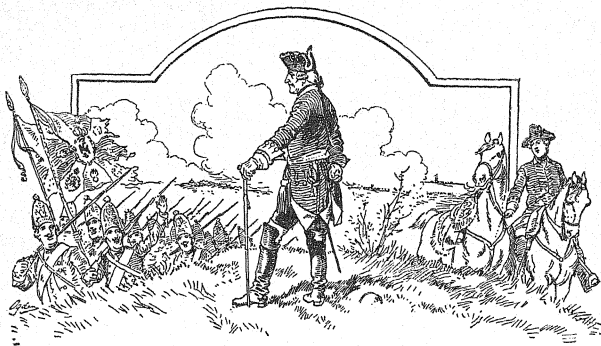
[1753-1756 A.D.]

the contrary, from his earliest performances it seemed not improbable that he might develop into a ruthless and insatiable conqueror, such as Napoleon gradually became. And even the soberest politicians were convinced that in his alliance with France he contemplated the seizure of Hanoverian territory. When, about the same time, a project for the election of a king of the Romans came to nothing, the failure was regarded as a result of Prussian intrigues, and in the summer of 1753 matters had come to such a pass that hardly anyone doubted that there would be a speedy outbreak of hostilities between England and Prussia.

The fact made George II realise all the more keenly the necessity of knitting closer the ancient alliance with Austria. But, to his surprise and disappointment, he found that the overtures of his ambassador were received with increasing coolness at the court of Vienna. Maria Theresa did not even seem particularly interested in securing the election of her own son as king of the Romans. King George was clearly more "imperial" than the empress and mother herself. This indifference on the part of his "natural" ally stirred the ready choler of the British monarch. He felt his consequence as an elector and his greatness as king of England deeply wounded. To those about him he let fall angry words concerning this "vagabond stranger whom he had helped to the throne."¹

Meantime Frederick, taking quick advantage of the situation, formed and put into immediate execution a plan no less unexpected than extraordinary. Abandoning the lukewarm aid of France, which lay, as it were, in a state of political lethargy, and had afforded him but very trifling assistance in his two Silesian wars, he suddenly turned to England, now so much increasing in power and enterprising boldness, and claimed her alliance; and the English nation acceded to his proposal. Both nations needed this reciprocal aid against other adversaries; and, at the same time, required the confidence of each other in order that England might be at ease with regard to Hanover. Hence the alliance between England and Prussia, which based its security in the sympathy of both nations, might be truly termed a natural alliance, and was founded upon firmer grounds than those of mere state policy.

By this single turn the relations which had hitherto existed between the different states of Europe were altogether changed. Prussia had declared herself independent of France, and England of Austria; and through a singular capricious sport of fortune, France and Austria, who had been enemies for three hundred years, now found themselves, to their own astonishment, placed in close proximity, and called upon to give each other their hands; and all the rules of political calculation hitherto held as immutable were at one blow demolished. Luckily for Austria, she possessed in her prime minister, Prince Kaunitz, and in the empress Maria Theresa herself, two whose power of mind enabled them at once to perceive and avail themselves of the altered position of affairs, and who did not suffer themselves to be held in check by ancient custom. They sought for an alliance with France, and obtained it. On the 1st of May, 1756, the Treaty of Versailles was drawn up, after that between England and Prussia had been already concluded at Westminster in the month of January of the same year.²



CHAPTER IV

THE SEVEN YEARS' WAR

[1756-1763 A.D.]

To me it appears evident that a private person ought to be scrupulously tenacious of his promise, though he should have made it inconsiderately. If he is injured he can have recourse to the protection of laws, and, be the issue what it may, an individual only suffers. But where is the tribunal that can redress a monarch's wrongs, should another monarch forfeit his engagement? The word of a sovereign may draw down calamities on nations. Must the people perish or must the monarch infringe a treaty? And where is the man weak enough to hesitate a moment concerning his answer?—FREDERICK II.

THE union of the house of Austria and Bourbon, so lately formed, soon created a suspicion that the Treaty of London could not maintain the tranquillity of Germany. Peace might be said to be suspended only by a hair; some pretext was but wanting; and, when that is the sole thing necessary, war is as if declared. It soon appeared inevitable; for information was obtained that the politicians had all been deceived in their dependence on Russia. That power, over which the intrigues of the Austrian ministers prevailed, broke with England because of the alliance which the king of Great Britain had concluded with the king of Prussia. Count Bestuschef for a moment remained undecided between his passion for English guineas and his hatred toward the king; but hatred was victorious. The empress Elizabeth, an enemy to the French nation after the last embassy of the marquis de la Chetardie, was better pleased to league with that nation than to preserve the least alliance with a power which had become connected with Russia. Active in every court of Europe, the

court of Vienna profited by the passions of sovereigns and their ministers, to attract them to itself, and govern them according to the purpose proposed.

During these sudden and unexpected changes of system the English ships no longer kept any measures with those of France. The vexations and infractions they committed enforced the king of France, in his own despite, to declare war. The French ostentatiously announced that they were preparing to make a descent on England. They lined the coasts of Brittany and Normandy with troops, built flat-bottomed boats for their transportation, and assembled some ships of war at Brest. These appearances terrified the English, and there were moments during which this nation, which has the character of so much wisdom, imagined its destruction near. To remove these fears, King George had recourse to Hanoverian and Hessian troops, that were brought into England.

The first thing necessary, at the commencement of the war, was to deprive the Saxons of the means of making themselves parties in it and of disturbing Prussia. The electorate of Saxony must be traversed to carry the war into Bohemia. If Saxony were not conquered, an enemy would be left behind; who, depriving the Prussians of the free navigation of the Elbe, would oblige them to quit Bohemia, whenever the king of Poland should please.¹

In the autumn of 1756, therefore, Frederick, unexpectedly and without previously declaring war, invaded Saxony, of which he speedily took possession, and shut up the little Saxon army, thus taken unawares, on the Elbe at Pirna. A corps of Austrians, who were also equally unprepared to take the field, hastened, under the command of Bröwne, to their relief, but were, on the 1st of October, defeated at Lobositz, and the fourteen thousand Saxons under Rutowsky at Pirna were in consequence compelled to lay down their arms, the want to which they were reduced by the failure of their supplies having already driven them to the necessity of eating hair-powder mixed with gunpowder.²

THE DEFEAT OF THE SAXONS AT PIRNA (1756 A.D.)

Whilst the chill October rain descended without intermission upon the wretched Saxon soldiers, their leader sat warm and dry in the impregnable fortress of Königstein. Through the floods that poured across the window-panes of the commandant's quarters he saw the long columns of his battalions cross the bridge and struggle painfully up the slippery footpath which led from the hamlet of Halbestadt to Ebenheit, above the precipitous river bank; he saw the exhausted horses toiling vainly to draw the light guns up to the plateau, the cavalry crowding in the narrow space between the declivity and the stream till their turn came to defile.

And when he turned his eyes from the dreadful throng, the hopeless confusion by the river, towards the spot whence, in fair weather, the domes and towers of his capital could be seen gleaming, he saw, to his dismay, the Prussian hussars already on the table-land where his own camp had stood during the past weeks. He saw the bold horsemen climb down the pass by which his own troops had just come, he saw his own men in terror cut the cables of the bridge and let it drift down-stream. Nor did the darkness draw a merciful veil over the mournful scenes at his feet. His camp had no rest. Far into the night he could not choose but hear, in angry grief, the shouts of the triumphant enemy, busy over the plunder of the abandoned tents and baggage wagons, and searching his own late headquarters at Struppen for spoil. But one ray of hope was still left to the unhappy elector. When the day dawned he fancied that he should see his army cut its way through the ranks of the enemy.

[1756 A.D.]

A message from Field-Marshal Rutowsky dashed this hopeful prognostication. He reported that his men were utterly exhausted and that the last provisions were gone. He had succeeded, though with difficulty, in forming the bulk of the infantry into three or four divisions on the plateau of Ebenheit, but half of the artillery had stuck fast in the river. The cavalry, too, was incapable of reaching the top. To add to these misfortunes, he had no news from Browne; the messenger who had undertaken, for a large sum of money, to convey a message to him by secret paths through the forest had in all likelihood been taken prisoner, and it was vain to count on the co-operation of the Austrians. Under these circumstances he was of opinion that nothing but useless bloodshed could result from an attempt to storm the Prussian positions alone.

This was too much even for the feeble Augustus III. His desperate plight did not, it is true, inspire him with the energy which of old hurled the last Paleologus out of the gorgeous halls of the palace of the Casars and from the luxury of an oriental despot, to die unrecognised among his warriors in the breach. He did not embrace the manly resolution of inspiring his soldiers by his presence in person, and of perishing with them if needs must be, but he sent strict orders to his field-marshal to cut his way out at all hazards.

It was two o'clock on the morning of Thursday, the 14th of October, when he despatched these orders. At the same time he sent down to the river one hundred and fifty horses from his own stable, plentifully fed with oats and hay, while the beasts in the camp were dying of starvation. These powerful animals were meant to draw the guns up the slope, but even their exertions were of no avail. The grey dawn was rising as they splashed and swam across the river. At the same time (about seven in the morning) Rutowsky received the message from Browne which he had almost ceased to look for. It had been given to the messenger at ten o'clock on the previous evening, but he had taken the whole of the stormy October night in getting back uncaught from Lichtenhain. The contents of the paper destroyed the last hope. The Austrian general wrote that since Tuesday he had been waiting in vain for the Saxon signal guns, and had therefore concluded that the enterprise had failed. His own position was one of extreme peril, as the Prussians were opposed to him in greatly superior numbers. The utmost he could do was to wait till nine o'clock Thursday morning; if then he had no news he must withdraw.

The hour he named was almost past already. To be ready to attack by that time was impossible, more especially as the Prussian force on the Lilienstein had been increased to eleven battalions, with twenty-two guns. Rutowsky sent again to the elector and begged permission to capitulate, and again he received an answer in the negative. Then the cannon of Königstein began to thunder, to stay the Austrians if possible; but wind and weather were unpropitious, and no sound of them reached Browne. He marched away as he had said he should. Rutowsky listened in vain for the rattle of musketry announcing the Austrian attack. Silence was over all.

That was the end. He summoned his generals to a council of war, and in one of the little huts of the hamlet of Ebenheit a brief consultation took place. All were agreed that escape was impossible. To lead the soldiers as they were, exhausted by unprecedented exertions and chilled by seventy-two hours of rain, against the enemy's entrenchments, was obviously to sacrifice them to no purpose. They had eaten nothing since the day before; for months they had been living on meagre rations. The ammunition was spoiled by the wet. There was nothing to be done but capitulate. Now at last Augustus III bowed to the inevitable, and a preliminary convention with General Winterfeld, who was in command on the right bank of the Elbe, procured the first of necessities, bread, for the miserable invested army.

The Capitulation

Next day (Friday, October 15th) Count Rutowsky went over to Struppen to arrange the details of the surrender with King Frederick, who had hastened thither from Bohemia. He found the monarch, to whom he submitted a draft of the terms of capitulation, in the worst of tempers. The unexpected delay which the obstinate resistance of the Saxons had imposed upon his military operations had embittered him. He would hear of no terms and demanded an unconditional surrender. In vain did Rutowsky try to save at least the Polish body-guard of the king and the Household Grenadiers from the general dissolution that menaced the army. Nay, even the status of prisoners of war was not assured to them in plain terms. On the contrary, Frederick with his own hand wrote on the margin of the document: "If the king will give them to me they need not become prisoners of war." Nor was it possible to obtain a promise that no one should be forced to serve Prussia. Arms, cannon, tents, and all military stores naturally fell to the victors. The small concession that officers might retain their swords and that the drums, flags, and standards should be placed in safe keeping at Königstein was obtained with difficulty. In a postscript to the deed of capitulation Rutowsky stated that he was empowered to let the troops lay down their arms, but not to absolve them from their oath. The elector, too, refused to yield this last point. But they could not hinder the king of Prussia from dealing as he pleased with the unfortunate soldiery. And Frederick feared that such a large number of prisoners of war, whom he could hardly expect to exchange, would be a great anxiety to him personally and an enormous drain on his military resources. These reasons impelled him to a course of conduct unprecedented in history and opposed to every law of civilised nations.

No one who has not experienced it can form any conception of the bitterness of feeling which such a dire catastrophe stirs in the breast of the soldier. To his last hour he is haunted by the painful memory of the fatal day that witnessed the destruction of the army to which he had devoted his life's service and dissolved forever more the bonds of comradeship which had grown dear to him; and every year that goes by makes the thought of the past more grievous. In proportion as the darker features and the little drawbacks of the old state of things recede from memory, the advantages of what is now lost to him shine forth more brightly. But the capitulation which annihilated the Saxon army took place under circumstances so peculiarly galling that they left a sting even to succeeding generations. It dated its fame from the earliest days of standing armies; it had fought with distinction against the terrible Charles XII, and even against its present opponent. Its present evil case was not the fault of its leaders, but of the wrong-headed policy of its master and (to a still greater extent) of his notorious minister, Brühl. And in spite of all, the soldiers had borne the disasters of the last weeks with exemplary discipline and un murmuring subordination.

And for their reward they were spared none of the humiliating formalities which an ancient and barbarous custom imposes on the vanquished. The victors could not deny themselves the pleasure of seeing the captured army march past them on Sunday, the 17th of October. On that march there were only about twelve thousand left to give up their weapons. It is easier to imagine than to describe the sensations with which the disarmed warriors must have gone down the Elbe by the craggy valley (now the resort of thousands of tourists) which leads from Waltersdorf to Niederrathen. At the point where now the motley swarm of visitors to the *Bastei* flows to and fro through the summer weather, they found the bridge which was to have led them to

[1756-1757 A.D.]

liberty only a few days before; the Prussians had fished up the pontoons, and now it bore them not to prison but to a worse fate.

At Oberrathen, now a station on the Bohemian line, the officers and men were separated. Of the former, five hundred and sixty-eight were let go on giving their parole not to fight against Prussia; only fifty-three took service with Frederick. The non-commissioned officers and the rank and file were handed over to Prussian superiors. The king seems to have had no great opinion of the binding quality of the oath which still pledged them to the service of their old master. But, with an odd self-contradictoriness, when none of them would come over to him of their own free will, he obliged them to swear a new oath to him *en masse*. Then he formed them into separate divisions, to be transmuted into Prussian troops within the boundaries of the Prussian kingdom. Halle, Magdeburg, Halberstadt, Frankfort, etc., were the stations assigned to them. Ludwig of Dessau, the Iron Prince, was charged with the troublesome task of supervising the transformation. But in spite of dismal experiences their loyalty to their hereditary princes proved stronger than the harshest coercion and the fear of punishment. Some actually deserted on the first march, and the rest were so uninspired by their example that hardly a third of the men reached their destination. They arrived as mere skeleton regiments, and to swell their ranks Frederick imposed a levy of twelve thousand recruits upon unhappy Saxony!

King Augustus, the princes Xavier and Charles, Brühl the minister, and a numerous suite of five hundred persons started on their journey to Warsaw on the 20th of October. Never again was the king to see Dresden, where the queen and the electoral prince had been left; he died in the Polish capital in the last year of the war.

The Saxon drama was at an end. In seven weeks Frederick had made himself master of that rich country. He now exploited its resources ruthlessly for his war, just as he had endeavoured to reinforce his army with its sons. His officials treated the people with extreme harshness; and Frederick wreaked on the palaces and gardens of Brühl, the minister, the personal grudge which he bore that statesman. To this day some of these properties bear traces of the ignoble vengeance which the Prussian monarch took in his own person upon his political adversary.

The king of Prussia was far less concerned about the justice than about the utility of his dealings with Saxony. To him the advantages resulting from the occupation of the country seemed greatly to outweigh the disadvantages that might ensue from leaving it in an attitude of doubtful neutrality in his rear. But he now realised with solicitude that his personal animosity had led his political sagacity astray. The resistance of Saxony had cheated him of six precious weeks. He had been unable to profit by the opportunity of winning great successes in Bohemia while the Austrians were still unprepared. The advanced season now put a stop to all military operations. Snowy and tempestuous weather set in unusually early; it was impossible to keep the troops under canvas. At the end of October, therefore, the Prussian army at Lobositz started on the march back to Saxony, and Field-Marshal Schwerin, who had pressed forward from Silesia as far as Königgrätz, retreated across the frontier. The king himself remained at Gross-Sedlitz till the 14th of November, and then removed his headquarters to Dresden.^e

THE BATTLE OF PRAGUE (1757 A.D.)

The preparations made for the ensuing campaign presented to the eyes of Frederick an aspect in prospective affairs of a character anything but encouraging. The great powers of Europe, infuriated by the stand he made, had

now become more firmly united than ever in their determination to destroy him, and combined together with all their armies to overwhelm him. Austria came forth with all the troops, together with all the wealth and resources furnished by her extensive territories; Russia contributed no fewer than 100,000 men; France supplied even a greater number, Sweden came forward with 20,000 men; whilst the Germanic Empire generally, regarding the invasion of Saxony by Frederick as a violation of the peace of the country, offered to the imperial court an additional aid of 60,000 men. Thus a combined army of at least 500,000 men stood under arms ready to march against the king of Prussia; whilst he, on the other hand, could oppose to this mighty and overwhelming force but 200,000 men, collected only at the sacrifice of every resource at his command. As allies he possessed only England, the landgraf of Hesse, and the dukes of Brunswick and Gotha, and he was obliged to leave them alone to carry on the war with France; with respect to the other powers, he hoped to make up for his inferior force by the ability of his great generals and by doubling his strength by rapid marches, thus swiftly passing with the same army from one point to another, to be enabled to fight his enemies one after the other. Thence, he resolved to direct his first and principal effort against Austria, whom he regarded as his chief enemy, whilst in the mean-time he left behind 14,000 men under the command of his old field-marshal Lehwald, for the defence of Prussia itself against the attack of the Russians, leaving only 4,000 men for the protection of Berlin against the Swedes; fortunately, however, for Prussia, the Swedish portion of the allies took no very serious share in the war.

Maria Theresa, influenced by an extraordinary predilection for her husband's brother, Prince Charles of Lorraine, appointed him, although he had already been twice beaten by Frederick, commander-in-chief of the imperial army; whilst under his orders she placed the talented and experienced soldier, General Browne. This arrangement proved of great service to the king. Browne, with his usual prudence and forethought, advised Prince Charles to anticipate the quick movements of the Prussians in the attack they contemplated, and penetrating into Saxony and Silesia, thus remove the seat of war from the hereditary states of Austria; Charles of Lorraine, however, although on other occasions too precipitate, resolved in this case to be the very opposite, preferring to adopt the defensive, and was anxious to wait until he had drawn around him all the forces he could collect. This was exactly what Frederick most anxiously desired, and he contrived to strengthen the prince in the belief that he himself, overmatched by so many powerful enemies, thought it most prudent to assume the defensive likewise. Suddenly, however, and whilst the Austrians imagined themselves in perfect security, the Prussians broke up; dividing themselves into four divisions, they poured forth in rapid marches across the mountains into Bohemia, and, like so many mighty and impetuous mountain rivers, swept all before them, taking possession of all the supplies of the imperials, which served to furnish them with provisions during several months, and reunited their forces at a certain hour on the morning of the 6th of May, at the appointed quarters in the vicinity of Prague.

The prince of Lorraine, hastily collecting together all his troops, had now taken a strong, intrenched position in the mountains, near Prague, where he considered himself secured against every attack. Frederick, however, to whom every hour which delayed the execution of the final blow appeared lost, resolved to give battle at once now that the enemy was within sight, and in this determination he was cordially seconded by his favourite officer, General Winterfeld, a bold and undaunted warrior. Accordingly the latter received orders to reconnoitre the enemy's position, and he reported that their right

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wing might be easily attacked, as in front of it were several green meadows which would facilitate the advance of the troops. But what he thought to be meadows were nothing but deep dried-up ponds, with slimy bottoms, which had been sown with oats, and after the harvest were again to serve as fish ponds. This error served ultimately to produce much injury to the Prussians in their attack. The venerable field-marshal Schwerin, who had arrived at headquarters only that morning with his fatigued troops, and was altogether unacquainted with the spot chosen for the scene of action, suggested that they should postpone operations until the following day; but the king, whose impetuosity was not to be restrained, and who, having now completely formed in his mind the plan of a glorious battle, was impatient to put it into execution, would not listen for a moment to any further delay. Upon this the old warrior, who, in his seventy-third year, still retained a great portion of his youthful fire, exclaimed, as he pressed his hat over his eyes, "Well, then, if the battle shall and must be fought this day, I will attack the enemy there on the spot where I see him!"

The battle commenced only at ten o'clock in the morning, so much time having been taken up in making the necessary preparations, as the ground turned out to be generally swampy and hilly. As the Prussians worked their way through and approached the enemy, they were received with a terrific cannonade; the carnage was dreadful, and whole ranks were levelled with the ground; indeed, it seemed impossible for human courage to hold out against such tremendously destructive odds. Each attack made was unsuccessful, and the ranks of the Prussians began to waver. At this moment the brave old marshal, Schwerin, seized an ensign, and calling upon his troops to follow him rushed into the thickest of the fire, where, pierced with four balls, the veteran warrior fell and died the death of a hero. General Manteufel released the gory standard from the firm grasp of the dead veteran and led on the troops, now burning with revenge at the loss of their brave commander. The king's brother, Prince Henry, sprang from his horse, and led on his men against a battery, which he captured; and Duke Ferdinand of Brunswick attacked and overthrew with the greatest courage the left wing of the Austrians, pursuing the enemy from hill to hill, and captured seven intrenchments.

Nevertheless, the victory remained undecided as long as Field-Marshal Browne was able, by his influence and command, to maintain order among the ranks of the Austrians; at length, however, he fell, mortally wounded, and with his fall vanished all fortune from the Austrian side. King Frederick, who with his keen eye surveyed the field of battle, quickly perceived that the enemy had begun to give way; seeing a large gap in the centre of their ranks, he at once advanced, with some of his chosen troops, and, dashing into it, completely destroyed all communication between them, putting them entirely to rout. Thus the victory was gained; the Austrians fled in every direction, the greater portion of the fugitives throwing themselves into Prague, and the rest hastening to join Marshal Daun, who was posted in Küttenberg with an army of reserves.

Dearly, however, was this victory purchased! Twelve thousand five hundred Prussians lay dead or wounded on the battle-field, and among them was included one precious corpse—that of Field-Marshal Schwerin; but the remembrance of his heroic death, and the blood-stained flag he bore in his nervous grasp, were regarded by the Prussian army as the most sacred legacy, serving them as a continual incitement to follow in the same path of glory. The Austrians, likewise, suffered an irreparable loss in the death of Field-Marshal Browne; he had grown grey in the wars of his country, and the experience he had gained rendered him the most distinguished general of his day.

The struggle in Bohemia was by no means decided by this battle, although

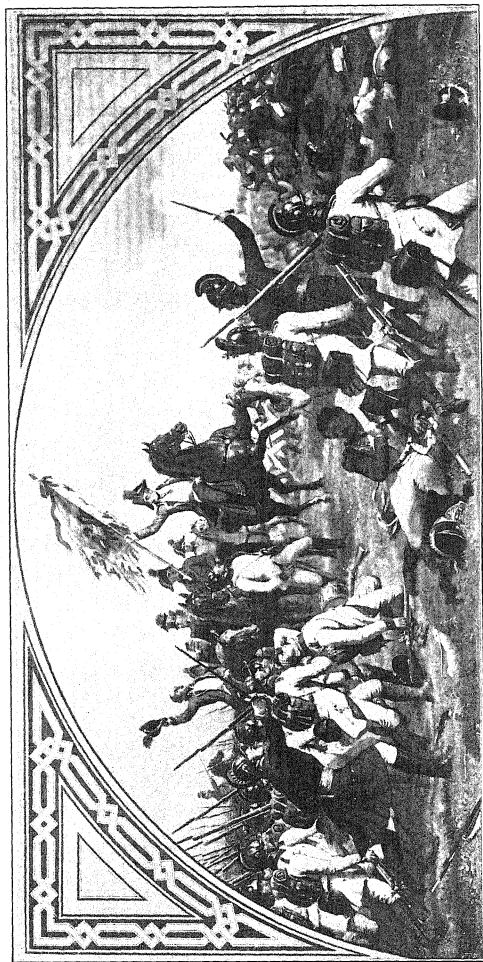
the actual position of the parties was such that the campaign bade fair to terminate gloriously in favour of Frederick; for he now kept the prince of Lorraine a prisoner in Prague, together with forty-six thousand men, without any resources left to enable them to hold out for any length of time. Their only hopes of relief rested in Field-Marshal Daun, who was then in the immediate vicinity with a considerable body of troops; but if he should be defeated by the king, the army hemmed in within the walls of Prague must be lost, the campaign itself won in the most glorious manner by the Prussians, and peace obtained, perhaps, already in the second year of the war; for Frederick desired nothing more than what he obtained at the end of the war—the retention of Silesia. Fate, however, had not decreed that he should obtain this object so easily, and it was decided that his career of success should receive a check, whilst his spirit was doomed to undergo bitter and painful trials.

THE BATTLE OF KOLIN (1757 A.D.)

He determined not to wait for the attack of Daun, but to anticipate it; and after he had remained five weeks before Prague he withdrew, with twelve thousand men, in order to join Prince Bevern, who had kept the army of Daun in observation, which army Frederick forthwith attacked, near Kolin, on the 18th of June. The plan of the order of battle adopted by the king was excellent; and had it been followed out entirely it would have given him the victory. Frederick decided upon this occasion to employ the same order of battle as that used in ancient times by Epaminondas, by which he overcame the invincible Spartans; this was termed the oblique line of battle. By this plan the weaker force, by promptitude of action, was enabled to operate with advantage over a superior body. If the general in command has recourse to such a bold manœuvre it is very seldom that he fails, but to ensure victory he must be certain of the perfect co-operation of his army, so that by the celerity and exactitude of its movements the enemy may be completely deceived and vanquished before he has even had time to perceive the plan of attack by which it has been accomplished.

Such was the manœuvre practised by the Prussians at Kolin, and the first onset made by generals Zieten and Hulsén upon the right wing of the Austrians put them entirely to rout. The centre and the other wing of the Prussian army had now only to follow it up forthwith, by falling upon the enemy's flank, battalion after battalion in succession, and thus complete its entire annihilation. Whilst, however, everything was thus operating in the right direction, the king himself, as if the usual clearness of his mind became suddenly clouded in impenetrable gloom, gave orders for the rest of the army to make a halt! In truth, throughout the whole of this important day, Frederick presented in his own person and manner something so unaccountably gloomy and repulsive that it rendered him totally incapable of attending to the ideas and observations suggested by those around him; he rejected everything they advised, and his sinister look, together with his bitter remarks, made them shun his presence.

When, at the most important and decisive moment, Prince Maurice of Dessau ventured to represent to the monarch the serious consequences that must result from the change he had commanded to take place in the plan of the order of battle, and reiterated his observations and arguments in the most urgent manner possible, Frederick rode up close to his side, and with uplifted sword demanded, in a loud and threatening tone of voice, whether he would or would not obey orders. The prince at once desisted and withdrew; but from that moment the fate of the day was decided. Through the ill-timed halt thus made the Prussian lines found themselves right in front of the position



THE BATTLE OF KOLIN, JUNE 18TH, 1757

(From the painting by Von Blaus, at Vienna)

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held by the Austrians, which position they had strongly intrenched and made completely insurmountable; and when they made an attempt to take it by assault, the regiments were swept away one after the other by the destructive fire of the Austrian artillery. No exertion, no desperate effort, could now obtain the victory; fortune had changed sides. General Daun, already despairing of success at the commencement of the battle, had marked down with a pencil the order to sound a retreat, when, just at that moment, the colonel of a Saxon regiment of cavalry having perceived that the ranks of the Prussians changed their order of battle, resolved to delay execution of orders, and placed the official paper in his pocket. The Austrians now renewed their attack, and the Saxon regiments of horse were more especially distinguished for the desperate charges they made, as if determined to revenge themselves for the injuries endured by their country. In order that all might not be sacrificed, orders were issued to make a retreat, and Daun, too well pleased to gain this, his first victory, over Frederick the Great, did not follow in pursuit. The Prussians lost on this day 14,000 men, in killed, wounded, and prisoners, and 45 pieces of artillery. This formed nearly the moiety of the Prussian army, for in this battle 32,000 Prussians had fought against 60,000 Austrians.^d

FREDERICK AFTER PRAGUE AND KOLIN

An interesting account of the battles of Prague and Kolin is given by Sir Andrew Mitchell who was ambassador from England and was in Frederick's camp. His letters are worth quoting in some detail because of the interesting light thrown upon the personality of Frederick. Whether as victor or as vanquished, he appears an heroic figure.^e

On the 6th of May, the day of the battle of Prague, Mitchell writes: "The whole of the Prussian army is in tears for the loss of Marshal Schwerin, one of the greatest officers this or perhaps any other country has produced, and one of the best of men."

"I had the honour" (continues Mitchell on the 10th) "to congratulate the king. He appeared in high spirits, but moderate at the same time, in the midst of his great successes. He said his brother Henry did extremely well on the right—that to him the success was owing there; that Prince Ferdinand of Brunswick also, who was on the left, went afterwards and flanked the Austrians, while they were engaged at our right; that Prince Frank (?) of Brunswick had greatly distinguished himself, and that he would make a great officer. The prince of Würtemberg also distinguished himself. In conversation, the king gave the preference to Prince Charles of Lorraine as a general, before Marshal Browne. At Friedberg, he said, Prince Charles did ill, but his disposition at Torr was admirable, though his orders were not obeyed. Prince Charles did not approve the disposition of Browne, and told him he would be flanked, which actually happened."

In another despatch of the 11th of May, Mitchell repeats his praise of the king's moderation: "The king appears unflushed with victory, and moderate in the midst of success. He highly commended to me the behaviour and conduct of Prince Henry, his brother, in the late battle, adding, 'I would say more if he were not my brother.' He likewise said that the princes Ferdinand and Francis of Brunswick had greatly distinguished themselves; and everybody is full of the praises of Lieutenant-General Zieten.

"The number of the wounded is very considerable on both sides, and soon after the battle, as there was a scarcity of surgeons and wagons, the king of Prussia sent to Prague, to desire they would send surgeons and wagons for the relief of the Austrian wounded, which was refused. So they remained several days on the field of battle without dressings; but they have since been brought

to this side of the river, and are treated in the same manner as the Prussian soldiers are."

After receipt of the despatches relative to the battle of Prague, Lord Holderness writes: "The admiration we already had for his Prussian majesty is raised to the highest pitch. Men, women, and children are singing his praises. The most frantic marks of joy appear in the streets."

Mere admiration, however, did not help the king out of his difficulties. He therefore said to Mitchell: "I see I have nothing to expect from England. The English are no longer the same people. Your want of union and steadiness has dissipated the natural strength of your nation, and, if the same conduct is continued, England will no longer be considered of that great importance in Europe."

Six days after these expressions (18th of June) the battle of Kolin was lost. "The morning after the battle," Mitchell writes, "the Prussian army retired to Nimburg, in perfect good order, with their baggage and artillery, having left behind them only some few cannon whose carriages had been damaged in the action. It is the unanimous opinion of all the officers I have talked with that, had the cavalry done their duty, victory was certain."

In a second letter of the same day he says: "The desire of the king to give immediate succours in lower Silesia, his impetuosity of temper, and, above all, the contempt he has conceived for the enemy, have been the causes of this defeat. He might have had more infantry with him, and there was no necessity to attack the enemy so posted."

On the 29th of June, Mitchell continues: "On Monday the 27th, the king of Prussia arrived at Leitmeritz with fourteen battalions; so we have here an army of fifty battalions and seventy-five squadrons, all in perfect good order and in great spirits. When the king rode along the front of the camp, the soldiers of themselves turned out of their tents, and said, 'Give us but an opportunity, we will revenge what has happened.' An Austrian officer said, 'We have repulsed the attack, but have not gained the battle.' The king bears his misfortune greatly, though it is the first of the kind he has ever met with. Since his arrival here he was pleased to describe to me the whole action of the 18th. He says the posts the Austrians occupied were indeed too strong, but he does not think them stronger than those he drove them from in the battle of Prague. He had too few infantry, and it was not the enemies' soldiers, but their artillery (upwards of two hundred and fifty cannon), well posted, that made his men retire.

"He imputes the loss of this battle to the ardour of his soldiers, who attacked the enemy in front, contrary to his orders; for by the disposition he had made his left wing only was to have attacked the right of the Austrians in flank. This they did with great success, took several batteries, advanced two hundred paces beyond them, and, having gained the flank of the enemy, put them in great confusion. From this right wing he had intended to draw troops to support the attack on the left, if there should be occasion; and by remaining in the position he had placed it in, the left of the enemy would have been kept in respect, and could not have acted. But the good effects of this disposition were entirely defeated by the too great ardour of his soldiers towards the centre, who, unhappily seeing the progress the left wing was making, and eager to share in the victory which they began to think certain, attacked first a village, which lay a little to the centre of the Austrian army, which they took, and then the whole Prussian wing engaged, and was by that means exposed to the dreadful fire of the Austrian battery and lines, whose artillery were all charged with cartridge shot.

"The cause of these misfortunes is chiefly owing to the great success the king of Prussia's army has had in eight successive battles against the

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Austrians, and particularly at the victory of Prague, which made his Prussian majesty sanguine that he could force them from the most advantageous position, and, indeed, one must be more than man to be so absolutely free from presumption after such a series of successes. I am informed that the king, unaccustomed to disappointment, was a good deal dejected after the battle. He has now recovered his spirits, and applies himself as usual to business. I had yesterday a very long conversation with him. He talks very reasonably and with great coolness upon the unhappy event. He sees, in the full extent, what may be the consequences to him, to his family, and to all Europe; but he fears them not, and has taken his party. He thinks another battle lost must end in his ruin, and therefore will be cautious of venturing; but he will not lose a favourable opportunity. What chiefly distresses him is the number of his enemies, and the attacks they are threatening in the different parts of his very extended dominions.

"The king said, 'I will now speak to you as a private man. You know my aversion to all subsidies—that I ever refuse them. I thought, and I think still, it is too mean a footing for me to put myself upon. Considering the great progress of my enemies, I wish, however, to know whether I may depend upon assistance, and how far, on the loss of my revenues. I have still good hopes to be able to do without any pecuniary assistance; and I give you my word that nothing but absolute and irresistible necessity shall make me be any burden to my allies; and the kinder their dispositions are, I will be the more cautious of abusing them.' For nine months together," adds Mitchell, "in consequence of the internal dissension of England, the king has been answered with fair words. But in the situation his affairs are now in, there is no time to be lost; if England will not endeavour to save him, he must save himself as he can."

THE DEATH OF SOPHIE DOROTHEA

On the 28th of June, ten days after the battle of Kolin, died Sophie Dorothea, the mother of King Frederick. Mitchell speaks in several despatches of Frederick's unfeigned and profound sorrow.

"The king" (he writes on the 2nd of July) "has seen nobody since he has received this news, and I hear he is deeply afflicted. His grief, I am sure, is sincere; for never did any man give stronger marks of duty and affection than he has done on every occasion to his mother; and no mother ever deserved better of all her children than she did. Yesterday," he continues on the 4th of July, "the king sent for me, which was the first time he had seen anybody since he received the news of the death of his mother. I had the honour to remain with him some hours in his closet: I must own to your lordship I was most sincerely affected to see him indulging his grief, and giving way to the warmest filial affections by recalling to mind the many obligations he had to his late mother, and repeating to me her sufferings, and the manner in which she bore them, the good she did to everybody, and the comfort he had to have contributed to make the latter part of her life easy and agreeable.

"The king was pleased to tell me a great deal of the private history of his family, and the manner in which he had been educated: owning, at the same time, the loss he felt for the want of proper education; blaming his father, but with great candour and gentleness, and acknowledging that in his youth he had been *étourdi*, and deserved his father's indignation, which, however, the late king, from the impetuosity of his temper, had carried too far. He told me that, by his mother's persuasion and that of his sister of Bayreuth, he had given a writing, under his hand, declaring he never would marry any other person than the princess Emilia of England; that this was very wrong

and had provoked his father. He said he could not excuse it, but from his youth and want of experience. That this promise unhappily was discovered by the late Queen Caroline, to whom it was intrusted, having shown or spoken of it to the late General Diemar. He had betrayed the secret to Seckendorf, who told it to the king of Prussia. Upon this discovery, and his scheme of making his escape, his misfortunes followed.

"He told me, with regard to making his escape, that he had long been unhappy, and hardly used by his father. But what made him resolve upon it was that one day his father struck him, and pulled him by the hair, and in this dishevelled condition he was obliged to pass the parade; that, from that moment, he was resolved, cost what it might, to venture it; that during his imprisonment at Küstrin he had been treated in the harshest manner, and brought to the window to see Katte beheaded, and that he had fainted away; that ——¹ might have made his escape and saved himself, the Danish minister having given him notice; but he loitered, he believed, on account of some girl he was fond of.

"The king said the happiest years of his life were those he spent at ——,² a house he had given to his brother, Prince Henry. There he retired after his imprisonment, and remained till the death of the late king. His chief amusement was study, and making up for the want of education by reading, making extracts, and conversing with sensible people and men of taste. The king talked much of his obligation to the queen his mother, and of his affection for his sister, the princess of Bayreuth, with whom he had been bred. He observed that the harmony which had been maintained in his family was greatly owing to the education they had had, which, though imperfect and defective in many things, was good in this: that all the children had been brought up, not as princes, but as the children of private persons."^f

FREDERICK ASSAILED ON ALL SIDES

What a change of fortune was this to Frederick! After having been on the point of capturing an entire army in the very capital of the country, and thus extinguishing, at the first moment of its commencement, and in the short space of eight months, the most dreadful war, he found himself forced to raise the siege of Prague, and abandon Bohemia altogether. The allies of Austria, after this unexpected victory, resumed operations with greater activity than ever. The Russians invaded the kingdom of Prussia, the Swedes pursued their preparations more vigorously, and two French armies crossed the Rhine in order to attack the territories of Hesse and Hanover, and thence to march against the hereditary states of Prussia.

One of these armies, under the command of Prince Soubise, advanced towards Thuringia, in order to form a junction with the imperial forces under the orders of the prince of Saxe Hildburghausen; whilst Marshal d'Estrées, who commanded the leading French army, on entering Hanover, fought and beat the duke of Cumberland at the head of the Anglo-Germanic troops, on the 26th of July, near Hastenbeck, on the Weser. This defeat was produced through the inexperience of the English general; for his army, although limited in force, had, nevertheless, obtained considerable advantages through the courage and good generalship of the hereditary prince of Brunswick, and had forced the French general to sound a retreat, when the duke, to the no little surprise and indignation of everyone, abandoned the field of battle, nor halted in his shameful retreat until he reached the Elbe near Stade. Nay, to complete

[¹The space for the name is left blank in the MS., but M. von Raumer thinks it may be Katte.]

²Without doubt, Rheinsberg.

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the disgrace, he was forced shortly afterwards to conclude at Closter Seven, on the 9th of September, a convention by which he engaged to disband his troops, and give up to the French Hanover, Hesse, the duchy of Brunswick, and the whole of the country situated between the Weser and the Rhine.

The duke of Richelieu, who succeeded D'Estrées in the command of the French troops, drained the country by every possible means. The bad reputation of the French army contributed not a little to gain over the hearts of the majority of the people throughout Germany in favour of the cause of Frederick. Indeed, it was almost inconceivable with what joy the people generally received the news of the victories he gained, although perhaps at the same moment their own princes, as members of the imperial states, were in arms against him. But much of this feeling was produced, likewise, through beholding how Frederick, with the aid only of his own Prussians, had to contend against hordes of barbarians from the east, as well as the hated and most formidable enemy from the west; whilst in the interior he had to face the Austrian armies composed of soldiers all differing in language, customs, and manners, but all equally eager after pillage, including Hungarians, Croatsians, and pandours. Had Frederick carried on the war merely against the Austrians and other Germans, true patriots would only have deplored the blindness of the hostile parties in thus contending against each other when they ought, on the contrary, to have sheathed the sword and held out to each other the hand of fraternal peace and friendship. The north of Germany was more especially attached to Frederick, ranking itself on the side of his own people, and participating in their joys and sorrows; for as that was the seat of war against the French, the cause of Frederick was regarded as that of Germany.

The convention of Closter Seven paved the way for the French as far as the Elbe and Magdeburg itself; and their second army, now united with the imperial troops, was already in Thuringia, and made preparations for depriving the Prussians of the whole of Saxony, whence the latter received their stores and supplies of provisions.

THE BATTLE OF GROSS JÄGERNDORF (AUGUST 30TH, 1757)

This was not the only side by which Frederick was hard pressed. The Swedes spread themselves throughout the whole of Pomerania and Uckermark, and laid those countries under heavy contributions, whilst they had only to avail themselves of their whole force in order to advance direct upon Berlin itself, and make themselves, with scarcely any opposition, masters of that city. The Russian general, Apraxin, had already entered Prussia with one hundred thousand men, and to oppose him Field-Marshal Lehwald had only twenty-four thousand men; nevertheless, he was forced to give the Russians battle, however great the sacrifice, as Frederick sent him strict orders to drive out these barbarians and put an end to their devastations. Accordingly the action took place at Gross Jägerndorf, near Wehlau; but the most undaunted and desperate courage displayed by the Prussians was employed in vain against a force so overwhelming.^a The Prussians advanced in three columns through the forests against the left flank of the Russians. They threw back the Russian cavalry and the first line of infantry and captured three batteries. The Russian artillery fire, however, broke the ranks of the assailant, and they yielded when General Romanzov brought into action twenty fresh battalions on the threatened Russian left.^a Lehwald was forced to retreat, after a loss of several thousand men, and thus Prussia now appeared irretrievably lost—when, to the astonishment of all, Apraxin, instead of advancing, withdrew to the Russian frontiers ten days after the battle he had gained.

Thus we find, from time to time, the troubled path of Frederick illumined by a glimmering ray of hope, which appeared to lead him on to better fortune. This time it originated in the serious illness of the empress Elizabeth of Russia; and the grand chancellor Bestuschef, believing her death close at hand, and having his eye directed to her successor, Peter—son of the duke of Holstein and an admirer and friend of the Prussian hero—lost not a moment in commanding General Apraxin to withdraw his troops from the Prussian dominions. This enabled the army under Lehwald to march against the Swedes, who, on the approach of the Prussians, evacuated the entire country and retreated as far as Stralsund and Rügen.^d

BATTLES OF ROSSBACH AND LEUTHEN (1757 A.D.)

Autumn fell, and Frederick's fortune seemed fading with the leaves of summer. He had, however, merely sought to gain time in order to recruit his diminished army; and Daun having, with his usual tardiness, neglected to pursue him, he suddenly took the field against the imperials under the duke of Saxe-Hildburghausen and the French under Soubise. The two armies met on the 5th of November, 1757, on the broad plain around Leipsic, near the village of Rossbach, not far from the scene of the famous encounters of earlier times. The enemy, three times superior in number to the Prussians, lay in a half-circle with a view of surrounding the little Prussian camp, and, certain of victory, had encumbered themselves with a numerous train of women, wig-makers, barbers, and modistes from Paris. The French camp was one scene of confusion and gaiety. On a sudden, Frederick sent General Seidlitz with his cavalry amongst them, and an instant dispersion took place, the troops flying in every direction without attempting to defend themselves—some Swiss, who refused to yield, alone excepted. The Germans on both sides showed their delight at the discomfiture of the French. An Austrian coming to the rescue of a Frenchman, who had just been captured by a Prussian, "Brother German," exclaimed the latter, "let me have this French rascal!" "Take him and keep him!" replied the Austrian, riding off. The scene more resembled a chase than a battle. The imperial army (*Reichsarmee*) was thence nicknamed the runaway (*Reissaus*) army. Ten thousand French were taken prisoners. The loss on the side of the Prussians amounted to merely one hundred and sixty men. The booty consisted chiefly in objects of gallantry belonging rather to a boudoir than to a camp. The French army perfectly resembled its mistress, the marquise de Pompadour.¹

The Austrians had, meanwhile, gained great advantages to the rear of the Prussian army, had beaten the king's favourite, General Winterfeld, at Moys in Silesia, had taken the important fortress of Schweidnitz and the metropolis, Breslau, whose commandant, the duke of Bevern (a collateral branch of the house of Brunswick), had fallen into their hands whilst on a reconnoitring expedition. Frederick, immediately after the battle of Rossbach, hastened into Silesia, and, on his march thither, fell in with a body of two thousand young Silesians, who had been captured in Schweidnitz, but, on the news of the victory gained at Rossbach, had found means to regain their liberty and had set off to his rencontre. The king, inspirited by this reinforcement, hur-

¹ Seidlitz, who covered himself with glory on this occasion, was the best horseman of the day. He is said to have once ridden under the sails of a windmill when in motion. One day, when standing on the bridge over the Oder at Frankfort, being asked by Frederick what he would do if blocked up on both sides by the enemy, he leaped, without replying, into the deep current and swam to shore. The Black Hussars with the death's head on their caps chiefly distinguished themselves during this war.

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ried onwards, and, at Leuthen, near Breslau, gained one of the most brilliant victories over the Austrians during this war. Making a false attack upon the right wing, he suddenly turned upon the left. "Here are the Würtembergers," said he; "they will be the first to make way for us!" He trusted to the inclination of these troops, who were zealous Protestants, in his favour. They instantly gave way and Daun's line of battle was destroyed. During the night, he threw two battalions of grenadiers into Lissa, and, accompanied by some of his staff, entered the castle, where, meeting with a number of Austrian generals and officers, he civilly saluted them and asked, "Can one get a lodging here too?" The Austrians might have seized the whole party, but were so thunderstruck that they yielded their swords, the king treating them with extreme civility. Charles of Lorraine, weary of his unvarying ill luck, resigned the command and was nominated governor of the Netherlands, where he gained great popularity. At Leuthen twenty-one thousand Austrians fell into Frederick's hands; in Breslau, which shortly afterwards capitulated, he took seventeen thousand more, so that his prisoners exceeded his army in number.^b

RETROSPECT AND PROSPECT

Four grand battles and numerous actions more or less important had combined to make the year 1757 one of the most sanguinary to be found in history. Both parties had sufficiently tested their strength against each other; and Frederick now offered at the court of Vienna terms of peace, manifesting by this the principles of ancient Rome—not to propose peace until after he had gained a victory. But the empress Maria Theresa still continued too much embittered against the conqueror of Silesia to admit of the acceptance of his proposals; and, in addition to this, every care had been taken to conceal from her the heavy losses sustained by her army at the battle of Leuthen, as well as the distressed condition to which the war had reduced her states. She was likewise influenced in her resolution by France who insisted upon the continuation of the war in Germany, otherwise that power would be obliged to contend alone against England. Hence the offers of Frederick were rejected, and preparations for a fresh campaign renewed on a more extensive scale than ever. Prince Charles of Lorraine, who had lost the confidence both of the army and of the country, was forced to resign the chief command. It was found, however, extremely difficult to meet with his substitute, for the brave field-marshal Nadasti, owing to the jealousy and intrigue excited against him, was completely supplanted; and eventually the choice was fixed upon Field-Marshal Daun, for whose reputation the victory of Kolin had effected far more than his otherwise natural tardiness of action and irresolution merited.

The French armies were likewise reinforced, and another general-in-chief, Count Clermont, was appointed instead of the duke of Richelieu. The latter, accordingly, returned to France with all the millions he had exacted, during the period of his service, upon which he lived in the most extravagant, gorgeous style, in the face of the whole world, and in defiance of all shame and disgust. Russia also joined in the desire for a continuation of the war, and the chancellor Bestushef, who had in the previous year recalled the army from Prussia, was removed from office, and another leader, General Fermor, was placed at the head of the Russian troops; he, in fact, lost not a moment, but marched at once against Prussia, in the month of January, and conquered the kingdom without any resistance, owing to the absence of General Lehwald, who with the army was then in Pomerania, contending against the Swedes.

In order to oppose and make a stand against such serious and overwhelming danger, Frederick was forced to summon together the entire and extreme

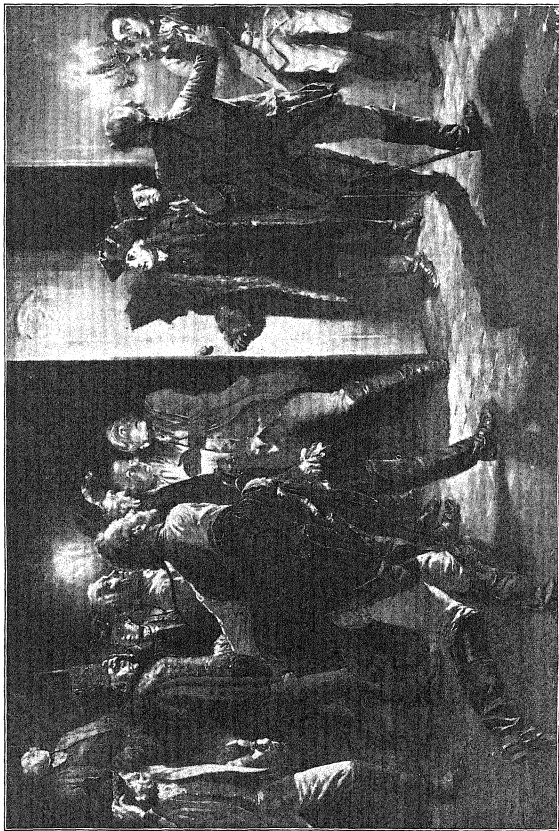
[1757-1758 A.D.]

resources of his own dominions, as well as those of the Saxon territories. Levies in money and troops were forthwith made with equal activity and rigour, and the king found himself reduced to the necessity of coining counterfeited money for the payment of his troops—a measure which such a case of extreme necessity alone can justify or excuse. He knew, however, too well that, since the feudal system of war had been succeeded by that of modern times, the grand principle upon which war must now be carried on was founded upon the employment of its influential agent—money. For as regarded allies upon whom he might place dependence, he possessed only England and a few princes in the north of Germany, and these were already paralysed by the disgraceful Convention of Closter Seven.

Fortune, however, served him very favourably at this moment in England; the British nation, always ready to acknowledge and appreciate patriotic achievements in every quarter, was inspired by the battle of Rossbach with the greatest enthusiasm for Frederick, whilst the most complete disgust was generally excited against the shameful Convention of Closter Seven. In accordance with these feelings, the celebrated William Pitt, who had just been appointed prime minister, caused this treaty, which had not as yet been confirmed, to be at once disavowed, and determined to continue the war with renewed vigour. The army was forthwith augmented, and the appointment of its leader was intrusted to Frederick himself. His eagle eye soon fixed upon the genius best adapted for its extraordinary powers to be chosen to co-operate with himself, and he accordingly furnished the allied army with a truly distinguished chief, Ferdinand, duke of Brunswick, who by his good generalship so well justified Frederick's choice that his name will ever continue to maintain its brilliant position on the side of that of the great king, in the records of this sanguinary war.

According to a plan agreed upon between Frederick and himself, the duke opened the campaign in the month of February, and, marching at the head of his small army, he surprised the French in their winter quarters, where they were living in abundance and luxury at the expense of the Hanoverians and Hessians; the odds between the two armies were great, for the duke had only 30,000 men against their 100,000. But with him all his measures were so well calculated, whilst on the part of his adversaries so much negligence and frivolity existed, in combination with the incapacity of their general, that in a very few weeks the duke completely succeeded in driving them out of the entire country situated between the Aller and Weser, and the Weser and the Rhine, their haste being so great that they abandoned all their provisions and ammunition, and more than 11,000 were taken prisoners by the allied army. They recrossed the Rhine near Düsseldorf, hoping there to be secure; in this, however, they deceived themselves. Duke Ferdinand pursued them to the other side of the Rhine, attacked them at Crefeld, and, in spite of their superiority in numbers, he put them completely to rout, causing them a loss of 7,000 slain. After this battle the city of Düsseldorf surrendered to the duke, and his light cavalry scoured the country throughout the Austrian Netherlands, even to the very gates of Brussels itself.

Frederick, during this interval, had not been idle. He commenced with laying siege to Schweidnitz, which strong and important place still remained in the hands of the Austrians, and carried it by assault on the 18th of April. Field-Marshal Daun meantime remained stationary in Bohemia, and used every exertion to cut off the march of Frederick into that country, for he fully expected to be attacked there by the king. But whilst he imagined himself perfectly secure, Frederick suddenly broke camp with his army, and instead of proceeding to Bohemia, advanced, by forced marches, to Moravia, and laid siege to Olmütz. In this expedition was shown the peculiarity of Frederick's



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FREDERICK THE GREAT SURPRISES THE AUSTRIAN OFFICERS IN THE CASTLE AT LISSA THE EVENING
AFTER THE BATTLE OF LEUTHEN, DECEMBER 5TH, 1757

(From the painting entitled *Don s'oir, Messieurs!* by Arthur Kampf)

[1758 A.D.]

genius, which led him to undertake the most bold, extraordinary, and perilous enterprises, whilst his constant aim and glory were to take his enemy by surprise; and on this occasion he was more especially influenced by the idea that, if he once became master of Olmütz, he would then have the command of the most important position in an Austrian territory hitherto perfectly undisturbed, and thus be enabled to threaten the immediate vicinity of Vienna itself. Fortune, however, did not this time second his bold design; the place defended itself with the greatest bravery; the inhabitants of the country, faithful to their empress, annoyed the Prussians as far as was in their power, and conveyed intelligence to the imperial army of all their movements. By this means Daun was enabled to intercept and seize upon a convoy of three thousand wagons, upon the arrival of which the entire success of the siege depended; whence it was obliged to be given up. But now the retreat into Silesia was cut off; and Daun, having taken possession of every road, felt certain that he had caught the enemy within his own net. Frederick, however, suddenly turned back, and marching across the mountains, arrived in Bohemia, where the Austrian general did not at all expect him, without the loss of a single wagon; and he would not have been forced to leave this country so soon again had not the invasion of the Russians recalled him to Pomerania and Neumark. Accordingly he recrossed the mountains from Bohemia into Silesia, and leaving Marshal Keith behind to protect the country he hastened with fourteen thousand men to attack the Russians.⁴

THE BATTLE OF ZORNDORF (1758 A.D.)

Clausewitz^b describes the battle as the most interesting of the whole war. And he is right: it is one of the most interesting in all history. We know of no other instance where two opposing forces have revolved about each other in such a vortex.

As it was impossible to outflank the right wing of the Russian army which had the Zabern hollow in rear, King Frederick determined to make a frontal attack. He had long recognised that he must not, as in his first war, rely so exclusively on his solid infantry, drilled by the old Dessauer; that, contending with the great numerical strength in artillery of the Austrians and Russians, he must overwhelm one point by multiplying his attacks in that direction. We see him here bringing up masses of artillery, and in the first place directing a continued fire of sixty heavy cannon against the spot he desired to attack.

In every account the effect of this terrible fire in the very heart of the Russian position is mentioned. The left Prussian wing was to lead the attack. According to custom, the king placed a vanguard of eight grenadier battalions in front of the two divisions of this wing, so that in the actual attack three divisions were there to support each other. Only here, as at Kolin, the instructions of the royal general were very indifferently carried out. It often happens in war that things easy in conception are extremely difficult to execute. The eight battalions of the vanguard remained as described with their left wing in the Zabern hollow, but the leader of the first division thought he ought to remain on the right with the reserved right wing. The battalion marched right and closed in. The second division followed the same direction, and remained far behind. The first ranged itself close to the right of the vanguard, and remained in exact line with it, and so eventually came upon the enemy, not in three divisions but in one thin line, with no reserve. After a brief fire on both sides, the whole left wing of the Prussian division was driven back in great disorder.

It has been remarked that it was here King Frederick realised for the first time that his old and trusted infantry from Prague and Kolin was no longer adequate to his needs. This remark, however, hardly seems to apply just here, for it was the East Prussian regiments that gave way and fled—that is to say, those regiments that till this moment had suffered least, sustaining relatively insignificant losses and counting only a few recruits among their almost untouched ranks of seasoned men. It is indeed said that the king never forgave this regiment for its flight at Zorndorf.

It is known that the right wing of the Russians, probably without receiving any decisive word of command, started off amidst loud hurrahs to follow the flying Prussians, and seemed able to move forward only some few hundred paces without falling into disorder. Seidlitz, whose fame rests on this day above all others, used the moment, dashed with his squadrons across the Zabern valley, repulsed the Russian cavalry, who themselves were in pursuit, and so utterly routed the Russian infantry that those of their men who escaped the Prussian swords were not able to form again or to reappear on the field that day.

The left wing of the Russians stood on the farther side, in the east of the Galgen (Gallows) hollow, and so protected against a flank attack from the cavalry under Seidlitz was quite undisturbed; but it was obliged, after the defeat of the right wing, to await quietly, or rather inactively, any further events, since there was no possibility of turning the now doubtful result of the fight by means of an attack in the rear. Seidlitz, who could not start out with his cavalry on any further enterprise from the field of victory, led them back to Zorndorf, there to reorganise them and let the horses rest. An attempt was also made to reorganise the infantry of the left wing, and this apparently succeeded—but only apparently. In consequence occurred a pause of two hours' duration in the battle, which was occupied by a cannonade. During this, the king ordered the right wing of his infantry to press forward a little, so as to engage the enemy's attention.

About three o'clock began what may be called a second battle. This again came near being lost to the Prussians, and again it was Seidlitz who with his cavalry rode to the rescue and changed into victory what might have been defeat. This time it was the right wing of the Prussians which was to attack the extreme left of the Russians at Doppel (double) valley. The Prussian left wing, formed from those battalions which had suffered defeat earlier in the day, was held in reserve. The Russians made an unexpected rush, partly between the Zabern and Galgen hollows, partly between the latter and Doppel hollow. Those in this latter direction pursued, and after some initial success came to grief in attacking the Prussian infantry; the other division once more chased the Prussian battalions of the left wing till they fled in wild disorder as far as Wilkersdorf.

But Seidlitz closed with his cavalry the breach once more made in the order of battle and drove back the Russian cavalry, which was partly destroyed, into the swamps near Quartschen, and then fell upon the Russian infantry. The right wing of the Prussian infantry broke at the same time into the ranks of the Russians, and the end was a complete rout of all that remained of the Russian force which had taken the field that day. This was preceded by a final struggle with naked weapons, a mode of combat which has scarcely ever been resorted to in modern warfare. It was about ten thousand cavalry and nine battalions numbering not more than five thousand men, which defeated the entire Russian military force.

Late in the evening, the Prussian generals succeeded in getting their troops drawn up in line in fair order, in a position where the right wing had the river Mützel on its rear, whilst the left extended to Zorndorf. The Russians also,

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chiefly through the endeavours of General Demikov, or Demicoude as this Vaudois should really be called, sought to get some of their troops into order, and to muster them behind Gallows hollow. It is said that at first he could get together only about two thousand infantry and nearly one thousand cavalry; but these must have been quickly augmented. For the dispersed soldiers must soon have been impressed with the fact that their only safety from the embittered peasantry lay in holding together in force.

A last attack on the position, which five Prussian battalions were to undertake, failed, as the king himself relates, because the Prussian soldiers, finding the Russian war-chest in Gallows hollow, remained to plunder it, and laden with booty retraced their steps instead of pressing forward. The wounded general, afterwards Field-Marshal Panin, met with some troops which had been cut off from the main body, on the Drewitz heath. These troops used the night for the recovery of the baggage which had been taken along the Landberg road nearly as far as Great Kamin. Already in the morning, on the defeat of the right wing, General Fermor had been compelled with many other generals to flee before the Prussian cavalry. Where he had been wandering through the day is not known; it is certain only that it was late in the evening before he rejoined his troops.

The loss of the Russians was officially estimated at 21,529 men, among whom were about 2,000 prisoners. But when it is remembered that the four infantry regiments under Panin, which numbered before the battle 4,595 men, suffered a loss, according to this general's special report, of 3,120 men (1,389 dead and 1,725 wounded), and that after the fight there remained only 1,475 rank and file, one is tempted to believe that the entire loss was no doubt somewhat greater. The Prussians had also lost one third of their men, and the result of the battle had not quite answered the king's expectations, in spite of greater sacrifices than had been anticipated.

RUSSIAN TACTICS

The king had certainly not reckoned on so obstinate a resistance as he had here encountered. He had had no personal experience of the bravery and powers of endurance of the Russians, and here their staying power, on which he had not reckoned, was increased by many peculiar external circumstances. That with all their bravery even Russian infantry might in certain circumstances take refuge in flight was proved a year later at the battle of Kunersdorf, though in this case complete dispersal was as good as impossible. The tightly packed condition of the Russians was in itself sufficient hindrance, and still more the impassable swamp almost immediately in the rear of the army. The destruction of an enemy's army on the field itself is practically possible only in case of an enormous number of prisoners being taken. But the Russians would not submit; they carried resistance to the farthest possible point—not certainly out of principle or "Roman pride": their obstinacy had other reasons more peculiar to themselves; for instance, European war was new to them, and the soldier, not knowing that he could surrender himself prisoner, understood only fighting with the Turks, where men were simply mown down as soon as they ceased to defend themselves. In the Prussian officer's account of the plundering of the war-chest, it is plainly shown that the Russian resistance was no mere question of tactics, carried out under a tactician, but the resistance of desperate men who had no hope of rescue and who wished to sell their lives as dearly as they might. Finally, in the Russian reports, it was stated that part of the troops, having plundered the stores of brandy in the baggage, raged about the battle-field in the madness of intoxica-

tion; that the men shot at each other blindly and struck down their own officers.

At daybreak on the 26th of August the Russians from their position on the Zabern ground opened a lively cannonade, and went through some manœuvres as if they intended attacking—no doubt merely to impose on their enemy and save themselves from an assault, so that they might get safely through the day without further mishap, and under cover of the sheltering darkness venture on the dangerous retreat round the left wing of the Prussian force.

In order to attain this end, Fermor had recourse to another plan, which was really stupidly conceived, as it betrayed in what great danger he felt himself to be; he proposed a truce, ostensibly for the purpose of burying the dead. The truce was refused by the Prussians, but nevertheless King Frederick could not decide upon making a fresh attack. The Prussian army, drawn up in line as it now was between the Mützel swamps and the land surrounding Zorn-dorf, was to all appearances, compared with the forces the Russian generals had at the same time drawn up in line upon the Zabern ground, the superior in numbers; but still the king might have very good reasons for not renewing the fight.

After the enormous expenditure of ammunition the day before, his troops were no longer lavishly supplied, and this alone was an all-sufficient reason for not pushing matters to extremities. But besides this, the Prussian army being now on the march and in readiness for battle, a few hours of the night for rest under arms could be afforded. The men had so far eaten nothing, or as good as nothing, and were completely exhausted. It is natural enough that King Frederick, after his experience of the preceding day, should not be inclined under these circumstances to place great confidence in his infantry. Then, no doubt, the king reasoned with himself that the Russian army, even as things stood, was sufficiently disabled for the rest of the campaign, and scarcely yet in condition to hazard a decisive move; that it would therefore be unwise to place again in jeopardy the success of the previous day.

The Russians set against their unwilling detention in the Zabern hollow the advantage that the greater part of their troops, wandering desultorily in the neighbourhood, would be enabled to find their way back to their flag. Only about two thousand of these scattered men fell prisoners into the hands of the Prussians. During the following night the Russians marched back to their barricade of wagons near Great and Little Kamin, and intrenching themselves in this position had nevertheless already forsaken it on the evening of the 31st, in order to unite themselves on the 1st of September, at Landsberg on the Warthe, with the cavalry brought there by Rumäntzow von Schwedt. Here they remained till the 19th of September."

THE BATTLE OF HOCHKIRCH (1758 A.D.)

The four weeks from September 12th to October 14th in Lusatia, where Frederick the Great opposed Field-Marshal Daun, chiefly in his camp at Stolpen, have a sort of strategical reputation, because of the skill in manœuvring shown by both generals. The whole case was reduced to very simple elements. Frederick the Great advanced and took up a position near Dresden, where he could easily replenish his commissariat. Daun had several advance posts on the Bautzen road, the principal one being near Radeberg, under Laudon. Frederick the Great advanced upon him; Laudon retreated half a mile and took up his position. This he also yielded some days after, and so came to Bischofswerda. Thereupon the king encamped near Bischofswerda opposite Daun's right wing.

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In this way he kept open the road to Bantzen and slightly threatened Daun's connection in the Zittau. This, however, did not benefit him; Daun, whom he would have liked to see manœuvring towards Bohemia, stood fast; so the king now marched to Bautzen and despatched Retzau as far as Weissenberg. This was a gain. Daun set out and encamped at Löbau; the king supposed Daun to be behind Löbau, and encamped at Hochkirch, with the avowed intention of better concealment, wishing to unite with Retzau and fall upon the prince of Durlach. Probably the intention of obtaining more command over the Görlitz road was his chief reason for this step. There was nothing very intricate, very finely conceived or artistic in all this; and so it is with most of the strategical measures employed, which at best consisted in a scuffle for posts, where often obstinacy rather than actual necessity was the motive power. Frederick the Great had few outposts at this time. Retzau's corps, which he had detached to the left upon the Görlitz road, was almost the only one, although the distance from Dresden and the constant transportation of bread and meal thence was a great responsibility. He preferred this to losing six or eight of his battalions. Frederick the Great was almost always without an advance guard, and he acquired the habit of always pressing close to his enemy or his enemy's outposts, which answered so badly at Hochkirch. Daun, on the contrary, was never without four or five outposts.^h

On the approach of the king, he retired to a strong position he had selected in Lusatia. His object was to cut off the passage of the king into Silesia, in order that his general, Harsch, might have time to conquer the fortress of Neisse. Frederick, however, who perceived his aim, hastened to occupy the route to Silesia through Bautzen and Görlitz, and marched close past the lines of the Austrian army, in order to encamp upon an open plain situated between the villages of Hochkirch and Kotitz. This plan was anything but wise, although it showed great contempt for the enemy. Marwitz, his quarter-master, and at the same time a confidential favourite, represented to him the great danger to which he exposed himself by taking up this position, and, hesitating at first, he finally refused to pitch the camp there, in spite of the king's commands. He was, however, forthwith placed under arrest, and his duties were transferred into the hands of another. The army continued encamped here three days, completely exposed to the attacks of the enemy, so much superior in numbers; whilst Frederick remained obstinately deaf to all the representations of his generals. He considered that, as the Austrians had never attacked him first, he might easily calculate that Field-Marshal Daun would never think of such a bold step, and that he was quite incapable of accomplishing it; whilst, in addition to this self-deception, he was betrayed by an Austrian spy, whom the enemy had bought over, and who accordingly furnished him with false reports of their plans and proceedings.

On the morning of the 14th of October, before the dawn of day, the Prussian army was aroused by a discharge of artillery; the Austrians having, during the night, silently advanced to the village of Hochkirch, exactly as the church-clock chimed the hour of five, they fell upon the Prussian advanced posts, took possession of the strong intrenchment at the entrance of the village, turned the muzzles of the cannon against their adversaries, and by a murderous fire destroyed all the Prussians that attempted to make a stand in its defence. The slaughter committed was dreadful, for the troops poured forth in thousands to assemble in the principal street of the village as headquarters. The generals and principal officers endeavoured in vain, amidst the darkness, to form them in regular line of battle; the brave prince, Francis of Brunswick, had his head carried away by a cannon-ball, in the very moment he was about to attack the enemy on the heights of Hochkirch; Field-Marshal Keith, a venerable but equally brave and well-tried warrior, fell pierced

with two bullets, and Prince Maurice of Dessau was likewise dangerously wounded.

Generals Seidlitz and Zieten formed their squadrons of cavalry on the open plain, and threw themselves with all their usual bravery upon the Austrians; but the advantages they gained could not compensate for the serious loss already sustained. Hochkirch, the camp, together with all the baggage and ammunition fell into the hands of the enemy. The dawn of day brought with it no advantage, for an impenetrable fog prevented the king from reconnoitring the enemy's position as well as his own, otherwise he might perhaps have been able by a prompt movement to bring back to his colours that good fortune which had thus so unexpectedly abandoned him. Nevertheless, his regiments had now, through that discipline which was never so admirably displayed as at this moment, succeeded in forming themselves into regular order, and when towards nine o'clock the sun made its appearance, he perceived that the Austrian army had already nearly surrounded him on every side, and he accordingly gave orders for a retreat. This took place in such good order that the Austrian general, taken by surprise, found it impossible to attempt to oppose it, and returned to his old quarters. The king, however, had suffered the loss of several of his best generals, nine thousand good soldiers, and more than one hundred pieces of cannon; and, as he had lost all his baggage, nothing was left wherewith to supply his troops with clothing for the approaching winter.

Meantime, the king maintained the utmost tranquillity and firmness of mind throughout this period of trial, and his appearance inspired his troops with the same feeling. And in truth, if Frederick ever showed himself great in misfortune, he did so after this serious loss; for, although defeated, although deprived of all the necessary provisions and supplies for his army, he nevertheless was not less successful in accomplishing by hasty marches and masterly manœuvres his original plan: thus, deceiving the enemy, and circuiting his position, he forced General Harsch in all haste to raise the siege of Neisse. Silesia was now entirely freed from the enemy; whilst Daun, conqueror as he was, after being unable to prevent Frederick from entering Silesia, and obtaining, by his attack upon Dresden, no other result but that of forcing the Prussian general, Count Schmettau, in his defence to set fire to the beautiful suburbs of that capital, returned in mortification to Bohemia, where he established his winter quarters. Thus superiority of genius produced those results for the conquered which otherwise might have fallen to the share of the conqueror.

THE CONDITION OF THE ARMIES

At the end of this year Frederick found himself, in spite of the vicissitudes he had undergone, in possession of the same countries as in the preceding year, in addition to which he now had Schweidnitz which was not previously in his hands; whilst in Westphalia all his provinces, which had been captured by the French, were now reconquered by the valour of Prince Ferdinand. The latter had not certainly been able to maintain, with his small army, his position on the other side of the Rhine; but, at the end of the campaign, he forced the French to abandon the whole of the right bank of that river, and to establish their winter quarters between the Rhine and the Maas.

The following year, however, in spite of the perils he had already undergone and battled against, the heroic king found himself destined to encounter vicissitudes which rendered this period of the war more trying perhaps than any other. The hope of being at length enabled to crush him excited his enemies to strain every effort in order to effect this object. The Austrian army

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was completely reorganised and reinforced to its full complement, and indeed, with every coming year, it marched into the field with increased vigour and augmented numbers, because the ranks were filled up with the hardy peasantry of the hereditary lands, who were well drilled, and who, being intermingled with the more experienced and well-tried veterans of many a hard-fought battle—of whom, notwithstanding the heavy losses sustained, the army still retained a powerful body—were soon initiated in the rough and perilous scenes of the camp. In Frederick's small army, on the other hand, which had to contend equally with Austrians, Russians, Frenchmen, and Swedes, as well as with other troops of the empire itself, the number of those who had escaped the sword and disease formed but a small body, and consequently its ranks were principally filled with newly levied and inexperienced recruits. And however speedily these young soldiers, who often joined the army as mere boys, entered into the spirit and honour of the cause for which they fought, and in which they emulated, as much as possible, the acts of their more veteran comrades—sometimes, perhaps, even surpassing them in daring courage—still their number was far inferior compared with those levied in Saxony, Anhalt, Mecklenburg, and such as were collected in various other parts, consisting chiefly of deserters.

Thus, although the Prussian army was soon completed in all its numbers and appointments, it fell far short when compared with the Austrians in internal organisation and united strength.¹ Besides this, Frederick's own estates, as well as those of Saxony and Mecklenburg, suffered so much by oppressive taxation and the continual conscription, which thus seriously diminished the male population, that it seemed as if they could never recover from the sad effects. The duke of Mecklenburg, indeed, in his indignation, acted with such imprudence at the diet of Ratisbon as to place himself at the head of those princes who were most loud and bitter in their complaints against Frederick, and demanded nothing less than that the ban of the empire should at once be pronounced against him; for which act the duke's land was subjected to the most extreme severity of treatment, and, in fact, dealt with rather as that of an enemy than of an ally. The imperial ban, however, was not adjudged against the king, for as the same sentence must have been pronounced against the elector of Hanover, the evangelical states refused to condemn two such distinguished members of their body. Besides which this sentence, which in ancient times was more fatally annihilating in its effects than the sharp edge of the sword itself, had unfortunately long since become void of power and effect, and if pronounced would only have exposed more degradingly the dissolution of the Germanic Confederation.

Maria Theresa, however, by her urgent appeals to the sovereigns of France and Russia to carry on the war, endeavoured to effect the destruction of Frederick with far more certainty than could have been accomplished by all the bans pronounced against him by the imperial diet. The empress of Russia,

¹ A foreigner of rank and great wealth having requested to be permitted to serve in the campaign of 1757, as a volunteer, Frederick granted his wish, and the noble recruit arrived in a splendid carriage, attended by several servants—in fact, displaying an unusual lavishness of expense and luxury. He received, however, no mark of distinction, and, indeed, very little or no attention, being generally stationed in the wagon-train. He bore no part in any engagement, much less in any general battle, and had to experience the mortification of not sharing in the victorious action of Rossbach. He had often sent a written complaint to the king, but without any effect; at length, however, he had an opportunity of addressing the king in person, when, in reply to his representations upon the subject, Frederick said, "Your style of living, sir, is not the fashion in my army; in fact, it is highly objectionable and offensive. Without the greatest moderation, it is impossible to learn to bear the fatigues which accompany every war, and if you cannot determine to submit to the strict discipline my officers and troops are forced to undergo, I would advise you, in a friendly way, to return to your own country."—MÜLCHER.

in order to obliterate the stain of the battle of Zorndorf, sent fresh troops under the command of General Soltikoff, a brave and active officer. In Paris, the duke de Choiseul, hitherto French ambassador at Vienna, and the chief promoter of the war against Frederick, was now chosen prime minister, and he determined to employ all the forces at command, in order to reconquer Westphalia, Hanover, and Hesse. Had this design been brought into execution, these countries would have experienced the most dreadful persecution, and Hanover more especially would have been singled out by France as the object upon which to wreak her vengeance for the losses she had sustained both at sea and on her coasts, from the naval expedition of Great Britain. For the glorious victories obtained by the British men-of-war had greatly diminished the maritime force of France, whilst both in North America and the East Indies all her settlements and possessions were reduced or captured. Prince Ferdinand with his small army was, however, the only disposable power at command to oppose the enemy in his designs from this quarter against Germany.

Ferdinand was menaced upon two sides: on that of the Maine by the army of the duke de Broglie, whose headquarters were at Frankfort, which he had taken by surprise—for, in spite of its being an imperial free city, and although it had accordingly furnished, without hesitation, its quota of contributions to the confederation in men and money for the war against Frederick, it was not the less exposed to attack; and from the lower Rhine, Marshal de Contades advanced with the main body of the army, to invade and overrun Hanover. Ferdinand hoped to be able, like Frederick, to make a successful stand against both armies through the celerity of his movements, and marching at once against the duke de Broglie at the opening of the campaign, came up with him on the 12th of April at Bergen, near Frankfort. He immediately attacked him with his brave Hessians; but the position occupied by the French was too strong: they were enabled to replace the troops they lost by continual fresh supplies, while the Hessians were repulsed in three attacks. Ferdinand now prudently resolved not to expose his army to the chances of a total defeat, and accordingly made a retreat in good order. It required, however, the exercise of all the genius and experience he possessed to enable him to protect lower Saxony against the attack of Marshal de Contades. This general had succeeded in crossing the Rhine near Düsseldorf, and, marching through the Westerwald towards Giessen, formed a junction with Broglie, and took Cassel, Paderborn, Münster, and Minden, on the Weser. In all his operations thus far he had been equally prompt and successful, and Ferdinand found himself forced to withdraw as far back as the mouth of the Weser near Bremen, whilst the French general now regarded Hanover as already within his grasp.

BATTLE OF MINDEN (1759 A.D.)

In Paris all were in high glee at this glorious beginning, but the German hero soon changed that exultation into the opposite feelings of sorrow and depression by gaining a brilliant victory. Ferdinand, placing full confidence in his resources, marched to meet the French army, and found it, on the 1st of August, near Minden, occupying a position the nature of which offered him every advantage for the attack. Contades was forced to fight, inasmuch as his supplies were cut off, but he calculated upon his superiority in numbers; he however gave very few proofs on this day of his talent and experience, although at other times he had not shown himself wanting in ability. Contrary to all military practice hitherto, he placed his cavalry in the centre, and this very error in his tactics, which, no doubt, he expected must operate to

[1759 A.D.]

his advantage, produced his defeat and Ferdinand's triumph. He ordered the British and Hanoverian infantry, whose steady firmness he had already tested, to advance and charge the enemy's cavalry—a bold and happy idea, which by the results effected was through its realisation an additional evidence of Ferdinand's superior genius, which at such a moment directed him to swerve from the ordinary course of operations. The French cavalry, forming the *élite* of the whole army, astounded at this daring attack of the allied infantry, met the charge with tolerable firmness at first, and endeavoured to force the ranks of their bold opponents and gallop over them; but every attempt they made against these solid and invulnerable ranks of bayonets was completely defeated, and at length the sweeping discharges of the artillery, together with the destructive execution made by the well-aimed muskets of the infantry, produced the greatest confusion among them, and put them completely to flight.

Ferdinand now gave orders to General Sackville to dash through the hollow space thus left in the centre of the French line, with his British cavalry, and to pursue the flying enemy; by obeying which orders he would have completely divided the two wings of the French army, and thus overpowered by the allies, its entire destruction must inevitably have followed. But whether it was through jealousy or cowardice—for his unaccountable behaviour has never been clearly explained—the English general turned traitor, disobeyed the order given by the duke, and thus allowed the French time to reassemble and make good their retreat. As it was, however, they lost eight thousand men and thirty pieces of cannon. But the results of this battle were still more important. Contades being now continually pursued, withdrew along the Weser to Cassel, and thence continued his retreat southwards to Giessen; whilst the army of Ferdinand captured successively Marburg, Fulda, and Münster, in Westphalia, so that, by the end of the year, this distinguished general found himself once more in possession of the same territories he occupied at its commencement.

King Frederick had not shown his usual eagerness to open the campaign this year, inasmuch as his advantage did not now, so much as at the commencement of the war, depend upon the results of prompt measures, but the main object of his plans at this moment was rather if possible to prevent the junction of the Russian and Austrian armies. He encamped himself in a strong position near Landshut, whence, by sudden incursions directed equally against the Russians in Poland and the Austrians in Bohemia, he wrested from them their most valuable magazines, and thus prevented both armies, for a considerable time, from undertaking any important enterprise; for when, according to the system pursued by the belligerent parties at this period, the armies remained quartered in a country for any length of time, they abstained as much as possible from depriving the inhabitants of all their provisions; whence much greater supplies were rendered necessary for the troops.

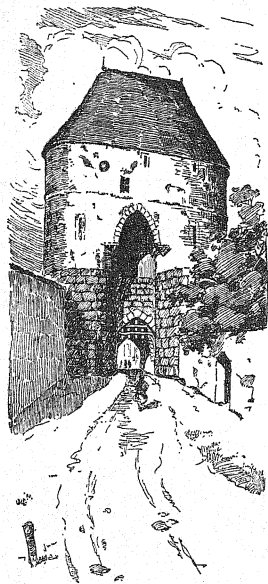
THE BATTLE OF KUNERSDORF (1759 A.D.)

At length, however, the Russians, consisting of 40,000 men, crossed the Oder, and Laudon was waiting ready to join them with his 20,000 Austrians. Frederick, in such an extremity, resolved in order to save himself to have recourse to extraordinary measures. Amongst his generals he had one, young it is true, but at the same time distinguished beyond any other for his daring courage in difficult circumstances: this was General Wedel. Him he held as best qualified to be intrusted with the command against the Russians; but he was doubtful whether or not the senior generals would submit to his orders. The king, however, decided at once to adopt the plan of the Romans, who in

extreme danger made it a rule to place the whole authority and direction of affairs in the hands of one man, whom they styled their dictator, and accordingly appointed General Wedel dictator over the army opposed to the Russians. According to the royal instructions he received, he was to attack the enemy wherever he came up with them.

These instructions the young dictator obeyed to the letter, but without reflecting upon what such orders presupposed. Accordingly he attacked the Russians on the 23rd of June, at the village of Kay, near Züllichau, but planned his attack so badly that, in order to make it, his army was forced to cross a bridge and march over a long narrow road, in single files, so that the battalions were able to reach the field of battle only in successive bodies; where, as they arrived, they were received by a murderous discharge of grapeshot, and were thus destroyed in detail by the Russians. The Prussians lost more than five thousand men, and the enemy being thus no longer opposed, effected a junction with Laudon without any further delay.

It was necessary now that Frederick himself should hasten with his forty-three thousand men to meet the combined forces of the enemy. He knew and felt the great danger to which he was about to expose himself personally, and summoning his brother Henry from his camp at Schmottseiffen, gave him strict charge to watch the movements of Field-Marshal Daun, and besides this appointed him regent of the Prussian dominions, in case he himself should either be killed or be taken prisoner in this expedition. At the same time,



GERMAN TOWER

however, in the event of such a misfortune, he demanded from him the most solemn promise never to submit to a peace which in the slightest degree might bring shame or disgrace upon the house of Prussia. Frederick well knew how to live and die as a king, and he would willingly have lost his life rather than be made a prisoner; for he was too well aware what great sacrifices his enemies would have demanded for his ransom. On the 12th of August he found the united forces of the Russians and Austrians, amounting to sixty thousand men, strongly intrenched upon the heights of Kunersdorf, near Frankfort-on-the-Oder.^a

This time King Frederick abandoned his tactics of drawing his army up in line to be used as one instrument. A special corps under General Finck, formed of twenty-eight squadrons and eight battalions—not the best infantry—was to advance independently, face the left flank of the Russian force, dismount, and cover the flank movement of the army. As the king knew next to nothing of the front of the Russian army and its condition, or rather knew

[1759 A.D.]

nothing at all, his forces could not be arranged beforehand in readiness for attack, but everything must be left to be decided on the spot.

However, as the predominating idea was that, in order to attack the right wing the left must remain "refused," as the technical expression is, we may well suppose that if the army were drawn up in line southward of the enemy, the right wing would, after Frederick's usual custom, have been guarded in face by eight grenadier battalions, and Finck's infantry would have been ordered to make a simultaneous attack on the Mühlberg. If this were all carried out it might well have been expected, seeing Frankfort also was held by Prussia, that the roads towards Crossen and Reppen would be cut off by the attack itself, and so a large part of the enemy's force would have been compelled to surrender.

At two o'clock in the morning the king ordered his army to march under cover of Finck's corps, hoping to engage the enemy about seven o'clock. But the difficulties entailed by every movement in active warfare, and for which it is impossible to allow even approximately, made themselves felt here in an extreme degree. The march through the sandy forests was slow; the day was well advanced when they were still far from their goal, and then the moving column came upon an obstacle to their progress of which they had known nothing—a break in the ground, which stretched out of the Neuendorf forest from south to north, as far as the village of Kunersdorf. In the boggy soil of this break several small lakes formed a chain, with only one road across—a ridge of earth between the Dorf See and the Blanken See, in the immediate neighbourhood of Kunersdorf, sometimes only half the width of the squadron, passable by artillery only with the utmost difficulty and great waste of time, if indeed passable at all. How much time must be lost if the army or even a considerable part of it was, according to arrangement, to be drawn up on the western side of this cleft! Another thought may also have made the king pause—namely, that his force must then be cut in halves and that one half would be of small support to the other. But nothing of all this is known. In any case the king altered his plans, ordered the army to form between the brook named Hünerrfloss and the recently discovered hollow, and decided to make the attack solely on the flank of the Russian army, directing it up the Mühlberg.

The march through the forest, the advance to its borders—all this again demanded time, was difficult, and could not be done without great fatigue to the men, the artillery teams being also exhausted. The attack on the Mühlberg was commenced by the artillery opening fire from all sides, partly firing downwards from commanding positions and so succeeding without any too great fatigue to the Prussian infantry. The Russian foot regiments completely broke up their lines and fled over a wide area, and eighty pieces of cannon fell into the hands of the Prussians.

Nevertheless, the Russian battalion of the line could not be "rolled up," as the tacticians of that time used to express it, from the left to the right wing. Within the Russian position there were several trenches lying parallel to the conquered flank, in the right corner touching the front line. These were suitable for defence and could be occupied efficiently without much loss of time. Just such a trench was the Kuhgrund ("cow-hollow"); farther westward was another on the so-called "Deep way" and a third at Laudon's hollow [as it was afterwards called].

Thanks to this disposition of the ground and to the direction of the attack, the length of this cover was equalled by its depth, and the right wing of the Russian horse became a complete reserve. Here, guided by circumstances, one troop after another defended these natural trenches as though automatically, for no tactician of that time would have been equal to arranging such a movement,

or would intentionally have directed it. To these successive struggles with continual fresh relays of troops the Prussian attack at last succumbed. It is only in later times that a sharp military eye has recognised the utility of the earth trenches, with which Laudon at the head of the Russian and Austrian infantry first gave check to the Prussians.

The Prussian attacks on the Spitzberg were of no avail. General Seidlitz led cavalry between the Dorf See and the Blanken See down through the plain to the foot of the Spitzberg, but these attacks, ordered by the king when the fate of the day became doubtful, came to grief finally at the fortifications by the "Wolf pits" at the foot of the hill (Spitzberg).

The Prussian artillery had not followed the foot regiments to support the attack; so that the Russian artillery, numbering at least four hundred and fifty guns, made all the greater impression. Because of the succession of forces engaged, the superiority in numbers told, as hardly ever before in any battle of any time; it became apparent that the disproportion in the number of the infantry told against the Prussians more than their general inferiority. In the Prussian infantry, at most thirty-one thousand men were opposed to the Austrians, without reckoning the Croatians. Virtually, however, the Prussian attack doubtless failed through the exhaustion of the men. The Prussian army had marched the whole night of the 10th to the 11th, on the 11th had forded a river and endured a considerable march; passed the night of the 11th-12th under arms, and had now on the 12th for fifteen hours, mostly under a burning sun, marched along difficult sandy ground and fought without interruption, without having strengthened themselves by breaking their fast since the day before. Such exertion was too much. When strength is exhausted resolution also wavers.

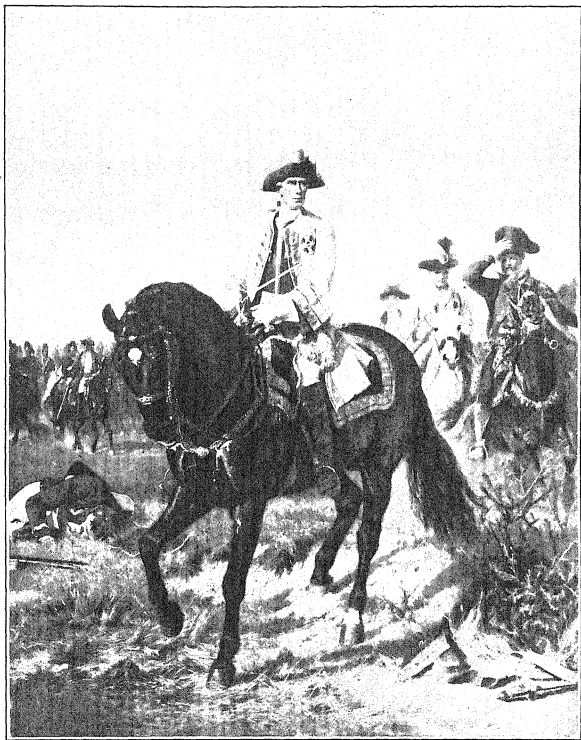
Laudon recognised this moment of exhaustion and knew how to use it with sure tact. He sent his Austrian cavalry to chase the Prussian infantry down the "Deep way"; the Prussian foot regiments wavered, broke up, and fled; the battle was lost and turned into a complete defeat such as the Prussian army had never before sustained. Completely routed, scattered, discouraged, unfit at the moment for any further effort at carrying on the war, they all fled, bewildered, across the bridge of the Oder near Göritz.

LOSSES AND REORGANISATION

The Prussian losses were relatively enormous; they amounted to 18,500 (85 officers, 5,963 men killed; 425 officers, 10,676 men wounded; 38 officers, 1,316 men missing; altogether 548 officers, 17,955 men). The small number of the missing is noticeable. As the infantry regiment of Diericke was surrounded and "almost all" taken, the entire army can have lost hardly any unwounded men—a proof that neither Russians nor Austrians were very energetic in pursuit, or else one would suppose it would have been easy to take many prisoners among the over-exhausted Prussians, who could hardly have fled far.

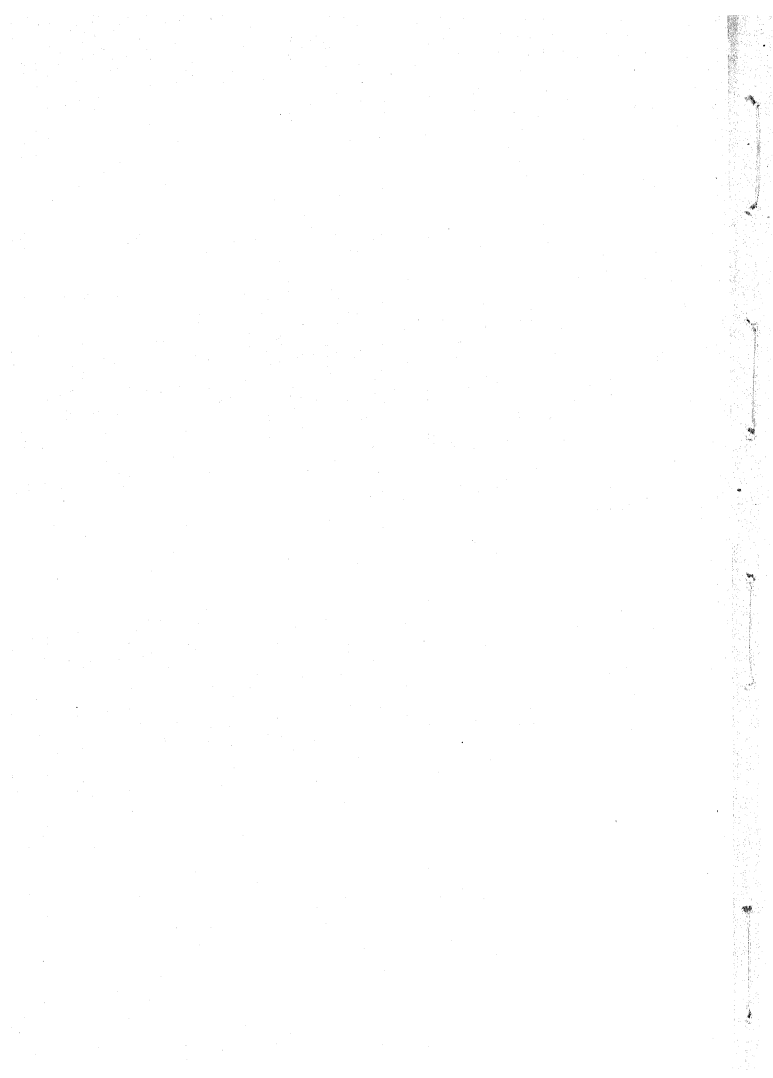
It is said that Laudon called upon the Russian generals to follow up the pursuit immediately, but they one and all, having by no means through all the phases of battle felt sure of a victory, so lost their heads with joy that they were no longer to be depended upon. It is almost surprising, such being the case, that the fiery Laudon did not himself start off in pursuit with his own Austrians; ten thousand men of the line and six thousand Croats, whom he commanded, would no doubt have sufficed hopelessly to rout all the Prussians who had got together in the night by the Oetscher bridge.

The Prussian army had also lost many trophies; the greater part of its artillery, not less than 172 cannon, 26 flags, and 4 standards. The loss of the



GENERAL LAUDON ON THE BATTLEFIELD OF KUNERSDORF

(From the painting by Siegmund L'Allemand)



[1759 A.D.]

Austrians and Russians was also very considerable; it amounted in dead and wounded to nearly 16,000 men (13,480 Russians, including 559 officers, and 2,216 Austrians, including 118 officers; 15,696 in all). As the Russian army could not exactly boast of very great tactical ability, it might well for the next few days not be in proper condition—in consequence of its loss in officers—to undertake in energetic style quick and decided operations.

FREDERICK'S DESPAIR

It is well known what dangers to his own person Frederick the Great incurred towards the close of this eventful day, and how crushed he felt at first after such unheard-of defeat. He believed the cause of Prussia to be lost; in a letter written on the evening of that unhappy day he bade "Farewell forever" to Minister Finckenstein, declared his brother Henry governor-general of the army of Prussia, and left the special charge of the defeated force in the hands of Lieutenant-General Finck.

The orders which the general received the following day are noteworthy, because the king, in the very moment when he resigns the command, not knowing what next to advise, yet indicates what in his mind should next be done, and whilst he renounces all hope still appears to open a way for hope to come. The king says, in these instructions issued on the 13th: "The unhappy army, as I leave it, is in no condition to fight longer with the Russians; Hadik will hurry to Berlin, perhaps so Laudon will also; if General Finck follows them both up, the Russians will fall on his rear; if he remains stationary by the Oder, he will get Hadik on this side: nevertheless, I believe, should Laudon go for Berlin, he might attack him on the way, and try to beat him. If that went well it would make a stand against misfortune, and hold matters stationary; time won is much in such desperate circumstances."

The conclusion of the document—"This is the only advice which in these unhappy circumstances I can give; if I had had any resources I should have held on"—seems certainly again to abandon hope. But, as a fact, the king gave up neither hope nor the command of the army. Already during the night of the 12th-13th he had considered how he might bring such troops as were in any way within reach to the help of the defeated army. This night he even despatched an order to Count Hordt, who, returned from his skirmishing on the Vistula, was waiting with a small division on the Warthe, to join the army at Reitwein. On the 13th reports came in from Hordt and from the country round Meissen; the king certainly sent them to General Finck, but with the remark that he would like to speak with him on the subject.

During the morning hours the Prussian generals and officers succeeded in bringing about twelve thousand men into tolerable order at Oetscher. These flocked back across the Oder to Reitwein, where they were joined by the battalion under Wunsch, and the king saw himself once more at the head of a force of eighteen thousand. The day before he had already named Reitwein to Count Hordt as a place of meeting—a proof that he hoped to keep his division here for some days. The bridge across the Oder was of course destroyed; the scrap of an army which confronted the Swedes was brought over it. On the 14th the king formally resumed the post of command, and held it undauntedly with as firm a hand as ever.

On the day after the battle the Russian generals had not yet recovered from their fever of triumph; they held a solemn thanksgiving service and there was no question of practical activity. Nothing of all that the king had foreseen and dreaded in spirit came to pass, chiefly because what Frederick the Great from his point of view regarded as the inevitable consequence of a lost battle lay quite outside the ken of most of the strategists of his time."

THE VICTORY OF LIEGNITZ (1760 A.D.)

This event led to Frederick's going in person to Silesia under very discouraging circumstances. On the 29th of June, 1760, he wrote to Prince Ferdinand not to be surprised if he should soon hear bad news. But on the 17th of August, he was able to report to the prince that "Thanks be to

heaven!" he had gained a great advantage over the enemy. Since his arrival in Silesia he had done his very best to reach Schweidnitz or Breslau; "but all efforts," he said, "were fruitless, all my plans were wrecked by reason of the position of the Austrians, and the alertness of Lacy and Laudon. Pressed by the Russians, who refused to advance into Silesia unless the Austrians first gained a battle, Daun determined to attack me. Laudon was to take up his position on the heights of Liegnitz on my left, whilst Daun was to attack me in front. Informed of this plan, I took the heights of Pfaffendorf which Laudon wished to take." We simply repeat the report which Frederick gave the ducal ally. To comprehend vividly the incidents of the conflict, one must mount the church tower of Liegnitz. Frederick then encountered Laudon, who was at that moment approaching. Whilst the king took the necessary steps to keep Daun where he was, he attacked Laudon, completely defeating him; Laudon had left under arms only six thousand men of the thirty thousand under his command.

The king could not sufficiently praise the courage of his troops; the whole matter was settled in two hours. "We have given a companion to Rossbach." The Russians had only waited for success to attend the Austrians in order to make common cause with them. After the battle they retired across the Oder, and the king was able to re-establish his connection with Breslau. But it would be quite false to

attribute to him the feelings of a conqueror who is certain of his cause and its triumph. All his letters show that his situation was not at all improved by the victory. He had counted on an agreement between France and England, and he was now convinced that this was out of the question. The affairs of France were so closely connected with those of Austria and Russia that a peace which would have reconciled England to France and Prussia to Austria was impossible. He had confidently expected a movement of the Turks against Austria, for they had actually spoken of an alliance with England and Prussia, but Laudon's advance into Silesia showed him that Austria no longer feared the Turk's movements. And if the Danes once betrayed any intention to unite with England and Prussia so that with their help the Swedes might be expelled from Pomerania and the Russians from Prussia, this hope also failed, as it was impossible for Denmark to break at the same time with both France and Russia.

Frederick said there remained nothing for him to do but to attack the foe that first appeared, beat him, and then hasten to the spot where the next danger threatened. To project and execute his own plans was to him impracticable. His movements always depended upon circumstances. "One does not know



PRUSSIAN COSTUME 1760

[1760 A.D.]

which way to turn; I meet everywhere the same hindrances, the same difficulties, the same superiority. May heaven support us, for human foresight is not sufficient for such a cruel and desperate condition as ours." When Frederick turned to Silesia he felt how much his position in Saxony and his own hereditary dominions were thereby imperilled. "I could never justify myself were I to deliver all my lands to the violence of the enemy. We shall destroy ourselves in our own midst without a battle."

He conjured Prince Henry, who showed some indecision, to take strong measures and not to waver—a bad decision being better than none. With all his activity and zeal Prince Henry in his letter had betrayed that he felt too weak to fulfil his duties under these conditions. In his answer the king drew his attention to the fact that it was easy to serve the state in bright days, but a good citizen devoted his services to the community in times of misfortune. "We fight for honour and our fatherland undismayed by the superiority of our enemies. My cheerfulness and my good humour are buried with the beloved and honoured persons to whom I was attached. I have a great machine to control and am moreover without assistance; I tremble when I think of it. No wonder the trouble and disquiet which I have gone through in these two years have undermined my constitution" (he suffered then from nervous attacks). "My motto is 'Die or conquer'; in other cases there is a middle course; in mine there is none."

"You set a value upon life as a sybarite," he wrote to D'Argens; "I regard death as a stoic. I will never consent to sign a dishonourable peace. I will be buried under the ruins of my fatherland, or, if fate presses me too hard, I shall know how to put an end to my misfortune when it becomes unendurable."

It is, as we know, not the first time that he gave expression to this thought. His non-fulfilment of it was due to the fact that events never took such a turn as to exclude all possible outlet. It was only in the case of the state being completely ruined that he thought of putting an end to his existence. We do not doubt that he would have done it.



PRINCE HENRY OF PRUSSIA (1726-1802 A.D.)

THE BATTLE OF TARGAU (1760 A.D.)

In striking contrast to this despairing state of mind of the king was that of the empress-queen, who in spite of the misfortune of Liegnitz urged with growing courage a decisive step against him. In her, as we have already said, was centred the direction of military affairs, and the supreme military council met under her presidency. Occasionally Daun would send his generals' opinions to Vienna, without adding any of his own, waiting for a decision, and the answers of the empress were decisive for the policy followed in the field. She wished above all things to have another action against Glogau, at which place the union with the Russians could really become an accomplished fact, and moreover the latter were not disinclined to co-operate in such an action.

But Laudon, the general of the ordnance, usually so enterprising, declared against it because the transport of the necessary siege material offered an insuperable difficulty. In fact, the Austrians themselves would not have been pleased to see an effective union of the two armies in Silesia, for the Russians, by reason of their small pay, were almost compelled to resort to plunder, and their commissariat would have involved great inconvenience. The empress also thought of taking Schweidnitz, as only by its possession could she be insured against further invasions of the king. She demanded this undertaking even in the case of its causing a battle, of which she herself would take the full responsibility. To this Daun replied that it was impossible to carry on the siege and at the same time be protected from the attacks of the king.

In the mean while Frederick had effected a junction with Prince Henry's army, and taken up a strong position. Maria Theresa thought her troops strong enough to attack it; it was intolerable to her that the campaign should end without resulting in any important victory for her. And as far as we can see Daun actually decided one day on such an attack, but the king exchanged his position for a still stronger one, in which he was unassailable. As nothing could now be accomplished in Silesia, Laudon advised the removal of the scene of war to Saxony. Lacy conceived the plan of making an incursion in conjunction with the Russians into Brandenburg, he himself taking command of the enterprise. It was not his intention to take possession of the country, but rather to plunder it chiefly for the benefit of the Russians.

This movement as well as the critical position of affairs in Saxony determined the king to leave Silesia and to meet his foes elsewhere in person. For the sake of Brandenburg such a move was necessary, as it had already been vacated by the invaders. The empress felt it was of the greatest importance for the Austrian army to follow up the king to Saxony, and she ordered her field-marshal especially to hold Leipsic and Torgau, and if necessary to venture a battle for this. And so it happened. Daun had taken up a strong position on the heights of Süptitz near Torgau, and fortified it with numerous cannon. The king attacked it forthwith (November 3rd). It was here that Zieten gained his fame. Zieten still represented the sentiments and character of the times of Frederick William I. He had gained his reputation as leader of the hussars who so successfully encountered Nadasdi's Croats. His undertakings met with such success that everyone wished to serve under "Father Zieten" (as they called him), and the highest military posts came within his reach. The half of the army which Daun was to encounter was intrusted to him. It is not known whether the king attacked prematurely or whether Zieten tarried longer than was expected. At last he appeared. Then victory was assured to the Prussians. Attack and resistance were worthy of each other. "It was," says Frederick, who never lost his literary vein, "as if two thunderstorms driven by contrary winds came into concussion."

The Austrians retreated to Dresden. The king defeated them once more, but he did not thereby bring about any notable change in the situation. "I must," he said, "expel the Russians from the Neumark, Laudon from Silesia, and Daun from Saxony. I shall be in a no better position after the battle than in the preceding year." Thus he entered on the year 1761.

THE CAMPAIGN OF 1761

It was felt in Austria, and during the winter the feeling was confirmed, that nothing could be done against the Prussian power, which had the best positions in Saxony and occupied the fortresses in Silesia; but yet the continuation of the war was desired as the country was sure of Russian support.

[1761 A.D.]

The Russian court, having its own great interests at stake, also agreed to war. It did not much signify that the chief command had passed from Soltikoff to Buturlin, as Fermor was and remained the soul of the undertaking.

The Russians' attention was now immediately directed to Kolberg. But they also wished to take part in the campaign of the Austrians in Silesia. Let Daun, said they, keep the king busy in Saxony, and they would co-operate with Laudon, who commanded almost independently of the field-marshal in Silesia. Hence the king intrusted the army in Saxony to his brother, in order that he might meet the greater danger in his own person. The Russians moved forward slowly. In the middle of July, 1761, they crossed the boundary of Silesia and struck their camp at Militisch. Laudon, strengthened very considerably from Lusatia, was preparing to join them. Although the union of the foes was at first prevented, it could not long be deferred. In the second half of August both armies came in direct touch in the vicinity of Liegnitz. Frederick then took up a strong position at Bunzelwitz, which, however, they could not decide to attack. When both the armies separated again, Frederick hoped by threatening Moravia to force Laudon to vacate Silesia. But Laudon, on the contrary, profited by the first withdrawal of the king from Bunzelwitz to deal a bold stroke at the badly fortified Schweidnitz, and to take the place on the 1st of October, 1761. So Frederick was powerless; he had to allow the Austrians and the Russian corps that had remained with Laudon to take up their winter quarters in Silesia.

In Saxony the Austrians, united with the imperial army, maintained good positions on the Elbe, in the independent portion of Saxony (Vogtland) and on the Saale. The campaign in lower Saxony was of great importance. The French had made fresh efforts to conquer Hanover. It has been maintained that an army as great as that now put into the field by them had never been collected in this war. The French had already gained possession of Cassel and Göttingen, places of little importance, but which were rendered tenable by the French with their capacity for rapid fortification. But Duke Ferdinand knew how to meet them with the cleverest manœuvres, even after they had crossed the Weser. By incessant small engagements he saved Hanover; they had pushed on even as far as Einbeck, but he obliged them to evacuate the place. Nevertheless the French held their own in Hesse; from Mühlhausen, which they held, they were in touch with the imperial army, which had advanced as far as Saalfeld. It was the common fate of the Prussian armies in Silesia, Saxony, and in the west of Germany to be attacked by a very superior power, against which each held its own in ever-renewed danger.

The three generals at the head of these armies formed a triumvirate of defence; they vied with each other in talent, application, and military capacity. For the Saxon lands intrusted to him Prince Henry had formed a defensive system which he brought into use both prudently and persistently, making the most of the smallest advantages offered by the topography of the country. Duke Ferdinand succeeded in uniting the Hanoverian interest with the Prussian and in opposing it to the French because it was north German. He was a pupil of Frederick, whose strategic principles he adopted. The defensive rôle which he was compelled to adopt he carried out by a system of continual attack. He also knew how to unite for a great aim the various divisions of his army advancing under different colours. By his tactful combinations he deceived the enemy, even though superior in number, and finally repulsed him.

Frederick was occupied with continual strategic encounters, ever appearing at the point where the danger was greatest, ever ready and alert, never broken by misfortune, summoning fresh courage after every defeat, inexhaustible in bold designs, showing equal skill in taking advantage of small oppor-

tunities and in seizing the great, decisive moments. His particular characteristic was the combination of politics with war, both uniting in maintaining the position which he held. Great men are not made by luck alone. Battles can be won by chance or by a one-sided talent. The hero is formed by maintaining a great cause under misfortunes and dangers. Frederick is frequently compared with Napoleon. The chief difference between them is that Napoleon was against all the world, but all the world was against Frederick; Napoleon wished to found a new empire, Frederick, during the Seven Years' War, only wished to defend himself. Napoleon set enormous forces in motion, Frederick was master of very limited resources. Napoleon fought for an authority embracing the whole continent, Frederick for his very existence. Frederick we see contending for long years with stronger enemies, always on the edge of the abyss which threatened to engulf him; Napoleon also passed long years in continual struggle, but always in view of a definite triumph, until the superior world powers overthrew the ambitious man at one blow. Napoleon's bequest was the military glory of the French; Frederick's bequest to his state was the salvation of its existence.

THE DEATH OF ELIZABETH OF RUSSIA (1762 A.D.)

When one considers the position of affairs—the still indissoluble alliance of France with Austria, the insuperable enmity of Maria Theresa, and the importance of the assistance which she expected from Russia for the next campaign—there was only one event which could materially change Frederick's position, and that event occurred: the empress Elizabeth died on the 5th of January, 1762. Although far-reaching political plans in Russia were connected with the war, the origin of the participation of Russia in the plans of Austria was of a very personal character, and the empress Elizabeth had another faction at her side, which only waited for her death to put an end to the war.

At the first news Frederick still doubted what the outcome of the matter would be. But on the 5th of February he wrote to Duke Ferdinand that he hoped in a few weeks to be at peace with Russia. The greatest danger with which he had to contend was the union of a Russian force with an Austrian corps. On the 5th of February he was able to announce that Chernichev, the leader of the Russians, would separate from the Austrians the following day.

The new czar, Peter III, was enthusiastically attracted to Frederick by the fame of his martial deeds. "All the news I receive of him," writes King Frederick, "shows me that he is well inclined towards me; I hope that the differences which I have with Russia will soon be settled and that the Russian troops will return home." Another prospect, for which he had long hoped, became more than ever probable. For he learned that an attack of the Turks was feared in Poland as well as in the Austrian domains. In the Divan there was, in fact, a party headed by the mufti and the grand vizier who desired an alliance with Russia. But the influence of Austria and France was exerted against this. The king still hoped to forestall a decision in favour of Austria by bringing about an alliance with himself; he had also some reason to count upon the support of the Tatars.

But these eventualities were, as subsequent events showed, very uncertain; and far transcending them in importance was the change in the relations with Russia. Strong assurances of friendship were exchanged between Frederick and Peter III; and Frederick considered it a good omen that the czar asked him to grant him the highest Prussian order. A truce was concluded, and peace negotiations set in seriously. Frederick, who regarded the matter pri-

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marily from the military point of view, remarked in his letters to Prince Henry that now the Prussian army had its back free.

It is in the nature of political alliances not only to affect the relation of one state to another, but also to be conditioned by the inner changes in the different states. Frederick had just experienced similar effects in England, when the ministry which was friendly to him was followed by a faction which manifested an aversion to him. That which in England was the result of parliamentary division was in Russia the consequence of a palace revolution which precipitated Peter III from his throne and put his wife in his place.

That which had been commenced in the year 1757 was carried out in the summer of 1762. The grand duchess had always had a party of her own, which would unite neither with the empress Elizabeth nor with Peter III. Soon after the accession of the latter to the throne, foreign ambassadors sought to establish connections with the grand duchess, who gave utterance to what she would have done had she not been destitute of all influence. The foolish actions of her husband which equally affected the Russian church and the Russian army, led to the catastrophe. Catherine placed herself at the head of a movement which had a national complexion. But those in Vienna who expected that she would revert to the system of the empress Elizabeth were doomed to disappointment.

Catherine recognised the peace which her predecessor and consort had concluded with the king of Prussia. Prussia and Pomerania, which were still in her hands, she returned to Frederick without enforcing upon him conditions in favour of Austria. She desisted only from rendering the aid which had been promised to the king, and she gave orders to her army to return to Russia. The old system of the empress Elizabeth was permanently abandoned. It was at the commencement of her reign that Catherine conceived the idea, to which she adhered to the end of her life, of taking up a position between Austria and Prussia. But this also led to a further change in the relation of the belligerent powers. Frederick profited by the last moment, in which it at least seemed as if the Russians were on his side, to take from the Austrians their position at Burkersdorf, which might have been menacing to him; and after some time Schweidnitz fell into his hands, on the 9th of October. A few weeks later Prince Henry succeeded in surprising the Austrian and the imperial troops at Freiberg and expelling them on the 29th of October from their strong position; so that the Prussians in the war with Austria, towards the end of the year 1762, were unquestionably in the ascendant. In the mean while Duke Ferdinand had unexpectedly attacked the French, and in a campaign full of vicissitudes he managed to besiege Cassel, the most important place still held by the French, and to force it to capitulate on the 1st of November. But this did not in any way conclude the great struggle. Austria and France still remained armed, and it was not evident how their alliance against Prussia would be broken. An unexpected change of affairs was then imminent.

PACIFICATIONS

The peace negotiations between France and England that had been often commenced and always interrupted were now formally entered upon. It cannot be asserted that England quite overlooked her obligations towards Prussia, for more than once reference was made to the Treaty of Westminster in the negotiations concerning the return of Wesel, Gelderland, and the Westphalian possessions of the king of Prussia. George III declared that he could not conclude the matter without the assent of Frederick. But far more decided was the consideration shown by France to Austria. Choiseul let the

empress know that he was ready to drop the negotiations with England if Austria did not approve of them. We do not venture to deny the truth of this utterance. For if Russia had declined further participation in the war, it could nevertheless have been continued by the French and Austrians, as in fact it was continued. But at that moment a crisis came which made the possibility of continuing the war extremely doubtful for both powers.

The declaration of the going-over of the emperor Peter to the enemies of Austria had just been made known. Galitzin had given official information of it to Prince Kaunitz on the 2nd of June. It was the moment in which England, if the peace were not concluded, could have taken a Russian army to Germany, and would thereby have dealt a decisive blow in favour of the Prusso-English and to the detriment of the Franco-Austrian interests. And it seemed always possible that Bute would be overthrown and the Great Commoner would again hold the rudder of England, an eventuality which the king of Prussia desired, but one which the French, who were now at one with the English ministry, regarded with horror.

At the moment of this all-threatening crisis it was thought in Vienna that above all things the good understanding of the French ministry with the English should be utilised in order to assure the peaceful settlement which was now attainable. The oriental complication had also advanced so far that the war in Germany could not be continued without imperilling Austria. It was under this pressure that Maria Theresa dropped the idea with which she had undertaken the war, and to which she had hitherto clung. She excuses herself for abstaining from showing the king of Prussia his proper place, necessary as this was for the welfare of her house, of the Catholic religion, and of Germany. She now abandoned her original idea of bringing about a state of affairs in which all danger from the Prussian side would be put an end to. She had no objection to a peace between France and England, provided the county of Glatz were given her and an indemnity to the elector of Saxony. It was this declaration, which was quite opposed to the purposes for which the alliance had been concluded with France, that rendered peace possible. The French accepted it with satisfaction, albeit not with the warmth which Maria Theresa had expected; moreover they attached to the proviso concerning Glatz the condition that indemnification should be given them on the Netherlands border, which caused astonishment and anger in Vienna.

A certain transatlantic event also placed difficulties in the way of a settlement of peace. The negotiations were powerless to prevent the blow already waiting to descend: Havana fell into the hands of the English. This event, like the entire naval war, was to the detriment of France and her allies. However, the conclusion of the peace was not thereby hindered; France gained some advantages from its stipulations, owing to the compliance of the English ministry. The preliminaries were signed on the 3rd of November, 1762.

In the above-mentioned declaration of Maria Theresa, and the conclusion of the preliminaries between France and England, lay the peace of the world. Both together manifest the signification and the result of the Seven Years' War. France abandoned the idea of staying the power of the Anglo-American development on the other side of the ocean, and although England had undoubtedly gained the maritime preponderance in North America, she abandoned the idea of destroying the French and Spanish colonial power, in which, as affairs stood at the moment, she might have succeeded. Austria also renounced the idea of freeing her old authority in Germany from the limitations imposed on it by the Prussian power.

She determined to grant the king of Prussia that safety the imperilling of which had led him to take up arms. If there were moments in which Fred-

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erick could have trusted himself to impose laws upon the Austrian power or to overthrow it, such a plan was perhaps not even formed, much less would it have been practicable. Austria had in the years of the war developed her own military forces, and was unbroken in power. The countries of the monarchy were bound together closer than ever by the danger and strain of the war.

The fact of importance in the history of the world is that North American independence of France and the undiminished existence of the Prussian state were not only contemporaneous, but there was a very close connection between the struggles attending them. The first opened up a measureless future, but the eyes of contemporaries were directed mostly to the latter. It was an event of eminently historical importance. All life is preserved by struggle. The Prussian state had been evolved upon ancient principles corresponding with those of the other powers, although not quite like them; and it had gained a position of real independence which represented a peculiar principle. But it was attacked by superior foes, and threatened with limitations which would have annihilated it. For its existence lay in its power. This immense danger was now victoriously withstood by Frederick; for the province, by the acquisition of which the rank of a European power had been attained, could be regarded as permanently secured. This was the position of affairs in the main; in detail there were still questions of a certain importance to be decided.¹

THE PEACE OF HUBERTUSBURG (1763 A.D.)

The exchange of ratifications of the treaty was accomplished by the three ambassadors at Hubertusburg, on the 1st of March, 1763. On that occasion Fritsch delivered a protest against Article XVIII of the Austro-Prussian treaty of peace, touching the Jülich succession, which was accepted by Hertzburg and Von Collenbach with a counter-protest. This was the last time that Saxony disputed about the succession of Jülich.

King Frederick thereupon received the plenipotentiaries at Dahlen. Collenbach could not sufficiently praise the great consideration which the king had manifested for the empress at this conference. He sincerely wished to live henceforth at peace with Maria Theresa. At the Austrian court, also, there prevailed a conciliatory mood. Kaunitz felt compelled to speak highly of the attitude of the king throughout the peace negotiations. The evacuation of conquered territory, usually connected with so many disagreeable features, was soon accomplished, and the generals in charge easily came to an agreement with regard to the exchange of the prisoners of war.

The document relating to the inclusion of the allies was signed later, by Hertzberg at Berlin on the 12th of March, by Collenbach at Dresden on the 20th of the month. The delay sprang from the desire of the Austrian government to obtain the assent of the French court, which was given only reluctantly; the latter evinced some surprise at the readiness with which the imperial court had yielded to the Prussian demand in respect to the empress of Russia.

As soon as his presence in Saxony was no longer needed, Frederick departed for Silesia, in order to give affairs in that province his personal supervision. On the 30th of March he returned to the capital, which he had not entered since the 12th of January, 1757. The queen had returned from Magdeburg on the 17th of February, and was received with lively demonstrations of joy. The public rejoicing reached its height, when, one half-hour after her arrival a courier from Leipsic brought the news that the peace was consummated.

EUROPE AT THE CLOSE OF THE WAR

King Frederick avoided a solemn reception; he arrived in Berlin at a late hour, towards nine in the evening. At his side was Ferdinand of Brunswick, who had journeyed to meet him. The king was not in a happy state of mind. On the 25th of February he had written to D'Argens: "As for me, poor grey-headed man, I go back to a city where I know only the walls, where I find none of my old acquaintances; where immeasurable labour awaits me, and where my old bones will soon find a refuge that will be disturbed neither by war, nor by misfortune, nor by man's baseness."

The task which awaited Frederick he himself describes with sharp strokes. "The Prussian state is like a man covered with wounds, weak from loss of blood, and about to succumb to the weight of his sufferings; he needs fresh nourishment to raise him up, a tonic to strengthen him, balsam to heal his scars."

The nobility were exhausted, the lower classes ruined, a multitude of villages had been burned down, many cities laid waste, partly through sieges, partly by incendiaries in the service of the enemy. A complete anarchy had overthrown the administrative and police regulations, monetary conditions were deranged; in short, the devastation was universal. The army was in no better condition than the rest of the country. Seventeen battles had snatched off the flower of officers and soldiers. The regiments were ruined, and consisted, in part, of deserters and prisoners. Order had almost vanished, and discipline had become so lax that the old infantry regiments were no better than a raw militia. It was necessary to fill up the regiments to restore order and discipline, and, above all, to reanimate the young officers with the spur of fame in order to restore to this degenerate mass its former energy.

Great Britain, also, had heavy burdens to bear as a result of a war waged on three continents. The national debt was almost doubled and reached the amount of nearly £150,000,000. But the public credit remained unshaken, industry and commerce received a fresh start, the value of imports and exports during the war had increased by millions, and the new conquests more than compensated for the large expenditure of money. That the English people did not garner the fruit of its glorious achievements was the fault of its unwise and unjust government. It is true that Lord Bute was obliged to give way to the universal hatred: he gave up his office on the 8th of April, 1763, and stepped behind the curtain; but the narrow-minded and short-sighted governmental system of George III and his ministers was not thereby changed. The final result was that England stood alone among the European powers, without a friend, that the grievances of the colonies against illegal treatment and oppression rose higher from year to year, until the climax was reached in the open breach and the declaration of the independence of the American colonies of the mother country. However, even after the dissension and separation there still remained as a result of the Seven Years' War the prize of victory—not the least among those striven for on the German battlefields—that the future of America belonged to the Germanic race.

Wholly otherwise was it with the powers that were mainly responsible for the war—France and Austria. Louis XV had abandoned the most loyal colonies for the German war, shaken to its foundations the maritime position of France, and utterly exhausted the finances. True, Choiseul's diplomatic skill had isolated England, while France maintained her alliance with Spain and Austria. Charles III of Spain counted on France for a future reckoning with England, and as far as Germany was concerned, the French court directed its aim after, as before the war, to "binding the cabinet of Vienna to itself by the

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fear of Prussia." But the inner rottenness widened and deepened as the result of a war conducted in opposition to every interest of France, and merely to please the obstinacy of Louis XV. The order of Jesuits had, indeed, been suppressed. The highest courts of justice, the parliament of Paris at their head, declared the statutes of the order to be incompatible with the laws of the realm, and pronounced the dissolution of the order. The government readily assented to the execution of the decision. This was a step in the direction of reform, but the ruin had spread so far that even Choiseul now foresaw a convulsion, yea, even a revolution of the existing political order.

By the dissolution and dismemberment of Prussia, Maria Theresa had hoped to make her house, and also the Catholic church, supreme in Germany. The wisdom and perseverance of Kaunitz enabled him to press for this purpose into the service of the empress the gold and the armed power of France, as well as the armies of Russia and the contingents of Sweden and the princes of the empire. But the system of the Austrian alliances was too artificially fashioned, and the mutually repellent peoples never worked harmoniously together. Thus the superior genius and indomitable perseverance of a Frederick, supported by the decision and faithfulness of a Pitt, and—when the latter had to give way to the intrigues of his opponents at court—by the sudden and complete reversal in the policy of Russia, had enabled him to keep the field against terrible odds. On the other hand, Maria Theresa saw her plans of conquest frustrated, and although she came out of the struggle with honour, yet her country could not so easily recover from the evil results of the war. The national debt, which in 1755 amounted to 180,000,000 florins, was raised to 271,870,164 florins—a burden so intolerable that it was no easy task to re-establish a balance between income and expenditure. The imperial authority in Germany more than ever was weakened, and the states of the empire that had remained true to the imperial house, above all Saxony, were estranged from it by their bitter experiences, and were completely exhausted. The Catholic powers had weakened, while the Protestant peoples had strengthened and matured.

Prussia had sunk low at the close of the Seven Years' War, yet her heart was sound. Under the heroic leadership of her great king her existence was saved, and the baptism of fire and blood which the Prussians received enabled them to rise to new power and prosperity. This was a blessing for the entire German race. As Goethe says: "Frederick saved the honour of a part of the Germans against a united world, and every member of the nation was allowed to share in the victories of this great prince by applauding and admiring him. He was the brilliant polar star around whom Germany, Europe, yea, the whole world seemed to revolve." When later Prussia was again crushed down, it was out of this glorious past that she drew the strength to steel herself for the great conflict, to demonstrate to all the world her moral and intellectual energy, and to approve herself the shield of the German name and honour. In the victories and in the perseverance of Frederick the Great lay the future of the German fatherland.⁷⁶

THE STRATEGY OF FREDERICK AND NAPOLEON

The difference, partly essential, partly the result of circumstance, between the armies of Frederick and Napoleon, lies in the fact that Frederick's army was much smaller, had no skirmishers, and was not an army of conscription. None of these characteristics is peculiar to Frederick alone, but all have their analogy in the armies of his opponents. Consequently a battle under the new

rules of war was considered from quite a different standpoint than a battle under the old rules.

Battle is the most efficient means for deciding the issues of war. It seems as though almost any mistake that can be made in strategy can be retrieved by a victorious engagement; and a general who decides upon a pitched battle, and in it comes off conqueror, appears, in no matter what circumstances, to have done well in war. Accordingly one might suppose that, at any rate, the stronger of two adversaries in war could have no other intention from beginning to end than to force an encounter, and by repeated victories convince his opponent that he has no resource but complete submission.

But this is not always unconditionally the case. There are also Pyrrhus victories. It may happen that the advantage to be gained by victory is so small that it disappears when compared with the losses involved and the danger—never entirely to be overlooked—that even after a battle is won there may come a reverse; and the general may count with safety upon serving the purpose of war better in some other way. A general with such a force as Napoleon or a general of our time in such a position and in such circumstances cannot act rightly in this way.

The number of his forces enabled Napoleon invariably to follow his victories to the utmost extent and to occupy whole countries. For his swift *voltigeurs* no position was impregnable, and if the enemy once in a way did find such a position, it was still easy for Napoleon, hampered by no anxious fears for his commissariat, to find a way round; and even if the enemy did not then come within fighting range, his army was so numerous that he could march past the force of the enemy and occupy so much of his territory that the latter was compelled to follow lest he should lose the whole.

Frederick could do nothing of this kind. The advantages which he might have expected from a victory were far fewer. For instance, it happened to him that, after his brilliant victory at Soor, in Bohemia, he had to go back to Silesia over the mountains. He could neither pursue in Napoleon's fashion, nor, owing to the smallness of his army, could he occupy the enemy's country as Napoleon did. And eventually he found the enemy collected in bands unassailable by the rigid lines of his infantry. He must feel the loss of a battle far more heavily than Napoleon. According to the nature of linear tactics, a battle for him was a much bloodier business than for Napoleon; he often lost a third, and more than a third of his force; for Frederick, also, losses were far more difficult to replace than for Napoleon.

For these reasons Frederick's strategic system, and not his only but the system of his epoch, of Turenne, of Eugene, of Marlborough, of Ferdinand of Brunswick, necessarily differed from Napoleon's. Let us next examine the leading features of the Napoleonic strategy, without personal reference to Frederick.

To call it "methodical warfare" is not a happy expression, nor is the meaning very clearly defined. It is an unfortunate phrase, for, after all, every war waged according to a plan, whether Napoleon's or Moltke's, is methodical; the method is only different from that of the eighteenth century. The idea is, besides, not sufficiently defined, because it is often used merely for a system which has become stereotyped. We have therefore called it the system of the old monarchy, which lasted from the Thirty Years' War and Louis XIV up to the time of the Revolution. The train of thought underlying this system is as follows:

The weapons of war at one's disposal are not sufficient completely to defeat the opposing power. We should not, even after the very greatest victory, be in a position completely to destroy his fighting strength, to take his capital, and occupy the greatest part of his possessions. Therefore he must be reduced

to submission and peace not so much by conquest as by being worn out. If we take one of his border provinces and several fortresses, and choose a strong position from which he cannot hope to drive us, he will, when the tension has lasted some time, and his finances are exhausted, quietly submit to our conditions of peace. The most direct way of obtaining such an ascendancy is of course a battle; but it is also possible in some circumstances to manœuvre back the enemy by skilful marching. One must try to win a position where one can protect both magazine and commissariat from the enemy, and at the same time try for a position so unassailable that the enemy will not venture to attack there.

It was in this manner that in the year 1744 the Austrian field-marshal Traun manœuvred Frederick out of Bohemia, without, so to speak, firing a single shot, and yet causing the Prussians terrible losses through hardship, want, and desertions. A very common and successful move in warfare was to lay siege to an enemy's position, and, with the force used for this siege, to cover an encamped post which the enemy would not venture to attack. If such a situation were successfully arranged, and thoroughly prepared with cunning and celerity, strategy conquered without either the danger or the loss caused by an encounter. All movements, aimed in this manner, at getting the better of the enemy without direct bloodshed, are called in the exact sense manœuvring, as opposed to those movements which are aimed at securing, by means of a pitched battle, the greatest advantage obtainable.

Manœuvring and the Pitched Battle

The strategical system of the old monarchy has therefore two opposite poles—manœuvring and the pitched battle. In the Napoleonic system, manœuvring, in the above sense, played scarcely any part, and was only rarely employed. On the other hand, two theorists of the eighteenth century, Lloyd and Bülow, went so far as to declare pitched battles to be quite superfluous. They brought "methods" to bear on the question; for example, substituted for the fact that the nearer you keep to your commissariat the safer it is, the "rule" that the army must be separated from its "base" (the district from which the commissariat is supplied), only in so far that, joined to the terminus of the "base," it should form a right angle; and declared, "skilful generals will always make knowledge of the country, science of position, encampments, and marching, the groundwork of their regulations, rather than let the matter rest upon the uncertain issue of a battle." Those who understand such matters can direct campaigns with geometrical exactness, and conduct a long war without ever finding it necessary to come to a "pitched battle." Here we have the point of departure of Frederick the Great from his contemporaries.

The natural warlike instinct prompts a general to let battle decide the issue. A victory—a victory in a great battle—lives forever; it not only destroys the material fighting power of the enemy, but destroys his confidence and energy. The changes in human fate which mark universal history move between the lines of battle. No truly great general can be imagined without the temperament to feel himself driven by a sort of passion to challenge the great issues of fate, to measure his own strength against the greatest that humanity can do, to crown himself and his cause with victory. This was the line followed by Charles XII, one of nature's great generals; and it led him to Pultowa. But Frederick was greater than Charles XII, because he did not abandon himself to this impulse, because he knew not only the strength of his power and his army, but also the limits of that strength; because he could control his own passion and abide by the strategical system of his time. But it was within the limits of this strategical system that his superiority to all his

contemporaries showed itself, because he so immeasurably excelled in the great military quality of boldness; and by virtue of this quality, to keep to our metaphor, stretched as far towards the pole of battle that, on the other hand, he closely embraced the opposite pole of manœuvring. It is clear that a general with such a grasp of mind might in practice easily make use of a stratagem whose difference from the Napoleonic is not to be recognised at first sight.

The system of the old monarchy demands battle not for its own, for mere destruction's sake; but there must be a still more particular, a still more definite reason. So far, good. Now if, during a lengthy period of war, such special reasons for battle are continually shown, and the general is determined on this account continually to strive for battles, he practically turns for the time in the direction of the Napoleonic strategy. Frederick the Great often turned in this direction, and this fact is responsible for a widespread historical misunderstanding. When Napoleon threw the rules and the system of war of the old Europe to the winds, it was not the least of his advantages that the generals opposed to him were still in the toils of the old strategy, which had become stereotyped as "method." They still believed in the "magical power of manœuvre," and before they saw their mistake the enemy was upon them and they were defeated. The archduke Charles, too, clung to the old principles: and in the campaigns of 1814, in his headquarters particularly, these principles caused the one general amongst all others who had most outgrown them, Charles' ally, Gneisenau (with Blücher) the greatest difficulties. The mistake Wellington made in 1815, entailing not only upon himself but also upon the Prussians the defeat of Ligny, also sprang from the old, now rather obsolete, strategical point of view taken by this otherwise great general.

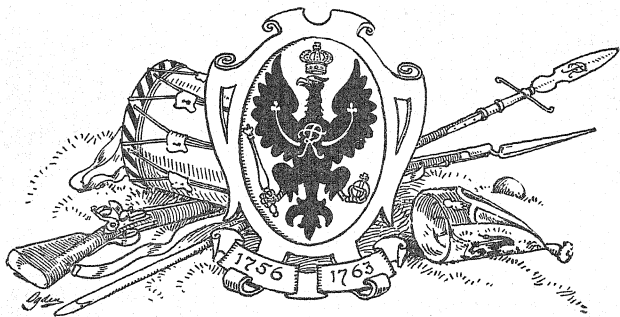
It was in the first instance through Clausewitz's teachings that the old heaven was entirely worked out of the minds of the Prussian officers. But it was only actually adopted when a new view crowded out the old—namely, that battle must be understood as absolute, not relative. The disciples of the new did not say to those of the old, "You were in the right formerly, but times have changed"; but they said, "You spoiled it through folly and blundering." To us it now looks different. We regard the warfare of the eighteenth century as something historically authorised and inevitable.

This in no way teaches us that all salvation lies exclusively in tactical decision and therefore battle must always be striven for. It gave other means of the art of war into our hands. And it is not difficult for anyone to understand that even men who are found worthy to stand at the head of an army should, in the face of immeasurable responsibility and danger, evince a certain preference for the gentler way; and that even in moments when only the "proud law of battle" ought to have been invoked, even in moments when fate showed itself most favourably inclined to them, they should not always have known, like Frederick, how to snatch a fleeting opportunity.

We have even seen how Frederick's own greatness begins to lose its gloss, if we take him out of his own and measure him by the rule of the nineteenth century. Why had he not begun the war already in July, 1756? Why did he not storm the camp at Pirna? Why did he not continue the war in October? Why did he only let himself be persuaded to take the offensive by Winterfeld and Schwerin in 1757? Why did he avoid battle at Olmütz? Why did he not fight it out to the end at Zorndorf? Why, after he had beaten the army under Laudon at Liegnitz, did he not straightway fall upon Daun and his troops? Why, in 1761, did he not attack Laudon at Nossen? Why, in 1762, did he fight no decisive battle? Why did he, through the whole of 1778, never once go to battle?

A hundred such questions one could put from the standpoint of doctrinary

strategy, and by each the king would appear less great. It is as if one looked at him through the wrong end of a field glass. But it is otherwise, and it is truer, if we succeed in picturing the natural strategic system of the old monarchy as Frederick's system; and—against the monotonous background of the web of manœuvres that he spun year after year—we see standing out the victories of Prague and Leuthen, Rossbach, Zorndorf, and Torgau, and finally, only to enhance the glories of these victories still more, the dark shadows of defeat in Kolin and Kunersdorf. Then only, placing him where he lived, in his own century, you see that the figure of this great monarch towers, not above a host of pygmies, but even above a host of those we reckon in the first rank of the world's heroes.¹





CHAPTER V

THE LATER YEARS OF FREDERICK THE GREAT

[1763-1786 A. D.]

Frederick was a ruler in the noblest sense of the word. Whatever be the final word of investigation concerning him, one thing is certain: Frederick not only raised his country to the rank of a great European power, but he also lighted for it a torch of truth so powerful that the way to further light and glory can be missed only by the most reckless carelessness. But King Frederick is a historical giant not only to the Prussians: all nations, all princes, all philosophers can strengthen and edify themselves by the study of his life, of which even the small spots, like the spots of the sun, are instructive.—PREUSS.^b

REPAIRING A RUINED PRUSSIA

THAT story of Frederick's sitting wrapt in a cloud of reflections Olympian-Abysmal, in the music chapel at Charlottenburg, while he had the Ambrosian Song executed for him there, as the preliminary step, was a loose myth; but the fact lying under it is abundantly certain. Few sons of Adam had more reason for a piously-thankful feeling towards the Past, a piously-valiant towards the Future. What king or man had seen himself delivered from such strangling imbroglions of destruction, such devouring rages of a hostile world? And the ruin worked by them lay monstrous and appalling all round. Frederick is now fifty-one gone; unusually old for his age; feels himself an old man, broken with years and toils; and here lies his kingdom in haggard slashed

[1763-1766 A.D.]

condition, worn to skin and bone: How is the king, resourceless, to remedy it? That is now the seemingly impossible problem. "Begin it,—thereby alone will it ever cease to be impossible!" Frederick begins, we may say, on the first morrow morning. Labours at his problem as he did in the march to Leuthen; finds it to become more possible, day after day, month after month, the farther he strives with it.^o

AUSTRIA AND THE EMPIRE

Frederick had wrested Silesia from the house of Austria, but he did not fulfil his second intention, which was to detach the empire from this house and to re-establish the highest authority in the empire on a wider basis. The famous princess who lost Silesia conquered the empire by the force of her arms; she handed it over to her husband of the house of Lorraine, and, after his death, to her son. In truth she was the emperor: the empire was and remained a constituent part of the power of Austria. The seat of the aulic council was at her royal residence; the supreme imperial court was directed from Vienna, and the majority of votes at the diet of Ratisbon belonged to Austria. As of old, the ecclesiastical princes and Catholicism in general joined themselves to Austria; the conqueror of Silesia played in the empire only the part that his rank as one of the first princes of the empire allotted to him, although he was raised beyond all comparison by his military power and his fame.

But as the loss and gain on both sides resulted not only from a German but also a European war, and as both powers were not only German but also European, their opposition formed one of the most important moments in international relations.

Under all the disputes, especially those in regard to European affairs, the necessity and desire for an understanding became apparent. Nothing had ever made a greater impression on the young emperor, Joseph II, who in 1765 succeeded his father Francis I, than the fact that the prince of a territorial state should not only have been able to withstand the great powers who had hitherto only needed to threaten to find obedience, but should also have successfully resisted them when in unison they turned their arms against him, and compelled them to seek a disadvantageous peace with him; he was convinced by this that Austria required an inner regeneration before it would again be able to measure itself with him. He participated in the general admiration which the king aroused in the world, but at the same time he perceived in him an enemy who would at all times be dangerous. From his example he thought to borrow the means and ways to fight against him.

Eager to see the world and to instruct himself by travel, in the year 1766 Joseph visited the battle-field of Torgau, on which Frederick had compelled the Austrian army, far superior to his in number, to evacuate the strongest positions. When on the spot he was seized by the desire to know the powerful captain who had succeeded in doing so much. A high Prussian officer was present, and it would have required only a word from the emperor to bring about a meeting, for there is no doubt that the king also desired one. But at first there was much opposition to the idea in Vienna. Prince Kaunitz foresaw a thousand and one annoyances that might ensue; he was even afraid that the king might gain an influence over the emperor. He suggested to the empress to write to her son in this sense. Later, when advances were observed on Frederick's side, there was not so much opposition against it, as a refusal might have offended the king. But the emperor, meanwhile, had received instructions from his mother and had followed them. In a meeting with the Prussian general Kameke he did not pronounce the expected word; he sup-

pressed his wish, which was still very active, to learn to know the admired ruler. On continuing the journey which led to upper Silesia he sorrowfully perceived from a height the lost provinces which he was not to enter.

In the year 1768, on the outbreak of war between Russia and Turkey, by which Austria was very closely affected, it seemed advisable to the empress and to the leading statesman himself to concede to the desires of Joseph. Austria was then arming, in order to intervene, if necessary, in favour of Turkey. It seemed worth while to ascertain the attitude which King Frederick, the ally of Russia, expected to assume in this conflict. The Austrian general, Nugent, who officiated as ambassador in Berlin, made overtures toward this end. Frederick would have liked first to have certain questions answered with regard to Poland and the Franco-English relations; that this was refused in Vienna did not nevertheless prevent him from acceding to the proposal. The meeting was arranged for the last days of August, at which time the king would be in Silesia, where it could take place most easily. The emperor, who had just returned from a journey in Italy, expressed himself to the effect that nothing he had seen till now could compare with the acquaintance which he expected to make on this occasion. But whilst he looked forward to the gratification of his wishes, in which curiosity, admiration, and irrepressibly hostile feelings were strangely mixed, a political task also fell to his share: he was to inspire the king with confidence, to remove from his mind any anxiety about further hostile intentions on the part of Austria, and at the same time to show him that there was no jealousy felt on account of his alliance with Russia.

JOSEPH II VISITS FREDERICK

On the 25th of August Joseph entered Neisse. He had stipulated to remain under the incognito of Count von Falkenstein, under which he chiefly travelled, and to take up his residence at an inn (the Three Crowns). On his arrival, however, he drove straight to the residence of the king, who awaited him at the steps and immediately led him to the dinner table; the meal lasted long enough to form a first general acquaintance. The emperor was astonished that the princes present—the brother of the king, who was remarkable for his external insignificance, and his nephew, who excited notice by his tall figure and manly beauty—willingly observed a respectful silence towards the king. The latter spoke almost alone; but Joseph was by no means silent.

Soon after the dinner the king visited him at the inn, and they had a long interview, which extended over the next two days, occasionally interrupted and enlivened by military manoeuvres. These pleased the emperor the most; the conversation gave him a feeling of embarrassment and discomfort. It must have been a curious sight, these two princes—the grey weather-beaten hero with a glorious past, and the young, aspiring emperor facing a brilliant future—in intimate terms with each other. The conversation touched upon everything, including the events of the late war. Joseph was astonished at the modesty with which the king spoke of his warlike deeds. Both in speaking and writing he was just to his opponents. Literature was lightly passed over; the principal object of both was political discussion. In the strongest terms Joseph many times repeated that Austria had no longer any thought of Silesia. The king was not completely convinced as to this; but it was of the greatest importance that the two princes should promise one another that, no matter what might happen under the prevailing uncertainty of European relations, they would always observe the peace restored between them. In this Frederick rightly saw a confirmation and strengthening of the treaties of Dresden and Hubertusburg.

[1768 A.D.]

The Franco-English complexities which affected the ascendancy at sea raised no difficulties, the relations with Russia were far more insidious. Joseph, though still the adversary of Catherine, praised her talent, saying that she had the genius of a born ruler. Frederick, her ally, did not fail to observe that the increase of Russian power was a danger in itself, which must be checked in time: for the empress would not conclude peace with the Turks, without having first made considerable conquests; after the war with Turkey she would begin one with Sweden. "Sire," said Joseph, "you are our advance guard against Russia; provided that you are at peace with us, you will easily have done with the Russians." The king rejoined that an alliance with Russia was a necessity for him, although he unwillingly paid it a subsidy. With this they touched upon the critical point of their politics. If they came to an understanding, they could prevent the increase of Russian power. Frederick called the attention of the emperor to the influence Russia might exert in the Austro-Hungarian provinces, and advised him to avert it by tolerance towards those of the Greek faith, for in Breslau it was said to have been observed that the merchants of this faith joyfully celebrated the Russian victory over Turkey.

Frederick's remarks were open enough in themselves, but they betrayed a greater interest in the welfare of Austria than he was given credit for. As he had once felt in regard to the French, so he now wished to see Austria hold herself erect against Russia: of course without disturbing his relations with that power. Informed by his ministers that the Viennese court was only seeking to undermine his treaty relations with Russia, he avoided everything that might further their aim. But the interview reached a point where both princes promised each other that they would not be carried away by the Russian war into any hostilities against each other. The king considered this quite consistent with his Russian alliance; he had no misgivings in promising it in writing to the emperor, who in like manner gave him the same assurance. The meeting at Neisse forms an important moment in German history, as the two most prominent princes promised each other to maintain the neutrality of Germany in the impending general embroilments in the east as well as in the west. Even under the altered circumstances a common policy seemed possible: common interests were spoken of and also the peace which was to be maintained within the empire and the world by both powers.

It is to be regretted that these inclinations were not more firmly established and of a nature to endure. Frederick never doubted that Joseph meant honourably by his promise not to attack him; nevertheless, the latter's personality did not inspire him with confidence. He was, said he, a young man full of aspirations, still held in check by his mother, whose yoke he bore with impatience. His mind was full of ambitious schemes. When once he came into power he would be sure to undertake something—perhaps against Venice or Silesia: "When he becomes master, Europe will be in flames."

Joseph, also, on whom the intellectual superiority of Frederick and his whole personality had made a deep impression, as can be seen by the letter which he afterwards wrote to him, distrusted his friendly feelings. To his mother he writes: "He talks a great deal, but there is some purpose hidden in every word which he says. He may desire peace, but not out of love for it—only because he sees that at the present he could not carry on war with advantage."

Thus did the two princes meet with an upright desire for mutual understanding, which attained an expression quite important in itself; but their mutual mistrust, which arose from the position and nature of both states, was not destroyed: on the contrary, it was rather strengthened by the personal acquaintance.

FREDERICK'S RETURN VISIT

In September, 1770, they met once more: King Frederick paid the emperor a return visit at his camp at Neustadt in Moravia. The danger of a rupture between England and France still hung over western Europe; on the other hand the East was convulsed by the progress of the Russians in the Turkish provinces. They had gained decisive victories on land and sea, and left no doubt that they intended to use their advantage for the establishment of their ascendancy in the East. They roundly demanded of the Porte the independence of the Crimea and of the principalities of the Danube. The chancellor-prince Kaunitz therefore thought it proper, thereby meeting the wishes of the king, to accompany the emperor to the new meeting.

In Neustadt Joseph was treated with all the personal regard due to his high rank and his qualities. The king rejoiced in his advanced knowledge of French and Italian poetry: thus, he said, should one begin, then philosophy should follow. Joseph had already raised himself above the superstition of the bigoted court; he made fun of the narrow-mindedness of the Viennese censorship, but at the same time was modest. Towards Kaunitz he behaved more like a son than a ruler.

The whole importance of the meeting lay in the conference between the king of Prussia and the Austrian chancellor. One day Kaunitz, in a long discourse in which he would not be interrupted, unfolded to the king the political system of his court as he had organised it after the peace: the alliance between Prussia and Russia formed a counterpoise to the alliance of Austria with France; and this balance suited Europe. He repeated that Silesia was now a healed-up wound, which must not be reopened. He added, however, that it was impossible for Austria to allow Moldavia and Wallachia to pass to Russia—such a neighbour would be intolerable to Hungary—or to stand by and see Russia unsettle Poland and seek to rule it. Kaunitz believed that he had made a great impression on the king by his "bold and candid" discourse, as he himself designated it. But Frederick was not exactly edified by the doctrinarian and self-satisfied tone which the prince adopted; later he often enough stated this. Nevertheless he remarked that with all his eccentricity and presumption Kaunitz was a man of good understanding, even of intellect: he certainly knew it himself and demanded that it should be acknowledged by all. In his main purposes he, the king, was quite at one with him, and these aimed at the maintenance of good feelings on both sides throughout the oriental embroilments and at the settlement of the Russo-Turkish War.^d

THE TREATY OF ALLIANCE WITH RUSSIA (1764 A.D.)

Looking ahead after the Seven Years' War, Frederick saw no means of securing himself so effectually as by cultivating the good will of Russia. In 1764 he consequently concluded a treaty of alliance with the empress Catherine for eight years.ⁱ

A comparison of that treaty, finally signed on the 11th of April, 1764, with a draft Frederick had sent to Petersburg in August, 1763, makes it especially clear what concessions Frederick had to make if he wished to bring about any kind of alliance between Prussia and Russia. A first glance will show that whereas Frederick's draft contained only eight articles, the definite treaty consisted of fourteen; and in addition to these there were some secret separate articles and a secret convention.

A more thorough examination shows that the difference is still more

[1764 A.D.]

sharply defined. Frederick's draft enjoined both the contracting parties to close with no other proposal which in any way contradicted this alliance. Quite another state of things is shown in the actual contract. The freedom to make treaties with other countries is expressly reserved, certainly under the declaration that the aforesaid contract would in this way suffer no breach, but on the contrary would appear to gain in strength and practicability. It is even agreed that other courts, too, which were of the same mind, should be invited to join. At that time the statesmen of Petersburg were already occupied with that project the realisation of which Russian Poland so often desired—to form an alliance of all the northern powers. Whilst it was insisted that this point should be accepted in Petersburg, not only was complete freedom reserved with regard to forming new bonds, but a handle was obtained which might eventually enable Russia to claim the participation of Prussia in the furthering of her northern policy.

Both contracting parties guaranteed the integrity of their countries to each other, and promised each other mutual assistance, in the case of either being attacked by any power, and, if it should be possible, the support of infantry, ten thousand strong, and cavalry, twenty thousand. Should this support be insufficient, the amount of any further help was reserved for future agreement. In case of need the assistance of the entire army of either country could be claimed. Each party undertook to conclude no peace with enemies unless after mutual agreement, and to embark on no enterprise without the knowledge of the other. Should one of the two powers, whilst giving the support agreed upon, be itself attacked, it should be able to recall its troops two months after notice, but if it was itself engaged in war, it was free from all liability to give help. Joined to this chief contract were four secret articles, and two separate secret articles, which contained the most intrinsically important points. The first secret article set forth the conditions under which military help might be exchanged for a sum of money. If Russia had reason to expect an attack on the provinces along the Turkish or Crimean border, or if Prussia expected the same from Gelderland, Cleves, East Friesland, or from anywhere on that side of the Weser, they should be answerable for support, not in troops but in money. And a yearly sum of 400,000 roubles should be an equivalent for the ten thousand infantry and the twenty thousand cavalry.

Prussia undertook to assist in upholding the present constitution of Sweden, and even if, for the moment, this agreement should be confined to insuring concerted action of the Prussian and Russian envoys at Stockholm, there was a further arrangement for provisional measures of greater effect, should this arrangement be inefficient to deter from their purpose those working to render the kingly power more absolute. Frederick assured to the grand duke, as duke of Holstein, his present possessions in Germany, and promised in the event of negotiations with Denmark for the equalisation of certain differences respecting Schleswig, to use his good offices to obtain for the grand duke full satisfaction of his just claims. Further, the two contracting parties bound themselves to uphold the right of free election in Poland, in such a way that no one should be permitted to make the dignity of royalty hereditary in his family, or to acquire absolute power; any intentions in that direction were to be bitterly opposed, even by force of arms, so as to protect the republic from the overthrow of its constitution and of its fundamental laws. In what sense this general decision about Poland was meant, and what ideas underlay it, were explained in a secret convention and in the two separate secret articles.

Prussia and Russia were agreed as to the manner of choosing a king. Even the name, to place it beyond doubt, was mentioned in a second separate arti-

cle. And, as the empress had already a certain understanding with those of the nation who were favourably disposed, the king of Prussia promised to use every means in his power to support her in attaining her desires. Further, as Russia had already assembled a body of troops on the borders of Poland in case of emergency, the king of Prussia pledged himself to do likewise on the Prussian-Polish frontier. The envoys had already instructions to make public, immediately the choice was known, the name of the candidate recommended by the contracting parties, and to declare that in the event of any one's daring to disturb the peace of the republic, and to conspire against the legally chosen king, Prussian and Russian troops would instantly march into Poland and subject the inhabitants and their property, without exception, to martial law. Should this declaration be ineffectual to quell all opposition, Russia undertook to march alone to the subjugation of the confederates, whilst Prussia was to assist merely by concentrating troops on the border and by other movements. If, however, any foreign power should send troops to Poland, to assist the confederates, the king promised to despatch twenty thousand men to Poland to help the Russian force. In the event of this proceeding leading to any attack against either of the contracting parties, they mutually engaged to supply a further assistance of twenty thousand men.

Finally a decision was also agreed upon with regard to the dissenters. Russia and Poland undertook to protect the Greek (church) Lutherans, and reformers known as dissenters in Poland and Lithuania, by decisive though friendly representations to the king and the republic. They were to try to obtain for them the enjoyment of the rights, privileges, and freedom which they had formerly possessed in both spiritual and secular matters. Should these representations fail for the moment, they were to await a more favourable opportunity, but in the mean-time the dissenters were to be secured from all injustice and oppression.

Russia got all she wanted by the conclusion of this treaty. Frederick's utter isolation forced him finally to agree to all the conditions which in the beginning he had struggled against with all his might. As far as Sweden and the grand duke were concerned, the concessions were fairly innocuous. They imposed no obligation upon Frederick to involve himself in war. Therefore the article regarding Poland fell all the heavier on him.

It assuredly did not escape the keen penetration of the king that, whilst France and Austria certainly used fair words, they were slow to back their words with deeds. In the spring, the reports from Poland were tolerably favourable. Notwithstanding their great opposition to the Russian candidate for the throne, the anti-Russian party showed far too little inner coherence, and a great want of fertility in their plans. But the result could not be safely guaranteed. France and Austria, even at the eleventh hour, might wake to energetic action, or feel themselves, by Russia's sudden step, compelled against their wills to take to the sword. Then all the king of Prussia's hopes for peace would be at an end. Frederick could not even get one of the many far too hard conditions made more easy. There was always the cry, "The contract is difficult enough as it is," or they doubted in Petersburg whether the king ever seriously intended to help to bring Poland into order.

And when Frederick pointed out, and with justice, that throughout the contract Russia had taken the lion's share, the conclusive answer was always ready—that the new alliance was possible only if a belief could be aroused in Russia that it was for the good of the empire, because otherwise those who opposed it would all raise a cry of reproach that Prussia's assistance had been far too dearly bought.

All articles concerning Poland were formulated in Russia, giving the empire in their construction a handle for the government of Poland. Russia, unham-

[1770-1771 A.D.]

pered, would now enforce the imperial authority in Warsaw; the interference of foreign powers being unlikely, once the alliance with Prussia was settled.

However great Frederick's reluctance, under such conditions, to consent to the contract, he felt the value of an alliance with Russia to be sufficient to justify him in at last accepting it. Only one clause, that protecting the dissenters, was of his prompting. He had no *arrière pensée* in this, but only yielded to the entreaties of his comrades in the faith, who implored him to give them his support.^e

FIRST PARTITION OF POLAND

The conditions which Catherine II caused to be put before the king of Prussia as the price of her peace with the Turk compelled him entirely to abandon the business of mediation. His judgment foretold the immediate outbreak of war between Russia and Austria. This affected himself only in so far as the disruption between the Russians and Austrians also recoiled on Poland. Stanislaus Poniatowski, whom he was bound to uphold, was threatened by France and the confederates; Austria was more on the side of the confederates. And Austria had already taken possession of a part of Polish territory which she regarded as an ancient integral part of Hungary: but also on the Russian side men were convinced that the situation of affairs in Poland could not be maintained, and that Stanislaus would not be able to fulfil the obligations he had undertaken in favour of the dissidents. As early as March, 1770, the opinion had been aired on the Russian side that Austria as well as each of the other powers should take possession of a portion of Poland contiguous with her own territory. In this intention may be seen the beginning of the first partition of Poland; thus the basis of it was the conviction that the organisation made by the empress of Russia could not be maintained if Poland remained in its former condition. Frederick II, however, had not entered into this view.

From the Austrian side had already been made a plan to win over the king by offering an acquisition of territory at the cost of Poland; there were thoughts of offering him Courland and Semgallen, but this offer was never actually made to him, for it was seen from the start that he would not entertain it. Without himself taking any action he fell into a situation in which he had to decide between Russia and Austria; for neither the one nor the other of these two powers would have dared to expose itself to the hostility of Prussia. And if Austria had not Prussia on her side, she could not dare to assist the Turk with armed force. But more than this, what could Turkey offer the Austrians? They would have liked to have Belgrade and Widdin, that is to say, Servia. But at the first mention of such a project the Turkish plenipotentiary begged the emperor Joseph not to disturb this string of the political lyre; it might cost the grand seignor his head if he entertained a thought of it. On their side, too, the Turks at that time urged the court of Vienna rather to a policy of indemnity in Poland; they actually proposed a partition of the Polish kingdom in the first instance between Austria and the Porte.

Such an association, however, was impossible. Austria would have had Russia and Prussia at once against herself, and the help of the Turks would have been of little avail in their position at that time. It was at this conjuncture of affairs that Frederick II really dealt with the plan for the partial partition of Poland. He did not wish to alienate the good will of either Russia or of Austria, and thought that Russia would drop those of her conditions for the restoration of peace as were most displeasing to Austria, namely the occupation of Moldavia and Wallachia. It seemed to him as if peace might

be restored if only the three powers could come to an agreement in the Polish affair. It cannot be denied that the occupation of the Zips and of certain neighbouring starostas by the Austrians, who at once introduced an administration into the incorporated provinces, gave the first impulse to the serious treatment of the idea of partition. Catherine intimated that what was permissible to Austria must also be permissible to others, and who could not show similar claims to those produced by Austria?

Frederick II reckoned the increase in territory acquired by Austria in these *réunions* as of great importance; he saw in it a shifting of the balance of power between the two monarchies; to set off Austria's increase of strength he claimed an increased strength for Prussia. But it was not an equal extent in territorial possession that he coveted, but an actual expansion of his power. It seemed to him that the moment had come in which to push to its conclusion a policy of aggrandisement, which was made particularly desirable to him by the untenable geographical position in which he now found himself. He took up the idea which had already been conceived in the fourteenth century by the rulers of the Teutonic order—*i.e.*, to establish an immediate connection between the territory of the order, that is to say East Prussia, with Silesia by the acquisition of Polish districts, a project the execution of which at that time would have been of great importance to advance the German element in opposition to the purely Polish element. At that time the plan had been a complete failure; by joining with the Lithuanians the Poles had on the contrary become masters of the Teutonic order, and had repelled the German element. Without taking his lead literally from these ancient designs, which were altogether buried in obscurity, Frederick II, as sovereign of Prussia and now also of Silesia, saw, in the cementing of the two by the acquisition of strips of Polish territory, a sort of geographical necessity.

The Acquisition of West Prussia (1772 A.D.)

Already as crown prince he had declared it highly desirable from a Brandenburg-Prussian point of view to acquire West Prussia, which in former days had already been wholly under German influence; it was one of those thoughts that seemed to Prince Eugene, when he heard of it, to be a notable sign of the soaring genius in the young prince. But since then Frederick II had not seriously thought of this plan. He entertained no hope of carrying it through; he hesitated to raise a general storm. In the political testament of 1768 he describes this intention as a valuable policy for his successor. But now European complications set in, which tempted him to stretch out his hand towards the possession of this territory.

Very precise were the expressions of the empress Catherine on this occasion. "Why," she asked Prince Henry of Prussia, who happened to be paying a visit to St. Petersburg, "does not the king of Prussia also appropriate for himself the territory of Ermland?" At the mention of this there awoke in the king his old geographical and political reflections; Ermland, which the empress offered him, was too insignificant to be worth a rupture with public opinion on its account; but to take a large province by which East Prussia might be connected with Brandenburg and Silesia—this was a design which he now seriously entertained.

Of dynastic claims there was no question here, and the argument employed was not very far-reaching. The act was a purely political one; Frederick sought for his justification in the fact that it was the only means of avoiding a war between Russia and Austria, in which he would have had to take part himself and which might have become a general war, more especially as a new quarrel between France and England threatened to break out. For himself

[1772 A.D.]

he claimed those territories which the Teutonic order and the German Empire had lost to the Poles; it was in opposing the accomplishment of this that the old electors of the race of the burgrafs had won their chief title to merit. King Frederick was now in a position to make headway for a stream of the opposite tendencies; he wanted at once to win frontiers which he might possibly utilise as lines of defence against Russia and to preclude the danger of being overwhelmed by a Polish kingdom of the present considerable dimensions which might at some future date acquire an energetic sovereign.

He would have put up with a Polish kingdom of moderate extent. If the two great powers would concede him the territory which he regarded as indispensable to the consolidation of his country, he would have no objection to Russia's acquiring territory five times as large, and Austria acquiring territory three times as large. His sole aim was to strengthen his state geographically and to consolidate it. He knew well that this too must cost him much inconvenience and trouble, but it was his fundamental belief that man was born to work, and that there could be no better work than such as contributed to the welfare of the fatherland.

For the Prussian state the acquisition of West Prussia, which became an accomplished fact in September, 1772, was a condition on which depended its political existence in the future.

On August 5th the treaty of partition was signed at St. Petersburg. By this act Russia obtained the largest share—about 87,500 square miles, with 1,800,000 inhabitants; Austria took the most fertile and populous districts, Galicia and Lodomira, in all 62,500 square miles, with nearly 3,000,000 inhabitants; and Prussia received only the bishopric of Ermland, West or Polish Prussia, and the Netze district, without the cities of Dantzic and Thorn, in all 9,465 square miles, with a population of about 600,000. But this territory lay between Brandenburg and East Prussia, and its acquisition filled up a dangerous gap in Frederick's dominions; so that Prussia was probably more strengthened than either of her confederates. Poland was deprived in all of one third of her area and one half of her population, but the remaining territory was "guaranteed" by the powers.

The land thus acquired by Frederick was waste and ruined, with a poor,



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proud, and uncontrolled nobility, and a savage peasantry. There was scarcely anything like a city; and whatever there was of trade or manufacturing industry was in the hands of the Jews. Frederick gave careful attention to the improvement of the country. He constructed a canal from the Brahe to the Netze, connecting the waters of the Vistula and the Oder, and built up Bromberg, from a wretched little town of five hundred inhabitants into a flourishing city, which now contains sixteen thousand people. Other cities, too, grew up with surprising rapidity. He sent faithful officers to the province, trade was made honest and trustworthy, and even the peasants began to have something to live for. Before Frederick's death there was a new creation of German thought and labour in this region.^m

THE SILESIAN MINES

There has never been a ruler who was better informed as to the resources of his dominions than Frederick the Great. But nevertheless Frederick knew very little about the treasures contained in the Silesian mines, and it happened fortunately to be Minister Heinitz whom he despatched thither. He was accompanied by Gerhard, counsellor of mines, Rosenstiel, secretary to the mines, and Baron von Reden, who had been made chief counsellor of mines the preceding year, and appointed to the mining works and foundry department. Their sojourn in Tarnowitz was of the utmost importance. Here there were silver and lead mines which in the sixteenth century had proved extremely productive; but since 1598 the yield had been less, and in 1631 it had completely given out, chiefly in consequence of the miners' and working guilds having been driven from Tarnowitz by the intolerance of Ferdinand II. Since that time the Tarnowitz mining industry had never reached its former importance, and from 1754 it may be considered to have been practically at an end. The dread of the anti-reformation faded in time out of the minds of the people, and now if inquiry were made as to the reason of the falling-off in the mines the answer would be that the industry was too severely taxed. Tithes were claimed by the state, and, in addition, the ninth mühle and three Silesian thalers out of every silver mark had to be paid to Baron Henckel von Donnersmarck and Neudeck.

The visit paid by Minister Heinitz to the province of Silesia was fraught with important consequences. The greatest benefit he conferred on this country, so rich in minerals, was in giving the mining industry such a leader as Baron von Reden, who was not only an aristocrat but a thoroughly capable manager, devoted to the business from his youth, who had increased his knowledge by travel in England, France, Germany, and Poland. To the three mining deputies, established in 1778 in Giehren, Waldenburg, and Reichenstein, there was added later a fourth at Tarnowitz, all four receiving on the proposition of Von Reden the title of "mining officers."

It appears that Von Reden made a special examination of the state of affairs at Tarnowitz; and on the 4th of January, 1780, he delivered a report in Berlin, setting forth proposals for reopening the working of the Tarnowitz mines, and showing why the enterprise, if undertaken, would have good chances of success. At the time this report appeared to have been set aside, but some years later it led to important results. Heinitz no doubt took this opportunity of satisfying himself of the extent of the Silesian iron works. This metal was not in good repute. In consequence Frederick had taken an unusual way to dispose of the manufactures of the royal foundries to his subjects, introducing them gradually and under restrictions, endeavouring thus to wean them from their manifold prejudices and to encourage in some measure the principal works, and so increase the revenues derived from them.

[1781-1789 A.D.]

In the official document of the 6th of November, 1781, which contains these statements, we find later this proceeding of Frederick's described as "coercion for the sale and settled distribution." What are we to understand by this? Another official document (April 20th, 1787), probably issued by Von Reden, is entitled, "Pro Memoria, concerning the establishment of the Silesian mining works, products of the foundries, and their management." This document gives us the following information:

The Silesians cherished a prejudice against the copper found in their country and against black and white lead, preferring, as they did under the Austrian rule, the minerals of foreign countries. After the Seven Years' War the king had taken into the state management the important copper foundries of Rothenburg on Count Mansfeld's territories, so that the workmen might not be left to starve, and that the usual standard of living might be maintained. Tin forges were started in Neumark and among the Harz Mountains, and as the conviction grew that foreign copper and lead were not needed their importation was forbidden on the 24th of January, 1768, and again on the 5th of January and the 26th of April, 1769.

In order to evade this prohibition, the province undertook to use up a certain quantity of these metals annually, and the merchant company of Breslau were obliged to join in guaranteeing this sale, but they did no more. All that was further needed was brought into the country from Hungary and Saxony. Such a proceeding could not but be detrimental to the growth and prosperity of the home works. The manufacturers in Slawetitz were allowed to sell no lead in the Breslau district, but were forced to seek a foreign market.

How could this be stopped? Heinitz decided upon introducing a new measure. He had seen how richly upper Silesia was stocked with iron ore and the wood necessary to its working; and he became further convinced that it would be possible to provide all iron and lead required for the provinces on that side of the Elbe. Thus in 1789 the importation of Swedish iron was forbidden; but, on the other hand, this would-be coercive measure was not enforced; delivery contracts aimed against it were formed with the owners of foundries in upper Silesia, with Blankenburg and Wernigerode; several dépôts were started in the provinces, and in connection with the many places of business to which the increased commerce was leading. A special "head iron bureau" was started in Berlin. The Breslau district resigned the management of the upper Silesian royal foundries and iron commerce into the hands of the chief mining council, which then endeavoured not only to increase the trade but also to raise the value of the products.^o

PRUSSIAN RULE IN SILESIA

If we compare Silesia as it was when Frederick the Great conquered it with the Silesia he left behind at his death, we are forced to confess an astonishing progress of development. The number of places of worship and of schools had remarkably increased, the fullest religious freedom had taken the place of narrow-minded intolerance; education in both the higher and the popular schools was noticeably improved; the people rejoiced in a sense of security which under the Austrian rule was undreamed of, even the poorest and meanest having grounds for hope that in a just cause he would gain his rights from justice, though his opponent should be a person of the highest rank. The situation of the lower classes amongst the agricultural population had been especially improved. The municipal commercial legislation protected them from extortionate demands on the part of the landowners. A network of pledges depending on reciprocity assured the whole country of

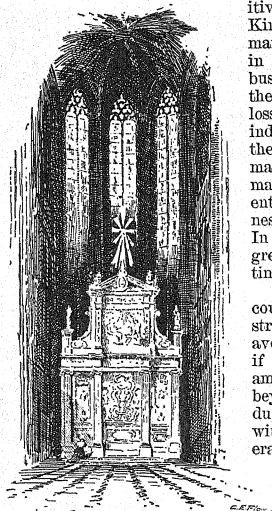
assistance in cases of misfortune, whilst for the landowners the model institutes upheld the credit of the province. In times when the crops failed, when prices were high, the king opened his storehouse, and he was not sparing of support when there were great fires. In spite of the many wants produced by war and the not entirely favourable condition of trade, the average welfare was greater, the number of inhabitants had risen more than half a million, the land was better cultivated, the towns had a more prosperous aspect, the number of solid houses with tiled roofs had everywhere increased.

As to trade, there is no doubt that since the beginning of Prussian rule Silesia had suffered no inconsiderable losses; more especially because the

tariff was rendered more and more prohibitive by the neighbouring imperial state. King Frederick's system of imposts had made many restrictions and difficulties, particularly in Breslau, where the transit and carrying business had till then played a great part; but there were many compensations for these losses. The old pillars of the commercial and industrial life, the Silesian linen goods and the products of Silesian wool-weaving, still maintained the foremost place on the world's market, and the rising industries in the different provinces played an active part in business, thanks to the protection of the state. In short, we have no right to speak of retrogression, but have to call attention to a continual though gradual rise.

The decrease of dependence on foreign countries, for which Frederick successfully strove, was not bought too dearly with an average lessening of commercial gains; and if formerly it was easier for individuals to amass a considerable fortune, there were now beyond computation more people who by industry and knowledge of trade, even if not without strenuous effort, could make a tolerable livelihood. This must surely be considered an economic gain. With all

this the country was conducted from a condition of patriarchal government into the methods of a modern state, such as enlightened despotism creates. All that was done for the country came from



TOMB OF THE THREE KINGS—COLOGNE

above. All innovations were made by the king himself with his all-seeing eye, his never-resting providence as father of his country. The constitution of politics which he found existing had to give way before his word of authority, without anybody in the country being the worse, or having a desire that the old order might return. But there could hardly be a doubt that the institutions of a civilised state, such as Frederick dictated to Silesia, must be of incomparably greater value to a sound political development, even with the final end of political freedom in view, than the maintenance and amplification of the Silesian constitution could be as it before existed. It is quite natural that the happy results of the king's active administration in this province, added to the popularity which he had obtained by his victories, led to his being idolized by a grateful people.^b

THE WAR OF THE BAVARIAN SUCCESSION (1778, 1779 A.D.)

Joseph II was eager to aggrandise Austria, and at least to obtain an equivalent for Silesia. For a long time Austria had been longing to acquire Bavaria, and there now seemed to be some reason to hope for success. The ancient line of electors of the house of Wittelsbach died out in 1777 with Maximilian Joseph (December 30th). The next heir was the elector palatine, Charles Theodore, also duke of Jülich and Berg, who was not eager to obtain Bavaria, since, by the Peace of Westphalia, he must then forfeit the electorate of the Palatinate, and must also remove to Munich from his favourite residence at Mannheim. Besides, Charles Theodore had no legitimate children, and could not leave to his natural sons either dukedom; so that he was eager to exchange some of his dignities for possessions which he could dispose of by will. Under these circumstances Joseph II made an unfounded claim to lower Bavaria, under a pretended grant of the emperor Sigismund in 1426. A secret treaty was made by him with Charles Theodore, by which he was to pay that prince a large sum of money for lower Bavaria; and soon after Maximilian Joseph's death Joseph II occupied the land with troops. Frederick II, who was ever jealous of the growth of Austria, resolved to prevent this acquisition. He instigated Charles of Zweibrücken, the next heir to Bavaria after Charles Theodore, to protest against the bargain, and pledged himself to defend Charles' rights. Joseph II offered to compromise, but Frederick would have no terms which enlarged Austria; and thus the war of the Bavarian Succession broke out (1778-1779).

Again the Austrian and Prussian armies marched to the borders of Bohemia and Silesia. No decisive battles took place in this war, and no memorable deeds of heroism are recorded. Frederick had a fine army, but held it back, and refused to take Austria by surprise, even when the opportunity seemed most tempting. The war is ever since known in the Prussian army as the Potato War, the only achievement in it being Frederick's stay of some months in Bohemia, living on the country. Neither he nor Maria Theresa wished to renew their useless conflicts; and she opened negotiations with him in 1778, keeping them secret from her son. They failed, but on May 13th, 1779, peace was concluded at Teschen, through the mediation of Russia and France; the empress Catherine declaring that, unless the Austrian claims were abandoned, she would support Frederick II with fifty thousand men. Austria gave up all claim to the Bavarian inheritance; but received the small district between the Danube, the Inn, and the Salzach, known as the Innviertel, containing about eight hundred square miles and a population of sixty thousand. Mecklenburg and Saxony received compensation in money and lands for their claims on Bavaria; and Austria agreed not to oppose the future union of Anspach and Baireuth with Prussia. But the inheritance of Bavaria, upon the death of Charles Theodore without legitimate sons, was secured to the Zweibrücken-Birkenfeld branch of the house of Wittelsbach, which succeeded to the dukedom of 1799, in the person of Maximilian (IV) Joseph, ancestor of the present king. By inviting the interference of Russia in this case, Frederick gave that power a new opportunity to interfere in German affairs.^m

The year after the settlement of the Bavarian dispute Maria Theresa died and was succeeded by her son, Joseph II. When news of this event was brought to Frederick, he exclaimed, "Now there will be a new order of things!" But, contrary to these expectations, Joseph maintained peace, and the years following the Potato War were for Frederick and all Europe years of quiet and of democratic progress. Therefore we may now take leave of

Frederick the warrior, and consider at some length the personality and influence of Frederick the reformer, the philosopher, the dilettante, the patron of science and of letters.^a

FREDERICK'S INFLUENCE ON THE AGE

The favourable influence of the great transformation which Frederick the Great, by his example and rule, effected on the whole life of his time supplies subjects extending far beyond his immediate sphere. Everyone in his states, and even in other German countries, felt himself spurred forward by the sight of a monarch who stood there an example of the most marvellous energy, perseverance, and versatility of thought and action. Everyone felt stronger at the thought of being recognised or praised by this monarch, perhaps even being called upon to assist in his lofty work. A new life seemed to breathe through the whole nation and showed itself by many unmistakable signs.

It was as natural as it was advantageous, in the light of the development of the German nation, that this thoroughness and striving, called forth in large circles by the example of Frederick, should first turn towards the positive and practical spheres of life. The Germans were then pursuing the very opposite of what Frederick qualified as the natural mode in the development of nations. They were striving after the highest aims in the arts and sciences, before they had accomplished the "necessary and needful," before they had taken a firm hold on the practical life of real and positive interests, and had acted accordingly. The example of Frederick drew, in a certain degree at least, the attention of the nation back to these neglected fields. It was a positive, realistic nation through and through; Carlyle calls Frederick in the highest sense of the words, "a crowned reality." He went straight up to his aim without any sign of romance or sentimentality. In him there lay no exaggeration, there was no soaring too high, nothing unrealised or unfulfilled. He knew at all times precisely what he wished, what he was able to perform. Familiar, even intimate with the most advanced ideas of enlightenment and humanity, he always put those ideas immediately into practice, fitting them into the circumstances of the moment and making them a part of everyday life. From his early days the watching of events and of people had been his favourite study. The useful, in the highest sense of the word—the amelioration of the material, civic, and public conditions of the people—was the field which he once again raised to honour, after it had been so long neglected by a great as well as by an intellectual people.

The effects of such a course upon the intellectual life of the nation were not lost. The political sciences encouraged by the toleration and support which the great king granted to them, strengthened by the practical spirit which breathed in all the public acts, rose to an activity which hitherto had not been known in Germany and had scarcely been contemplated. The gathering of statistics carried on by a government of the nature of Frederick's became a science most closely related to practical life and proceeding according to principle. The publicity which first relieved the public life of the German nation from thralldom, and thus lent a higher flight to the spirit of nationality, dates from those days. History, after having busied itself with the doings of the princes and the court, turns towards public life, and, in a more elevated sense, to the life of the nation itself.

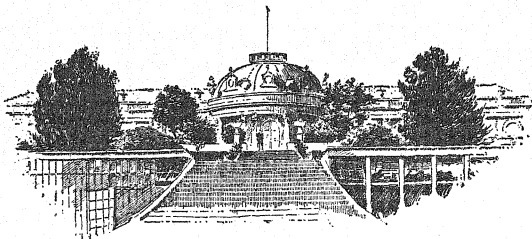
This instinct for the practical and positive was also a useful corrective to the minds of the Germans, who were too much inclined towards the ideal. There was yet a second element which was aroused in the nation by the manner of thought and action of Frederick; or, if not aroused, it at least began to

develop more strongly or was encouraged to greater participation, having until then manifested itself only in timid endeavours. We refer to that truly civic trait of the German mind to which we owe the revival of art in the fatherland, of its sciences and customs during the last century: the truly civic spirit or the manly, earnest, self-conscious disposition which gradually developed among the citizen class who in Germany are the real representatives of national culture. This came about under the direct and unrestricted influence of the personality and government of Frederick the Great. It put a stop to that servile submission wherewith the people of the rank of burghers had submitted, not merely in politics but also in social matters and intellectual questions, to the pretensions of the leading classes of society. It further showed its beneficial influence upon the fields of science and art, and above all on those most lofty ones of philosophy and poetry.¹

FREDERICK AT SANS SOUCI

It is, perhaps, less as a victorious general or the wise administrator of his country, than as the philosopher of Sans Souci, the monarch of the flute, the tolerant friend of Voltaire, that the present generation delights to conceive of Frederick the Great.²

The cause of rapprochement between Frederick and Voltaire was simple enough. Frederick had learned to hate in his father everything that was truly German; French literature commanded the civilised world and Voltaire com-



SANS SOUCI, POTSDAM

manded French literature; hence it is not surprising that the prince, when but twenty-four years of age, should have entered into a correspondence with the celebrated poet of fifty. In his very first letter he writes: "I feel that the advantages of birth, and those clouds of grandeur with which vanity surrounds us, are of little or no service. How much ought talent and service to be preferred to them!"

Frederick's income, however, was so small at this time that he could not entertain his correspondent. The year of his accession, on November 12th, Frederick met the poet at the castle of Moyland, and he describes in a letter to Jourdan the feeling this interview produced on him: "I have seen Voltaire, whose personal acquaintance I was anxious to make. He is eloquent as Cicero, pleasant as Pliny, wise as Agrippa. I have seen the two things nearest my

[¹ Dr. Franz Mehring, in his *Lessing-Legends*, opposes the current view of Frederick's influence on German literature.]

heart—Voltaire and the French troops." Under this impression the king invited the French poet to Sans Souci.³

Situated within a stone's throw of Potsdam, Sans Souci, according to the original designs of Frederick, was to be only a place of repose, a resting place in a delicious spot. It is picturesquely situated on the top of a hill, at the foot of which flows a river. The main building is unostentatious and is but one story in height. The Italian roof is surmounted by a dome. The two wings are united to the main part by a colonnaded gallery, which suggests St. Peter's, at Rome. The elevation of the terrace and the isolation of the castle produce a unique impression.

From the court one passes into a vestibule and thence into a round room lined with antique marbles and ornamented with two niches, one of which gives shelter to a figure representing Pleasure, the other to a poetical presentation of Epicurus—both by Adam. Columns of Carrara marble encircle this room, which is dominated and illumined by that gilded dome which is its ceiling. On the left is the dining-hall, adorned with pictures. Presently one comes upon a little room where there is a piano; this is where the king used to take his coffee and spend moments of solitude. Beyond is the large sleeping apartment, ornate and covered with gilding, upholstered in blue. The alcove and balustrading, rich as they are, are yet useless, for it is in a little bed hidden by a screen and drawn close to the chimney that the king slept—a modest bed, covered with old crimson silk on which his dogs were free to romp! For Frederick had a passion for dogs, and when travelling, or even on his campaigns, he kept a tiny levette buttoned into his vest. This sanctuary has been preserved as it was at the time that Frederick's great spirit passed away. One is shown the armchair where he died; the little clock which he used to wind himself, and which, according to tradition, stopped at the moment of his death, is still on the chest, sleeping its last sleep.

His library, round like the drawing-room, is at one of the extremities of the building. It is adorned with a bookcase of cedar, trimmed with garlands and festoons of gilded bronze, and surmounted by antiquities of white marble. The ceiling, done by Frederick's famous painter, De Pesne, represents Apollo. The only pieces of furniture are a revolving desk, on which still lies open the *Art of War*, and a cabinet on which stand two glass cubes, one an inkstand, the other a powder box, and a pair of large scissors. If one may judge a man by the inspection of his library, these cases, which hold not only favourite books but practically the entire intellectual pabulum of the philosopher of Sans Souci, are a revelation. At the house of this German prince, not one German book! The collection is composed almost entirely of French classics, at the head of which stand the works of the illustrious author of the *Henriade*.

As one comes out the view is enchanting—at the left Potsdam, at the right a forest of oaks and maples. In front the garden descends by six terraces to the river; below is a great plain with fountains, lakes, cascades, columns, obelisks, pavilions, labyrinths—the troublous, perturbed architecture of princely gardens in the eighteenth century. Such as it was, Sans Souci was loved by Frederick with partiality and tenderness; here he came as to an asylum of peace, whenever he had a moment of leisure; and its portals opened only to the key of philosophy in the hands of disciples.

"It is sometimes Cæsar with whom I dine," said Voltaire, "sometimes Marcus Aurelius or Julian. Here is all the charm of seclusion, the freedom of the fields together with all those luxuries of life which the lord of a castle, who is a king, can procure for his humble guests."

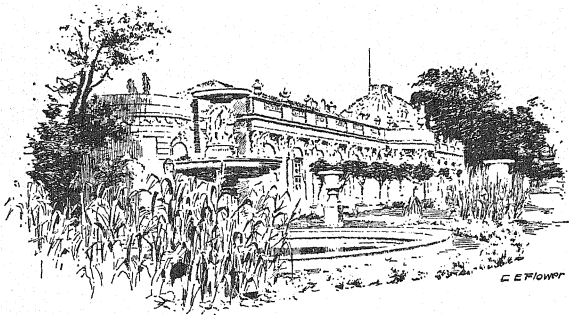
The flavour of the king's suppers can hardly be given again. Delicious they were and one can fancy the brilliancy, the sparkle of the conversation. Frederick knew how to kindle the fire of controversy by opposition. "He

loved," says Forney, "to take the negative, when others took the affirmative, and vice versa."

Frederick was a tease and somewhat malicious; he took pleasure in pricking and goading his guests. To these faults he joined other and graver defects—a monstrous egotism, and absolute though disguised indifference to all which did not directly concern him.

In order to gain an idea of the intimate society which surrounded Frederick, of that little kernel of free-thinkers grouped round the philosopher of Sans Souci, it would be necessary to study biographies. The five or six faithful friends, Pollnitz, Chacot, D'Argens, Algarotti, Maupertuis, La Mettrie, Lord Tyrconnel, are original spirits worth studying—most of them with a grain of folly and weakness, surprising in sages, in strong and sceptical minds. Moreover, we are in France—we find its usages, its fashions, its language, its quality of thought, its scholars, and its poets. At the intimate dinners of the king, it is true, a few Germans were allowed to slip in, on the condition that they leave everything German behind them. Such was the little group of disciples with whom Frederick was surrounded when Voltaire, his sails full, arrived in Berlin, and was received by his master with a ceremony, a devotion whose style was copied and exaggerated by a court disciplined like a regiment.^t

"The evenings," says Sophie Willemine de Prusse,^u "are consecrated to music. The prince holds his concerts in his own apartments, where nobody



ANOTHER VIEW OF SANS SOUCI, POTSDAM, GERMANY

may go who is not invited, and indeed such an invitation is a great favour. He generally executes a sonata and a concerto for the flute, an instrument which he plays with utmost perfection. He mouths it admirably, and his fingers are agile and his soul full of music. He composes sonatas himself. I have more than once had the honour to find myself beside him while he played and I was enchanted with his taste, specially for his skill in the Adagio. It is a continuous creation of new ideas."^w

FREDERICK, D'ALEMBERT, AND VOLTAIRE

One must read Fouqué's *Mémoires* to learn the details of the deeply tender and reverent friendship the great monarch felt for Voltaire and for that other great Frenchman, D'Alembert—two friends of his youth: but to understand

how great was the value he set upon friendship and interchange of thought we must turn to the famous letters left by these two men and observe in what fashion Frederick honoured their memory. D'Alembert died in 1783; Voltaire ended his long life, marked as by milestones with many works, at the age of eighty-four; he died in the capital of his own country, which he had so often been compelled to flee, on the 30th of May, 1778. No one can boast of a longer continued or more lively correspondence with the king than these two literati, who are as distinguished in their way as Frederick is in his; he held them both in highest esteem, although in point of character the poet was greatly the inferior of the philosopher. D'Alembert enjoyed Frederick's great respect as a thinker and an honest friend of truth; he never misunderstood his own or the king's value, never presumed on the bond in which inquiry and knowledge had united him and the king. If his distinguished countryman, whose pre-eminence as poet, whose wit, whose bold and free spirit Frederick always admired and loved, had but possessed the same wisdom, he would have ended his days at Potsdam giving and receiving the greatest delight; and even at a distance he would have escaped many scourgings from Sans Souci. Indisputably both men gained immeasurably through this noble and spirited communion with the king.

The relations between Frederick and D'Alembert remained unshadowed; therefore we may believe that his death caused the king much sorrow. Voltaire, on the contrary, inseparable as he also was from Frederick, constantly gave rise to misunderstandings, which for a time would interrupt the harmony of their relations. Still all these little quarrels were so transient that they scarcely had any lasting effect on the feeling Frederick cherished for Voltaire in his heart. The tone which underlies all superficial vexations is one of deep admiration, and this colours all that Frederick says, even in moments of bitterest indignation.

We can imagine what a loss Voltaire's death was for Frederick the Great. For twenty-seven years France had banished her greatest writer, on account of the tendency of his writings. At last Necker, early in the year 1778, obtained from Louis XVI a consent, though but tacitly expressed, to his return to Paris. Voltaire wished to see his latest tragedy, *Alexius Comnenus*, on the stage. The inhabitants of the capital were ready to idolise the long-exiled man; he was crowned on the representation of his *Irene* and died amidst the homage of the people; but the church refused him consecrated burial. Frederick was at that time in Bohemia, and amid the noise and stir of the camp he found time to write a eulogy of the dead man for the Academy of Science in Berlin:

"However your theological brood may strive to dishonour Voltaire now he is dead," so ran the king's letter to D'Alembert on May 11th, 1780, "I can see nothing in the attempt but the impotent struggle of envious rage which merely covers its authors with disgrace. Equipped with all the documents you have furnished me for the purpose, I now begin in Berlin the extraordinary negotiation for Voltaire's requiem; and although I have no convictions as to the immortality of the soul, we will nevertheless have a mass sung for his." So it was. On the anniversary of his death in 1780, the Catholic church in Berlin with all possible pomp and magnificence celebrated the mourning service which France had refused Voltaire; and through Thiebault Frederick had an article on the subject not only in the Berlin paper, but in every other important European newspaper. The Berlin library received a fine clay bust of Voltaire by the celebrated Parisian sculptor Houdon, from whom the king also ordered a bust of him in marble for the collection in the Academy of Sciences. An engraving, *The Apotheosis of Voltaire*, was further sent to his friends in Paris.⁹

FREDERICK THE AGNOSTIC

The time at which Frederick began to question the teachings of his church and the influence these doubts had over him are not so authentically known to us as we could wish. Those discussions which, in obedience to the command of Frederick's father, Pastor Müller held with him during his imprisonment in Küstrin, and which were to convince him of the completeness of God's mercy, never overstepped the bounds of traditional dogma. But still, as the prince evidently desired to be instructed through his reason, and was not ready to accept unexplained statements merely because they are in the Bible, these conferences would seem to have been rather endeavours to clear up questions of so-called natural theology than concerned with the deductions of the church's teaching.

During the next few years, too, expressions are not wanting to show the warm interest taken by the subsequent free-thinker in matters of religion, and particularly in Protestantism, without, however, making any statement so definite as to betray how far the religious sentiment, undoubtedly earnest in him, and the Protestant feelings, which later he did not deny, were linked in those early days with belief in the positive dogmas of Christianity.

On the other hand, in the years during which we know him to have been occupied in philosophical studies, Frederick showed himself in his letters and pamphlets so widely and radically opposed to the positive Christian dogmas that we must suppose this opposition to have begun much earlier, and refer them to his studies of Wolf's philosophy and the letters he interchanged with Voltaire.

In any case, the writings of Voltaire, of Bayle, and Lucretius, and of the various English free-thinkers, must have influenced this turn in the young philosopher's thoughts. As Frederick, in March, 1736, already opposed objections to the belief in immortality, it is evident that those teachings which differ more widely from the pantheistic (*Weltansicht*) point of view, and which in most cases take belief for granted, had even before then appeared doubtful to him; and in fact he acknowledges some few weeks later that his faith was very weak, and proves it to be so by questions that clearly show he had ceased to believe in supernatural revelation, in the Old Testament teachings, and in salvation through the death of Christ; and that he believed the Apostles to have been merely enthusiasts. In a letter written in the following year, he expresses himself even more plainly. He even blames his idolised Voltaire because on one occasion he used the expression the "Man-God," and in his pamphlet against Macchiavelli Frederick reckons the introduction of Christianity as a factor in mediæval barbarism. In short, in everything that goes beyond his own deistic belief he can see only error and superstition. The historical part of the Christian religion consists, as he says, "of fables which—less poetical, more absurd, more ridiculous than the most monstrous inventions of heathendom"—only a "facile and foolish credulity" could accept. In his idea of religion, he seems not to differ from Voltaire and Bolingbroke.

"The belief in miracles," he writes to D'Alembert in 1770, "seems just made for the people. One gets rid of a ridiculous religion, and in its place introduces one still more dubious. One sees opinions change, but new ones come in the train of every cult. I feel enlightenment to be good and useful for mankind. He who fights fanaticism disarms the most cruel, most blood-thirsty monster. Philosophy has found more expression, has been attacked with more courage in the eighteenth century than ever before, but what has been the result?" Ten years later he writes: "I found the world steeped in superstition at my birth; at my death I leave it just the same."^k

THE COLOUR OF FREDERICK'S OPINIONS

A complete system of philosophy is not to be deduced from Frederick's works, written amongst and coloured by the events of his time. He had not yet mastered many of the most remarkable works of classical and modern literature; influenced by what he read, by the people he met, and by life in general, he wrote poems in which he often sought to forget the weariness of state affairs, or to subdue some painful impression. To regard him as an author, writing for the benefit or pleasure of his public, would be to mistake him utterly; his writings are entirely determined by the passing fancy—the individual impulse of the occasion and the moment.

No one was ever more imbued than Frederick with contempt for the inane life of courts and large cities. He was thoroughly content in his loneliness, for he found his only happiness in mental activity; in energetically perfecting the qualities nature had given him. He once confessed to his sister that he had a double philosophy: in peace and happiness he was an adherent of Epicurus, but in times of trouble he clung to the Stoic philosophy, which only means that he qualified or justified pleasure by reflection, and supported himself in trouble by leaning on his higher nature. In his letters and conversations, as in his poems, Frederick incessantly occupied himself with the gravest questions that men can set themselves—questions of freedom and necessity (which he declares to be the finest theme in "divine" metaphysics), of fate or providence, materiality or immortality of the soul; to which last he always returned.

Self-control, especially for one in his position, he considered one of the first duties of man; and he laboured unceasingly to perfect it. He admitted to his trusted friends that whenever he had an unpleasant, a disturbing experience, he endeavoured by reflection to master the first impulse, which was very strong; sometimes he succeeded, at other times he failed, and he would then be guilty of imprudent actions, for which he found it difficult to forgive himself.

He elaborated a system for personal happiness, which consisted in not taking life too seriously, being content with the present, without caring over much for the future. We must rejoice at misfortune escaped, enjoy the good that comes to us, and not permit sadness or hypochondria to embitter our pleasures. "I have rid myself of this passion of ambition, leaving cunning, misconception, vanity to those who wish to be their dupes, and only ask to enjoy the time heaven has granted me, to relish pleasure without debauch, and to do what good I can." f

FREDERICK AND HIS FLUTE

Incidental reference has been made to Frederick's musical taste. We are told that, in early life, he applied himself in earnest to his flute playing, and had in Quantz a teacher who would not allow his illustrious pupil to pass over anything. Before the Seven Years' War he practised daily four or five times; after rising, during the morning after the lectures, after the mid-day meal, and in the evening. In the morning he practised steadily scales and solfeggios as arranged for him by Quantz, that is to say dry but indispensable exercises. A written copy of these was in every music-room; in one the king has filled the blank pages with solfeggios of his own, which require a long breath and great facility of execution whilst they furnish the best proof of his cultivated taste.

His flute was, indeed, the means by which he eased the mental tension and gave himself spiritual freedom. Quantz declared he could tell even from the quicker passages whether the king was cheerful and peacefully disposed or not. In the morning, before the cabinet ministers came to him, Frederick

[1742-1786 A.D.]

used to walk up and down his room, considering many things, and at the same time playing, as the fancy took him, on his flute; and it was in these hours, so he wrote to D'Alembert, that his happiest inspirations came to him, even about matters of state. Even in camp and in winter quarters the flute played an important part in the king's life.

Flutes and an unpretending looking travelling piano followed Frederick the Great into Silesia, Saxony, Bohemia, and Moravia. But in the Seven Years' War it was different, even with music, from the first two Silesian wars. How humorously he jokes in a letter from Breslau (1742) over a "broken-down piano" on which he had played; how merrily the conqueror of Soor writes to Fredersdorf that he must send him a new flute because the Austrians had taken his old one with the whole equipage, and how cheerily he describes the operas and festivities in Dresden at Christmas time (1745). His mood could not be otherwise—for "the commando is off and will bring back flags, drums, and standards enough!"

After Kolin there was a difference. In Küstrin the flute is the confidant of his miseries and his comforter in misfortune. And in Sans Souci from earliest dawn the care-laden king is heard improvising on his flute till the horse is saddled or the carriage ready. And when, in his memory, Sans Souci, "of which he knew little more than that it was somewhere in the world," rose in his mind; when he in spirit heard the beeches in Rheinsberg and the old lindens in Charlottenburg rustling, and sighed "like the Jews when they thought on Zion, and by the waters of Babylon sat down and wept," then he would catch up his flute and try to forget all the dreariness of his present. No mortal can tell what music and his flute were to the hero king in those years.

In winter quarters Frederick made music as usual, if in a more constrained manner. He played the old beloved sonatas, seldom concerted pieces. He would often send to Berlin for a pianist to come to headquarters and accompany him, as in 1760-1761 he commanded Fasch to Leipsic. The good man's account is a sad one: he found "an old man, shrunk into himself—the five years of war, tumult, tear, grief, and hard work having given a character of melancholy and sad gravity to his face, which was remarkably striking contrasted with what he was formerly, and which seemed hardly in accordance with his age. It has become difficult for him to blow his flute."

In the last campaign the whole quartette was ordered to Breslau. Scarcely had the artists got out of the carriage, before they had to appear at a concert. The king played a piece and exclaimed enthusiastically, "That tastes like sugar!" But a great difference was noticeable in his playing. He had lost a tooth, and his fingers had become stiff. Once more, in 1778, the old hero took the field, and again his beloved flute accompanied him. It was on its last service, for gout crippled his fingers increasingly. In winter quarters he tried it for the last time—in vain! When he returned to Potsdam in the spring of 1779 he ordered all his flutes to be packed away forever, and said to Franz Benda, "My dear Benda, I have lost my best friend."¹

THE DEATH OF FREDERICK

Let us turn at once from this picture to the closing scene of the artist-monarch's life, as narrated by his master biographer, Carlyle.^a

Friedrich to the Duchess-Dowager of Brunswick.

SANS-SOUCI, 10th August, 1786.

MY ADORABLE SISTER:

The Hanover Doctor has wished to make himself important with you, my good Sister: but the truth is, he has been of no use to me (*m'a été inutile*). The old must give place to the

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young, that each generation may find room clear for it; and Life, if we examine strictly what its course is, consists in seeing one's fellow-creatures die and be born. In the meanwhile, I have felt myself a little easier for the last day or two. My heart remains inviolably attached to you, my good Sister. With the highest consideration, My adorable Sister,—Your faithful Brother and Servant,

FRIEDRICH.

This [says Carlyle] is Friedrich's last Letter:—his last to a friend. There is one to his Queen, which Preuss's Index seems to regard as later, though without apparent likelihood; there being no date whatever, and only these words:

MADAM: I am much obliged by the wishes you deign to form: but a heavy fever I have taken (*grosse fièvre que j'ai prise*) hinders me from answering you.

On common current matters of business, and even on uncommon, there continue yet for four days to be Letters expressly dictated by Friedrich; some about military matters (vacancies to be filled, new Free-Corps to be levied). Two or three of them are on so small a subject as the purchase of new books by his Librarians at Berlin. One, and it has been preceded by examining, is, Order to the Potsdam Magistrates to grant "the Baker Schröder, in terms of his petition, a Free-Pass out of Prussen hither, for 100 bushels of rye and 50 of wheat, though Schröder will not find the prices much cheaper there than here." His last, of August 14th, is to De Launay, Head of the Excise: "Your Account of Receipts and Expenditures came to hand yesterday, 13th; but is too much in small: I require one more detailed,"—and explains, with brief clearness, on what points and how. Neglects nothing, great or small, while life yet is.

Tuesday, August 15th, 1786. Contrary to all wont, the King did not awaken till 11 o'clock. On first looking up, he seemed in a confused state, but soon recovered himself; called in his Generals and Secretaries, who had been in waiting so long, and gave, with his own precision, the Orders wanted,—one to Rohdich, Commandant of Potsdam, about a Review of the troops there next day; Order minutely perfect, in knowledge of the ground, in foresight of what and how the evolutions were to be; which was accordingly performed on the morrow. The Cabinet work he went through with like possession of himself, giving, on every point, his Three Clerks, their directions, in a weak voice, yet with the old power of spirit,—dictated to one of them, among other things, an "Instruction" for some Ambassador just leaving; "four quarto pages, which," says Herzberg, "would have done honour to the most experienced Minister;" and, in the evening, he signed his Missives as usual. This evening still,—but—no evening more. We are now at the last scene of all, which ends this strange eventful History.

Wednesday morning, General-Adjutants, Secretaries, Commandant, were there at their old hours; but a word came out, "Secretaries are to wait:" King is in a kind of sleep, of stertorous ominous character, as if it were the death-sleep; seems not to recollect himself, when he does at intervals open his eyes. After hours of this, on a ray of consciousness, the King bethought him of Rohdich, the Commandant; tried to give Rohdich the Parole as usual; tried twice, perhaps three times; but found he could not speak:—and with a glance of sorrow, which seemed to say, "It is impossible, then" turned his head, and sank back into the corner of his chair. Rohdich burst into tears; the King again lay slumberous;—the rattle of death beginning soon after, which lasted at intervals all day. Selle, in Berlin, was sent for by express; he arrived about 3 of the afternoon: King seemed a little more conscious, knew those about him, "his face red rather than pale, in his eyes still something of their old fire." Towards evening the feverishness abated (to Selle, I suppose, a

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fatal symptom): the King fell into a soft sleep, with warm perspiration; but on awaking, complained of cold, repeatedly of cold, demanding wrappage after wrappage ("Kissen," soft quilt of the old fashion):—and on examining feet and legs, one of the Doctors made signs that they were in fact cold, up nearly to the knee. "What said he of the feet?" murmured the King some time afterwards, the Doctor having now stepped out of sight. "Much the same as before," answered some attendant. The King shook his head, incredulous.

He drank once, grasping the goblet with both hands, a draught of fennel-water, his customary drink; and seemed relieved by it;—his last refection in this world. Towards 9 in the evening, there had come on a continual short cough, and a rattling in the breast, breath more and more difficult. Why continue? Friedrich is making exit, on the common terms; you may hear the curtain rustling down. For most part he was unconscious, never more than half-conscious. As the wall-clock above his head struck 11, he asked: "What o'clock?" "Eleven," answered they. "At 4," murmured he, "I will rise." One of his dogs sat on its stool near him; about midnight he noticed it shivering for cold; "Throw a quilt over it," said or beckoned he; that, I think, was his last completely-conscious utterance. Afterwards, in a severe choking fit, getting at last rid of the phlegm, he said, "*La montagne est passée, nous irons mieux*, We are over the hill, we shall go better now."

Attendants, Herzberg, Selle and one or two others, were in the outer room; none in Friedrich's but Strutzki, his Kammerhussar, one of Three who are his sole valets and nurses; a faithful ingenious man, as they all seem to be, and excellently chosen for the object. Strutzki, to save the King from hustling down, as he always did, into the corner of his chair, where, with neck and chest bent forward, breathing was impossible,—at last took the King on his knee; kneeling on the ground with his other knee for the purpose,—King's right arm round Strutzki's neck, Strutzki's left arm round the King's back, and supporting his other shoulder, in which posture the faithful creature, for above two hours, sat motionless, till the end came. Within doors, all is silence, except this breathing; round it the dark earth silent, above it the silent stars. At 20 minutes past 2 the breathing paused,—wavered; ceased. Friedrich's Life-battle is fought out; instead of suffering and sore labour, here is now rest. Thursday morning 17th August, 1786, at the dark hour just named. On the 31st of May last, this King had reigned 46 years. "He has lived," counts Rodenbeck, "74 years, 6 months, and 24 days."^o

SOME BRIEF ESTIMATES OF FREDERICK

In view [says Curtius] of the unqualified superiority of Frederick's intellect and activity, which embraced the great as well as the small, he could say, with greater right than any other prince of the eighteenth century: "The state rests on me; I am the state." But it was just in this respect that he emancipated himself most decisively from the influence of Latin civilisation; not in the theory of the state, for in this he followed Rousseau, but in his activity, which was based on the opinion of the ancient philosophers that the state is an original and indivisible whole, to which the individual, as part and member thereof, must subordinate and adjust himself; and indeed he was, like that old king of Athens, prepared every moment to sacrifice his life for his country."

The terrible school of extremes through which his youth passed [says Wiegand], stamped his nature with ineradicable, contradictory features. His eye found pleasure in bright figures and gay colours, but the world appeared to

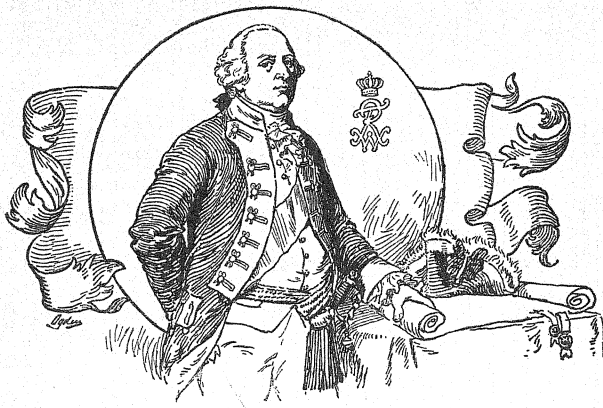
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him gloomy, the fate of man cheerless and black. He believed in the conquering power of free thought, yet he despaired of the extension of the boundaries of human knowledge and of the enlightenment of the masses. He was an enthusiast of thought, but not less so, as Voltaire has remarked, an enthusiast of action. He delighted in pretty externals, in the elegant phrase, in the graceful play of French culture, yet he descended to the bottom of things with German thoroughness. In contrast with his friend D'Alembert, he answered with a remorseless Yes the bold question whether it can be useful to deceive the people. Foremost and beyond his human consciousness was his royal consciousness, even though he himself, following the spirit of his age, may have confessed to the opposite. All the abysmal ruggedness of his nature was firmly enclosed by the consciousness of his royalty and his royal duty. The pure metallic voice of this imperative sounds above all the disharmonies of his nature. This is the sovereign feature of his character: the boundless, passionate devotion to the state, with the tendencies and interests of which he entirely identifies himself, and to which he means to be only the foremost servant. He puts his great kingly capacities in the service of his state and breathes his spirit into it: his iron will, which masters a world of difficulties; his penetrating intellect, which sees through men and things and knows the governmental machine even to its tiniest wheels; his belief in fate, which he shares with all heroes of action and which gives him the courage to lead his country proudly against the most menacing dangers. And in addition to all this there is the ever-present consciousness of his royal responsibility, which urges him to pay as much attention to the least important of daily administrative tasks as to the great decisions of critical moments, and restrains the impetuous impulses of his fiery temperament. For the age of enlightenment Frederick was the royal representative; for enlightened absolutism he created the completed model and perfect type.¹

Gustav Freytag's Characterisation of Frederick

In the flower of life Frederick set forth spurred on by ambition. All the high and splendid wreaths of life he wrested from fate: the prince of poets and philosophers, the historian, the general. But no triumph sated him. All earthly fame he came to regard as accidental, unstable, vain; only the iron, ever-present sense of duty remained for him. His mind had grown up amidst the dangerous alternations of warm enthusiasm and cold analysis, and while he had poetically transfigured a few arbitrarily chosen individuals, he had despised the crowd. But in the struggles of his life he lost his egotism, lost almost everything that was dear to him, and finally he came to regard the individual as of no weight, while the need of living for the whole became ever stronger with him. With a most refined selfishness he had desired for himself the attainment of the highest, and he finally came to devote himself unselfishly to the common weal and the welfare of the weak. He had entered life as an idealist, and despite the most terrible experiences his ideals were not destroyed, but were refined, elevated, purified. He sacrificed many to the state, but none more than himself.

Great and extraordinary he was to his contemporaries, but he is even greater to us, who can follow the traces of his activity in the character of our people, our political life, our art and literature, even down to our own day.²



CHAPTER VI

THE REVOLUTIONARY EPOCH

[1786-1815 A.D.]

FREDERICK WILLIAM II

FREDERICK THE GREAT was succeeded by his nephew, Frederick William II. The new king (born 1744) was the son of Prince Augustus William, who during the Seven Years' war was treated harshly and perhaps unjustly by his royal brother, left the camp, and died at an early age in Oranienburg in June, 1758, during the most critical period of the war. This younger son of Frederick William I appears to have been of milder and more fragile spirit than the other scions of the strong and virile generations born to the house of Hohenzollern, from the time of the Great Elector to the time of the Great King. Perhaps the recollection of this dissension, perhaps the idea that the weak spirit of the father had descended to the son, was the reason why Frederick II was so long in treating his young nephew with kindness and partiality, why he scarcely admitted him to a share in the business of the state, and why it was only after the Bavarian War of Succession that he accorded him friendly recognition.

An unhappy marriage, the faults of which may be laid to both sides, had a devastating effect on the life of the young prince, whilst the unfortunate relation of the prince with a cunning woman of light character made the breach incurable. The daughter of the court musician Enke, who was first married to the chamberlain Ritz, then created countess of Lichtenau, ruled with all the arts at the command of an unscrupulous courtesan over the yielding disposition of the crown prince. The open connection with an acknowl-

edged mistress, a scandal which had hitherto been unknown to the Prussian court, was now forced upon it by the prince with such publicity that in this severely ordered and hitherto modest state one was reminded of the example of the French court. Frederick II's youth had also been full of errors; but the unhappiness of his early life had disciplined him, the association with distinguished minds had given him an impetus towards a noble ambition which obliterated the sad remembrances of his earlier days.

The weak, malleable nature of Frederick William succumbed to the bad influences which association with frivolous women and effeminate men exercised over him; and these influences prevented his better qualities from developing. Frederick William had a noble disposition: in spite of his ebullitions of violent temper he was naturally mild and full of benevolence, he was accessible to noble impulses, and was chivalrous and brave like his ancestors; but with a strong body, nature had given him so powerful a bias towards sensual desires that in their gratification the nobler traits of his character easily suffered shipwreck. Accustomed during an erratic youth to waste his kindness on women and favourites, thrown back in his isolation on the society of self-seeking and mediocre persons, his good-nature endlessly abused, now pushed into sensual excesses, now exploited by the pious hypocrisy of speculative mystics—Frederick William especially lacked the manly severity, discipline, and resistance by which the rule of his predecessors had been distinguished. A rule exercised by such a personality must have had an enervating effect on any state, but for Prussia in the situation of 1786 it was a calamity.

The public mood, however, showed itself ready to hope for the best from the new ruler. From the gentleness of the kindly and good-natured king, it was expected that the strictness which Frederick II had adopted more from necessity than from choice would be replaced by leniency; people looked for a government whose cheerful and free-handed indulgence should successfully outshine the results of the Great King's strict and meagre methods. Seldom has a new ruler been received with such acclaim, seldom has praise and flattery been so lavished on any successor; the "much-beloved" was the surname by which the public voice hailed him. Even contemporaries lamented the flood of flattery that gushed forth in the first moments of the new reign; and we can well conceive that Frederick William did not escape the deadening effect which is too often the fruit of such arts.

The rapidity with which this mood of extreme praise and rejoicing changed into its complete opposite is significant; under the influence of disappointment there was born a literature of abuse which is scarcely to be surpassed in any country, so that it is difficult to say which gives a more painful impression—the tactless flatteries of 1786, or the filthy pamphlets which only two or three years later were circulated concerning the king, his mistresses, and his favourites.

In these rejoicings which greeted the new ruler there was usually mingled a very strong element of Prussian self-assertion. In this mood, the admonitions of Mirabeau sounded almost like a false note. Although expressing much admiration for Frederick II, he disclosed the shady side of his political system, and insisted, in order to avert a great catastrophe, upon a peaceable reform of the entire machinery of government. According to Mirabeau's advice, "military slavery" was to be abolished; the mercantile system, with the disadvantages it entailed, done away with; the feudal division of classes made less sharp; the exclusive privileges of the nobility in civil and military offices abrogated, privileges and monopolies abolished; the whole system of taxation altered; the burdens which interfered with the freedom of the people in production removed; government, the administration of justice, and the

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educational system to be reorganised; the censorship to be abolished; and, in general, a fresh impulse in political and intellectual life to be imparted to the old military-bureaucratic state. More forcible lessons had to be given before the import of such advice could be understood. It was full twenty years later that the pendulum of state reform swung in this direction; the reform laws of 1807-1808 concerning the abolition of serfdom, the "free use of landed property," the abolition of feudal distinctions, the municipal regulations, the new army organisation, and so on, were in effect in harmony with Mirabeau's suggestions, given at the commencement of Frederick William's reign. At that time such counsels were not listened to; the feeling of security was still too great for such advice not to be considered annoying—given, as it was, unasked.

For a moment it might indeed have appeared as though the new government might be moulded on the lines indicated by the French publicist, but scarcely because of his advice. It was merely the inclination of every fresh government to gain public favour by doing away with irksome restrictions which had been laid down by the preceding one, and this inclination naturally found favour with the easy good-nature inherent in Frederick William. So, first of all, the hated French regulations, together with the tobacco and coffee monopolies, fell to the ground; the French officials were dismissed and a new board, chosen from Prussian officials, was set to supervise the excise and customs and other kindred matters. But the oppressive taxes were more easily abolished than replaced; it was necessary to have recourse to other fiscal devices, partly to the taxation of the necessities of life, in order to cover the deficit created (January, 1787). It is easily understood that the popularity of the first of these proceedings suffered through this later measure. Further alterations in this direction—for instance, the facilitating of traffic and the lightening of the transit duties—were confined to timid alterations, which naturally failed by their results to meet either the hopes or the needs of the people. If abuses were to be remedied, a complete readjustment of the economic conditions throughout Prussia was necessary; such isolated measures, springing from short-sighted although well-intentioned benevolence, did not do away with the defects of the system as a whole, but simply attenuated the results of Frederick's ingeniously contrived system. The new devices employed to hide the shortcomings were at times felt to be more irksome than the old.

The other reforms initiated by the new government were of similar character; concessions were made to the transient eagerness to remove certain particular grievances, only to suffer matters soon to relapse into their former condition. In this way a judicious innovation was introduced in the shape of a military council, the direction of which was given into the hands of the duke of Brunswick and Möllendorf; this expedient being all the more necessary since until now everything had depended entirely on the personal supervision of the king, and Frederick, supported by a few inspectors and adjutants, had himself directed the whole conduct of military affairs. The method of recruiting in foreign countries was also better arranged, the forcible impressment of recruits was forbidden; many new rules were made for the division of districts; officers, both commissioned and non-commissioned, were increased in number and their external equipment was improved. Moreover, the cruel and barbarous treatment of soldiers was to be checked, soldiers were to be treated like human beings, and the cunning self-seeking with which the superior officers took advantage of their control over the recruiting and enrolling of fresh men was put an end to. But none of these reforms, well intentioned as every one must admit them to have been, went to the root of the evil, which Frederick himself had perceived with misgiving; they touched it only on the

WASHINGTON MADE DICTATOR; WINS AT TRENTON AND PRINCETON

Congress, sitting at that time at Philadelphia, adjourned to Baltimore, and Washington was invested for six months with unlimited powers. He was further authorised to take whatever he might require for the use of the army at his own price, and to arrest and confine all such as should refuse the continental money—a new trouble which had arisen owing to the vast issue of paper money. The entire power was thus placed in the hands of Washington, and he was worthy of the confidence. Christmas was now at hand, and gloom and despondency pervaded the American mind, when Washington, as it were, rose up and girded his loins for action. Aware that the festivities of the season would be fully enjoyed in the British camp, he resolved to avail himself of the time for an unexpected attack, and selected the Hessians stationed at Trenton as its object. On Christmas eve, therefore, he set out with two thousand four hundred picked men and six pieces of artillery, intending to cross the Delaware nine miles below Trenton, while two other forces, under Generals Cadwallader and Irving, were to cross at other points at the same time. The river was full of floating masses of ice, and it was only after great difficulty and danger that the landing was effected by four o'clock in the morning. [Here, as at Valley Forge, the almost barefooted American troops left bloody footprints on the snow.] Amid a heavy snow-storm Washington's force advanced towards Trenton, the other bodies under Cadwallader and Irving not having been able to effect a landing at all.

It was eight o'clock when Washington reached Trenton, where, as he expected, the Hessians, fast asleep after a night's debauch, were easily surprised. Their commander, Colonel Rahl, was slain, and their artillery taken, together with nine hundred and eighteen prisoners. The entire force, save twenty or thirty killed, was captured. Of the Americans two only were killed, one was frozen to death, and a few were wounded, among whom was Lieutenant James Monroe, afterwards president of the United States. Without waiting for any movement on the part of the British, whose forces so far outnumbered the Americans, Washington entered Philadelphia in a sort of triumph with his prisoners.

This unexpected and brilliant achievement created an immediate reaction. Several regiments, whose term of enlistment was about expiring, agreed to serve six weeks longer, and militia from the adjoining provinces marched in. Nor was the effect on the British less striking. General Howe, astounded by this sudden movement in the depth of winter, in an enemy whom he considered already crushed, detained Lord Cornwallis, then just setting out for England, and despatched him with additional forces to New Jersey, to regain the ground which had been lost. Washington, in the mean time, knowing the importance of maintaining the advantage he had gained, established himself at Trenton. On January 2nd, 1777, Lord Cornwallis, with eight thousand men, the van of the British army, approached.

Washington knew that his position was a very hazardous one. It was a great risk to wait for a battle, with his five thousand men, most of them militia, new to the camp, and that against a greatly superior and well-disciplined force. To recross the Delaware, then still more obstructed with floating ice, was equally dangerous, with the enemy behind him. With great sagacity and courage, therefore, he decided on a bold scheme, which fortunately was executed with equal courage and skill. This was no other than to attack the enemy's rear at Princeton, and, if possible, gain possession of his artillery

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and baggage. Replenishing, therefore, his camp-fires, and silently sending his own heavy baggage to Burlington, and leaving parties still busied at their intrenchments within hearing of the enemy, Washington marched with his army, about midnight, towards Princeton, where three British regiments had passed the night, two of which, marching out to join Cornwallis, were met and attacked about sunrise by the Americans. One division of the British fled to New Brunswick; the rest rallied and continued their march to Trenton. About four hundred of the British were killed and wounded; the American loss was somewhat less.

At dawn, Lord Cornwallis beheld the deserted camp of the Americans and heard the roar of the cannonade at Princeton, on which, discovering Washington's artifice, he reached Princeton when the Americans were about to leave it. Again was Washington in great danger. "His troops," says Hildreth,^c "were exhausted; all had been one night without sleep, and some of them longer; many had no blankets; others were barefoot; all were very thinly clad." Under these circumstances the attack on New Brunswick was abandoned, and Washington retired to strong winter quarters at Morristown. There he remained till spring, having, in fact, repossessed himself, in the most masterly manner, of New Jersey.^d The English historian Hinton adds: "Other causes had a powerful operation upon the minds of the yeomanry of New Jersey. The British commanders tolerated, or at least did not restrain, gross licentiousness in their army. The inhabitants of the state, which they boasted was restored to the bosom of the parent country, were treated not as reclaimed friends but as conquered enemies. The soldiers were guilty of every species of rapine, and the abuse was not limited to the plundering of property. Every indignity was offered to the persons of the inhabitants, not excepting those outrages to the female sex which are felt by ingenuous minds with the keenest anguish, and excite noble spirits to desperate resistance. These aggravated abuses roused the people of New Jersey to repel that army to which they had voluntarily submitted in the expectation of protection and security. At the dawn of success upon the American arms, they rose in small bands to oppose their invaders. They scoured the country, cut off every soldier who straggled from his corps, and in many instances repelled the foraging parties of the enemy."^e

"The recovery of the Jerseys," says Hildreth, "by the fragments of a defeated army, which had seemed just before on the point of dissolution, gained Washington a high reputation not only at home, but in Europe, where the progress of the campaign had been watched with great interest, and where the disastrous loss of New York and the retreat through the Jerseys had given the impression that America would not be able to maintain her independence. The recovery of the Jerseys created a reaction. The American general was extolled as a Fabius, whose prudence availed his country no less than his valour."^e

Though Hopkins and his squadron were blocked up at Providence, privateering had been carried on, principally by New England frigates, to a great extent. The homeward-bound British ships from the West Indies offered rich prizes, and in the year just concluded no less than 350 British ships had been captured. A new foreign trade had also been opened with France, Spain, and Holland, principally by way of the West Indies, and though great risk attended it, still it was the successful commencement of the great American trade, and the national flag of thirteen stars and stripes, as appointed by congress, was now first hoisted in this maritime service. By no European nation was the progress of the war of independence in America watched with

more interest than by France, who still was smarting under the loss of her American possessions; hence the American privateer found ever a ready sale for his prizes in the French ports, and armed French vessels, sailing under American commissions, were secretly fitted out.

Numerous volunteers, the most eminent of whom was the young marquis de la Fayette, offered to risk their fortunes and bear arms in the cause of American liberty. La Fayette fitted out a vessel at his own expense, and in the spring of 1777 arrived in America. He at first enlisted as a volunteer in Washington's army, declining all pay for his services; but congress soon after bestowed upon him the appointment of major-general.

As the spring of 1777 advanced, although as yet the main armies were inactive, various little attacks and reprisals were made. Tryon, late governor of New York, at the head of two thousand men, landed in Connecticut and advanced to Danbury, an inland town, where a large quantity of provisions was collected; having destroyed these, set fire to the town, and committed various acts of atrocity, he departed as rapidly as he had come. Arnold and Wooster, however, pursued him at the head of militia, hastily collected for that purpose. Tryon made good his escape, with a loss in killed, wounded, and prisoners of about three hundred, and congress, in acknowledgment of Arnold's bravery, presented him with a horse fully caparisoned, and raised him to the rank of major-general. A small party of Americans under Colonel Meigs landed on Long Island, destroyed twelve vessels, and took a large quantity of provisions and forage collected at Sag Harbour, and carried off ninety prisoners, without himself losing a single man. Another little triumph of the Americans is worth recording. General Prescott, now being stationed at Newport, in Rhode Island, irritated the Americans no little by offering a reward for the capture of Arnold; on which Arnold, in return, offered half the amount for the capture of Prescott. A party of forty men under one Colonel Barton set out with the intention of carrying him off, landed at night on the island, entered his house, and taking the general from his bed hurried away with their prize. Until now the Americans had not been able to ransom their general, Lee, who had been taken much in the same manner, and the two officers were shortly exchanged.^s

In his famous work, Sir Edward Creasy^v places the climax of Burgoyne's campaign at Saratoga among the "Fifteen Decisive Battles of the World." His account of it is distinctly quotable, except that he curiously makes no mention of General Schuyler, who is now generally awarded the glory of the victory, though he was absent from its culmination. It was Schuyler who with a small force, under the greatest disadvantages, adopted the correct policy of avoiding battle, while luring the British along a road whose passage he surrounded with such ingenious and eternal difficulties as exhausted the provisions and morale of the troops, and delayed them while reinforcements could be gathered. The whole plan of the campaign was his; posterity gives him the credit; and while Gates won temporary renown by appearing in time to gather Schuyler's laurels, he later showed how utterly incompetent he was to manage a large campaign. But, at first, Schuyler had to bear all the odium of public disfavour and alarm at the first successes of Burgoyne's irresistible force. He and all his officers were accused of arrant cowardice, and John Adams exclaimed, "We shall never be able to defend a fort till we shoot a general." So Gates was commissioned and ordered north, where he arrived too late to do more than carry out Schuyler's plans, now at their culmination. With this in mind we shall find Creasy's account vivid and true.^a

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CREASY'S ACCOUNT OF BURGOWNE'S CAMPAIGN

The war which rent away the North American colonies of England is, of all subjects in history, the most painful for an Englishman to dwell on. It was commenced and carried on by the British ministry in iniquity and folly, and it was concluded in disaster and shame. But the contemplation of it cannot be evaded by the historian, however much it may be abhorred. Nor can any military event be said to have exercised more important influence on the future fortunes of mankind than the complete defeat of Burgoyne's expedition in 1777, a defeat which rescued the revolted colonists from certain subjection, and which, by inducing the courts of France and Spain to attack England in their behalf, insured the independence of the United States and the formation of that transatlantic power which not only America, but both Europe and Asia, now see and feel.

In 1777 the British ministry resolved to avail themselves of the advantage which the occupation of Canada gave them for the purpose of striking a vigorous and crushing blow against the revolted colonies. Seven thousand veteran troops were sent out from England, with a corps of artillery abundantly supplied, and led by select and experienced officers. Large quantities of military stores were also furnished for the equipment of the Canadian volunteers who were expected to join the expedition. It was intended that the force thus collected should march southward by the line of the lakes, and thence along the banks of the Hudson river. The British army in New York (or a large detachment of it) was to make a simultaneous movement northward, up the line of the Hudson, and the two expeditions were to unite at Albany. By these operations all communication between the northern colonies and those of the centre and south would be cut off. An irresistible force would be concentrated, so as to crush all further opposition in New England, and when this was done it was believed that the other colonies would speedily submit. The Americans had no troops in the field that seemed able to baffle these movements. Without question the plan was ably formed, and had the success of the execution been equal to the ingenuity of the design, the reconquest or submission of the thirteen United States must in all human probability have followed. No European power had as yet come forward, and America would have been suffered to fall unaided.

Much eloquence was poured forth, both in America and in England, in denouncing the use of savage auxiliaries. Yet Burgoyne seems to have done no more than Montcalm, Wolfe, and other French, American, and English generals had done before him. But, in truth, the lawless ferocity of the Indians, their unskilfulness in regular action, and the utter impossibility of bringing them under any discipline, made their services of little or no value in times of difficulty, while the indignation which their outrages inspired went far to rouse the whole population of the invaded districts [including many Tories] into active hostilities against Burgoyne's force.

Burgoyne assembled his troops and confederates near the river Bouquet, on the west side of Lake Champlain. He then, on the 21st of June, 1777, gave his red allies a war-feast, and harangued them on the necessity of abstaining from their usual cruel practices against unarmed people and prisoners. At the same time he published a pompous manifesto to the Americans, in which he threatened the refractory with all the horrors of war, Indian as well as European. Ticonderoga commanded the passage along the lakes, and was considered to be the key to the route which Burgoyne wished to follow.

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Burgoyne invested it with great skill, and the American general, St. Clair, who had only an ill-equipped army of about three thousand men, evacuated it on the 5th of July. It seems evident that a different course would have caused the destruction or capture of his whole army. When censured by some of his countrymen for abandoning Ticonderoga, St. Clair truly replied "that he had lost a post but saved a province." Burgoyne's troops pursued the retiring Americans, and took a large part of their artillery and military stores.

The British moved southward with great difficulty, across a broken country, full of creeks and marshes, and clogged by the enemy with felled trees and other obstacles, to Fort Edward, on the Hudson river, the American troops continuing to retire before them. The astonishment and alarm which these events produced among the Americans were naturally great. The local governments of the New England states, as well as the congress, acted with vigour and firmness in their efforts to repel the enemy. General Gates was sent to take command of the army at Saratoga, and Arnold was despatched by Washington to act under him, with reinforcements of troops and guns from the main American army.

When Burgoyne left Canada, General St. Leger was detached across Lake Ontario against Fort Stanwix [now Rome, New York], which the Americans held. St. Leger was obliged [after a battle at Oriskany, August 6th, 1777, where the American leader Herkimer was mortally wounded] to retreat, and to abandon his tents and large quantities of stores to the garrison. At the very time that General Burgoyne heard of this disaster, he experienced one still more severe in the defeat of Colonel Baum with a large detachment of German troops at Bennington,¹ whither Burgoyne had sent them for the purpose of capturing some magazines of provisions, of which the British army stood greatly in need. The Americans, under John Stark, augmented by continual accessions of strength, succeeded, after many attacks, in breaking this corps, which fled into the woods, and left its commander mortally wounded on the field; they then marched against a force of five hundred grenadiers under Lieutenant-Colonel Breyman, who, after a gallant resistance, was obliged to retreat on the main army. The British loss in these two actions exceeded six hundred men; and a party of American loyalists, on their way to join the army, having attached themselves to Colonel Baum's corps, were destroyed with it. Notwithstanding these reverses, which added greatly to the spirit and numbers of the American forces, Burgoyne determined to advance. Having by unremitting exertions collected provisions for thirty days, he crossed the Hudson by means of a bridge of rafts, and, marching a short distance along its western bank, he encamped on the 14th of September on the heights of Saratoga, about sixteen miles from Albany. The Americans had fallen back and were now strongly posted [on Bemus Heights] near Stillwater, about half way between Saratoga and Albany, and showed a determination to recede no further.

On the 19th of September a sharp encounter took place between part of the English right wing under Burgoyne himself, and a strong body of the enemy under Gates and Arnold. The British remained masters of the field, but the loss on each side was nearly equal (from five hundred to six hundred men). But Burgoyne had overestimated his resources, and in the very beginning of October found difficulty and distress pressing him hard. The

[¹ The remarkable features of Bennington were the facts that the yeomanry of America now ventured to assail regular troops in intrenchments, and that they won an overwhelming victory.]

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Indians and Canadians began to desert him, while, on the other hand, Gates' army was continually reinforced by fresh bodies of the militia.

On the 6th of October Clinton had successfully executed a brilliant enterprise against the two American forts which barred his progress up the Hudson. He had captured them both, with severe losses to the American forces opposed to him; he had destroyed the fleet which the Americans had been forming on the Hudson, under the protection of their forts, and the upward river was laid open to his squadron. All depended on the fortune of the column with which Burgoyne, on the eventful 7th of October, 1777, advanced against the American position. But directly the British line began to advance, the American general, with admirable skill, caused General Poor's and General Leonard's brigades to make a sudden and vehement rush against its left, and at the same time sent Colonel Morgan, with his rifle corps and other troops, amounting to fifteen hundred, to turn the right of the English. The English cannon were repeatedly taken and retaken, Arnold himself setting the example of the most daring personal bravery, and charging more than once, sword in hand, into the English ranks. On the British side General Fraser fell mortally wounded. Burgoyne's whole force was now compelled to retreat towards their camp. The Americans, pursuing their success, assaulted it in several places with remarkable impetuosity, and captured baggage, tents, artillery, and a store of ammunition, which they were greatly in need of. Burgoyne now took up his last position on the heights near Saratoga, and, hemmed in by the enemy, who refused any encounter, and baffled in all his attempts at finding a path of escape, he there lingered until famine compelled him to capitulate. On the 17th the convention of Saratoga was carried into effect. Five thousand seven hundred and ninety men surrendered themselves as prisoners.¹ The sick and wounded left in the camp when the British retreated to Saratoga, together with the numbers of the British, German, and Canadian troops who were killed, wounded, or taken, and who had deserted in the preceding part of the expedition, were reckoned to be four thousand six hundred and eighty-nine.²

WASHINGTON LOSES TWO BATTLES AND THE CAPITAL; THE CONWAY CABAL

The joy of the Americans, especially those of the northern states, was almost beyond bounds, and, as might be expected, the military reputation of Gates stood very high—nay, even for the time outshone that of Washington, whose loss of Philadelphia, of which we have yet to speak, was placed unfavourably beside the surrender of a whole British army. As soon as the surrender of Burgoyne was known, the British garrison at Ticonderoga destroyed the works and retired to Canada. Clinton, with Tryon and his tory forces, on the same intelligence, dismantled the forts on the Hudson, and having burned every house within their reach, and done all the damage in their power, returned to New York.³

The main army of Great Britain was that which Washington had to deal with in New Jersey and the vicinity. After much uncertainty as to the intentions of the British general, he suddenly appeared in the Chesapeake,

[¹ "Even of those great conflicts in which hundreds of thousands have been engaged and tens of thousands have fallen, none has been more fruitful of results than this surrender at Saratoga. It not merely changed the relations of England and the feelings of Europe towards these insurgent colonies, but it has modified, for all time to come, the connection between every colony and every parent state."—EARL OF STANHOPE.¹⁰]

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and landing, prepared to advance against Philadelphia (August 25th). Washington immediately marched his entire army of about eleven thousand to stop the progress of the enemy. Notwithstanding the superior number—about seventeen thousand—opposed to him, Washington decided that battle must be given for the sake of Philadelphia. After various skirmishes, a general engagement took place by the Brandywine, resulting in the defeat of the Americans (September 11th) with a loss of about one thousand. But so little were they dispirited that their commander decided upon immediately fighting a second battle, which was prevented only by a great storm. Washington then withdrew towards the interior, and Howe took possession of Philadelphia (September 26th). Not yet willing to abandon the city, Washington attacked the main division of the British encamped at Germantown. At the very moment of victory, owing to a heavy fog, a panic seized the Americans, and they retreated (October 4th) with a loss of about a thousand. There was no help for Philadelphia; it was decidedly lost. The contrast between the defeat of Burgoyne and the loss of Philadelphia was made a matter of reproach to the commander-in-chief. Let him make his own defence: "I was left," he says, "to fight two battles, in order, if possible, to save Philadelphia, with less numbers than composed the army of my antagonist. Had the same spirit pervaded the people of this and the neighbouring states as the states of New York and New England, we might before this time have had General Howe nearly in the situation of General Burgoyne, with this difference—that the former would never have been out of reach of his ships, whilst the latter increased his danger every step he took." More than this, Washington conducted his operations in a district where great disaffection to the American cause cut off supplies for the army and intelligence of the enemy. To have done what he did, notwithstanding these embarrassments, was greater than a victory.

One enterprise of the year is not to be passed over. Captain Wickes, of the cruiser *Reprisal*, after distinguishing himself in the West Indies, sailed for France in the autumn of 1776. Encouraged by his success in making prizes in the bay of Biscay, Wickes started on a cruise round Ireland in the following summer. Attended by the *Lexington* and the *Dolphin*, the *Reprisal* swept the Irish and the English seas of their merchantmen. But on the way to America the *Lexington* was captured, and the *Reprisal*, with the gallant Wickes and all his crew, was lost on the coast of Newfoundland. It was for the navy, of which Wickes was so great an ornament, that a national flag had been adopted in the summer of his cruise (June 14th).

"I see plainly," wrote La Fayette to Washington at the close of the year, "that America can defend herself, if proper measures are taken; but I begin to fear that she may be lost by herself and her own sons. When I was in Europe, I thought that here almost every man was a lover of liberty, and would rather die free than live a slave. You can conceive my astonishment when I saw that toriyism was as apparently professed as whiggism itself." "We must not," replied Washington, "in so great a contest, expect to meet with nothing but sunshine." These mournful complaints, this cheerful answer, referred to an intrigue that had been formed against Washington for the purpose of displacing him from his command. Generals Gates and Mifflin, both members of the board of war, lately organised, with Conway, an Irish general in the service, were at the head of a cabal which was secretly supported by some members of congress. Had their unworthy plots prevailed, had their anonymous letters to the civil authorities and their underhand appeals to military men succeeded, Washington would have been superseded

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by Gates or by Lee, it was uncertain which, both of British birth, both of far more selfishness than magnanimity, of far more pretension than power. Gates, as we shall read hereafter, met the most utter of all the defeats, Lee conducted the most shameful of all the retreats, in which the Americans were involved. Happily for the struggling nation, these men were not its leaders. The cabal in which they were involved fell asunder, yet without crushing them beneath its ruins. They retained their offices and their honours, as well as Washington.

VALLEY FORGE AND THE FRENCH ALLIANCE

The experience of the past twelvemonth had given Washington more confidence in his soldiers. He had had time to learn their better points, their enthusiasm, their endurance, their devotion. The winter following the loss of Philadelphia was one of cruel sufferings, and the manner in which they were borne formed a new link between the troops and the commander. His remonstrances against the jealousies of congress are accompanied by representations of the agonies of the army. "Without arrogance or the smallest deviation from truth, it may be said that no history now extant can furnish an instance of an army's suffering such hardships as ours has done, bearing them with the same patience and fortitude. To see men without clothes to cover their nakedness, without blankets to lie on, without shoes (for the want of which their marches might be traced by the blood from their feet), and almost as often without provisions as with them, marching through frost and snow, and at Christmas taking up their winter quarters within a day's march of the enemy, without a house or hut to cover them, till they could be built, and submitting without a murmur, is a proof of patience and obedience which, in my opinion, can scarce be paralleled." This story, at once so heroic and so sad, is dated from Valley Forge.^d



WASHINGTON'S HEADQUARTERS, VALLEY FORGE

However selfish their motives, unless the French had given the Americans encouragement and large financial advances, and finally soldiers and ships, unless they had taken upon themselves the burden of a war with England, it is hard to see how the American cause could ever have won, requiring seven years as it did to succeed. The cordial enthusiasm of the French is vividly contrasted with the apathy of the Americans in a letter from Colonel du Portail, brigadier-general of American troops, written to the French minister of war, in which he says, "There is more enthusiasm for this revolution in any café in Paris than there is in all the United Colonies together."

The diplomats abroad, Silas Deane, Benjamin Franklin, Arthur Lee, and later John Adams, who were trying to borrow money and excite hostility

towards England, were themselves quarrelling at every step. Of Benjamin Franklin, who was permanently establishing himself in the French heart as one of the greatest minds in all history, and was unconsciously sowing the seeds for the French Revolution that should overthrow the Bourbons who aided his country, John Adams, his eminent colleague, wrote home: "Franklin is a wit and a humourist, I know. He may be a philosopher, for what I know. But he is not a sufficient statesman for all the business he is in. He is too old, too infirm, too indolent and dissipated to be sufficient for all these things, to be ambassador, secretary, admiral, consular agent, etc." When, however, the hopes of the colonists seemed to be at their lowest ebb, there was another tidal wave of good news which, as in the case of Burgoyne's capitulation, lifted the whole country to new efforts. There was to follow another aftermath of distress and despair, but the cause was immeasurably advanced. After a long delay, a treaty was made between France and the United States (January 30th-February 6th, 1778) and ratified May 5th. The news caused even greater dismay in England than it excited joy in America.^a

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THE BRITISH EVACUATE PHILADELPHIA; BATTLE OF MONMOUTH; FRENCH CO-OPERATION

For three years had the British armies contended against the rebels. They held New York, Newport, Philadelphia, the lower banks of the Hudson and of the Delaware. This was all. Nothing had been, nothing, it must have almost seemed, could be, gained except upon the coast; the interior was untenable, if not unconquerable. And what had been lost? Twenty thousand troops, hundreds of vessels, millions of treasure; to say nothing of the colonial commerce, once so precious, and now so worthless. It might well strike the ministry that they must win back their colonies by some other means than war, especially if the French were to be parties in the strife. Accordingly, Lord North laid before parliament a bill renouncing the purpose of taxing America, and another providing for commissioners to bring about a reconciliation (February 17th). The bills were passed, and three commissioners were appointed to act with the military and the naval commanders in procuring the submission of the United States. To their proposals congress returned an answer on the anniversary of Bunker Hill, refusing to enter into any negotiations until the independence of the nation was recognised.

Desirous of concentrating his forces before the French appeared in the field, Sir Henry Clinton, now the British commander-in-chief, evacuated Philadelphia (June 18th). Washington instantly set out in pursuit of the enemy. Coming up with them in a few days, he ordered General Lee, commanding the van of the army, to begin the attack in the morning. Lee began it by making a retreat, notwithstanding the remonstrances of La Fayette, who had held the command until within a few hours. But for Washington's coming up in time to arrest the flight of the troops under Lee, and to protect the advance of his own soldiers, the army would have been lost. As it was, he formed his line and drove the British from the field of Monmouth (June 28th). They stole away in the night, and reached New York with still more loss from desertion than from battle.^d

A curious instance of the risk of accepting public tradition is a famous story of this battle of Monmouth and Washington's rebuke to Lee for retreating. According to the popularly accepted legend, Washington denounced Lee's cowardice with a resounding oath, the only one he had ever been heard to

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use. As a matter of fact Washington was by no means an infrequent employer of profanity, and a diligent search of the court-martial records which profess to give Washington's exact words on this battle-field show that, while he was greatly excited, he used no hint of profanity, and it was his manner and not his language that betrayed his intense disgust. This drove Lee to write an indignant letter to Washington. A court-martial was held, and he was suspended for twelve months. Later he wrote a disrespectful letter to congress and was dismissed the service.^a

In the far West there were nothing but border forays until 1778, when Major George Rogers Clark led a regular expedition against the frontier posts of the enemy, in the wilderness in the far Northwest, now the states of Indiana and Illinois. On the 4th of July they captured Kaskaskia. On the 9th they took the village of Cahokia, sixty miles farther up the river; and finally, in August, the stronger British post of Vincennes, on the Wabash, fell into their hands. Acting in the capacity of a peacemaker, Clark was working successfully towards the pacification of the western tribes, when, in the month of January, 1779, the commander of the British fort at Detroit retook Vincennes. With one hundred and seventy-five men Clark penetrated the dreadful wilderness a hundred miles from the Ohio. For a whole week they traversed the "drowned lands" of Illinois, suffering every privation from wet, cold, and hunger. When they arrived at the Little Wabash, at a point where the forks of the stream are three miles apart, they found the intervening space covered with water to the depth of three feet. The points of dry land were five miles apart, and all that distance those hardy soldiers, in the month of February, waded the cold snow-flood in the forest, sometimes armpit deep! They arrived in sight of Vincennes on the 18th (February, 1779), and the next morning at dawn, with their faces blackened with gunpowder, to make themselves appear hideous, they crossed the river in a boat and pushed towards the town. On the 20th the stripes and stars were again unfurled over the fort at Vincennes and a captured garrison. Had armed men dropped from the clouds, the people and soldiers at Vincennes could not have been more astonished than at the apparition of these troops, for it seemed impossible for them to have traversed the deluged country. [The country was organised as part of Virginia under the name of Illinois County.]^x

The third and last period of the war extends from July, 1778, to January, 1784, five years and a half. Its characteristics are the alliance of the French with the Americans and the concentration of the more important operations in the Southern States.

The first minister of France to the United States, M. Gérard, came accompanied by a fleet and army, under D'Estaing (July). "Unforeseen and unfavourable circumstances," as Washington wrote, "lessened the importance of the French services in a great degree." In the first place, the arrival was just late enough to miss the opportunity of surprising the British fleet in the Delaware, not to mention the British army on its retreat to New York. In the next place, the French vessels proved to be of too great draught to penetrate the channel and co-operate in an attack upon New York. Thus disappointing and disappointed, D'Estaing engaged in an enterprise against Newport, still in British hands. It proved another failure, but not through the French alone, the American troops that were to enter the island at the north being greatly behindhand. The same day that they took their place under Sullivan, Greene, and La Fayette, the French left theirs at the lower end of the island in order to meet the British fleet arriving from New York

(August 10th). A severe storm prevented more than a partial engagement; but D'Estaing returned to Newport only to plead the injuries received in the gale as compelling his retirement to Boston for repairs. The orders of the French government had been peremptory that in case of any damage to the fleet it should put into port at once. So far was D'Estaing from avoiding action on personal grounds, that when La Fayette hurried to Boston to persuade his countrymen to return, the commander offered to serve as a volunteer until the fleet should be refitted. The Americans, however, talked of desertion and of inefficiency—so freely, indeed, as to affront their faithful La Fayette.

At the same time large numbers of them imitated the very course which they censured, by deserting their own army. The remaining forces retreated from their lines to the northern end of the island, and, after an engagement, withdrew to the mainland (August 30th). It required all the good offices of La Fayette, of Washington, and of congress to keep the peace between the Americans and their allies. D'Estaing, soothed by the language of those whom he most respected, was provoked, on the other hand, by the hostility of the masses, both in the army and amongst the people. Collisions between his men and the Bostonians kept up his disgust, and, when his fleet was repaired, he sailed for the West Indies in November.

DISCOURAGEMENT OF WASHINGTON

The summer and autumn passed away without any further exertions of moment upon the American side. On the part of the British there was nothing attempted that would not have been far better unattempted. Marauding parties from Newport went against New Bedford and Fairhaven. Others from New York went against Little Egg Harbor. Tories and Indians—"a collection of banditti," as they were rightly styled by Washington—descended from the northern country to wreak massacre at Wyoming and at Cherry Valley. The war seemed to be assuming a new character; it was one of ravages unworthy of any cause.

Affairs were again at a low state amongst the Americans. "The common interests of America," wrote Washington at the close of 1778, "are mouldering and sinking into irretrievable ruin." Was he, who had never despaired, at length despairing? There was reason to do so. "If I were to be called upon," he said, "to draw a picture of the times and of men, from what I have seen, heard, and in part know, I should in one word say that idleness, dissipation, and extravagance seem to have laid fast hold upon most of them; that speculation, speculation, and an insatiable thirst for riches seem to have got the better of every other consideration, and almost of every order of men; that party disputes and personal quarrels are the great business of the day; whilst the momentous concerns of an empire, a great and accumulating debt, ruined finances, depreciated money, and want of credit, which in its consequences is the want of everything, are but secondary considerations, and postponed from day to day, from week to week, as if our affairs wore the most promising aspect. After drawing this picture, which from my soul I believe to be a true one, I need not repeat to you that I am alarmed, and wish to see my countrymen roused." This gloomy sketch is of the government—congress and the various officials at Philadelphia. What was true of the government was true of the people, save only the diminishing rather than increasing class to which we have frequently referred as constituting the strength of the nation.

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BRITISH SUCCESSIONS IN THE SOUTH AND NORTH

A border warfare had been carried on during two successive summers (1777-1778) between east Florida and Georgia. At the close of 1778 a serious invasion of Georgia was planned by the British commander. Savannah was taken (December 29th). An American force, under General Ashe, was routed at Brier Creek, and Georgia was lost (March 4th, 1779). A few months later Sir James Wright, the royal governor at the beginning of the war, returned and set up the provincial government once more.

The conqueror of Georgia aspired to become the conqueror of Carolina. With chosen troops and a numerous body of Indians, Prevost set out against Charleston. He was met before that town by the legion under Count Pulaski, the Pole, but Pulaski's men were scattered, and Prevost pressed on. The approach of General Lincoln with his army compelled the British to retire (May 12th). The Americans were by no means disposed to acquiesce in the loss of Georgia. On the reappearance of the French fleet, under D'Estaing, after a successful cruise in the West Indies, he consented to join General Lincoln in an attack on Savannah in September. But he was too apprehensive of being surprised by the British fleet, as well as too desirous of getting back to the larger operations in the West Indies, to be a useful ally. The impatience of D'Estaing precipitated an assault upon the town (October 9th), in which Pulaski fell, and both the French and the Americans suffered great loss. The French sailed southward; the Americans retired to the interior, leaving Savannah to the enemy.

The operations in the north during the year were of altogether inferior importance. Washington could hold only a defensive attitude. A gallant party, under the gallant "Mad Anthony" Wayne, surprised the strong works which the British had constructed at Stony Point (July 15th), and, though obliged to evacuate them, destroyed them, and recovered the Hudson, that is, the part which had been recently taken from the Americans. The fortification of West Point was undertaken as an additional safeguard. Some months later, apprehensions of the French fleet induced the British commander to draw in his outposts on the Hudson and to evacuate Newport in October. These movements, effected without loss, or even collision, were the only ones of any strong bearing upon the issue of the war.^d

EDWARD EVERETT HALE ON THE REVOLUTIONARY NAVY¹

The battles of the Revolution were fought on the sea as often as on the land, and to as much purpose. The losses inflicted on their enemies by the United States in their naval warfare were more constant, and probably more serious, than any losses which they inflicted elsewhere. The captures which the English navy made by no means compensated England for the losses which she sustained. In such a contest, it generally proves that the richer combatant is he who pays the most. The loss of an English Indiaman or a Mediterranean trader was but poorly compensated by the capture of even a dozen American schooners laden with salt fish and clapboards.

It is certain that, as the war went on, many more than seventy thousand Americans fought their enemy upon the sea. On the other hand, the reader

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knows that there was no one time when seventy thousand men were enrolled in the armies of the United States on shore. The magnitude of the injury inflicted upon the English trade by these vessels may be judged by such a comparison as is in our power of the respective forces. In the year 1777 the whole number of officers and men in the English navy was eighty-seven thousand. There were at the same time very considerable naval forces in the employ of the several states and of the United States government. Man for man, the numerical forces engaged by the two parties were not very much unlike. In the Atlantic Ocean the Americans seem to have outnumbered the English.

The French ally D'Estaing was not averse to a contest. On the 10th of August, 1778, with the advantage of a fresh north wind, he had taken his squadron to sea. The English admiral, Howe, slipped his cables and went to sea also. D'Estaing did not avoid a battle, and, in the gale which followed, engaged the rear of the English fleet. But his own flagship, the *Languedoc*, was dismasted in the gale, and, after communicating with Sullivan again, he went round to Boston to refit. Samuel Cooper, in a letter, is well aware that there was some popular disappointment because the count d'Estaing had not done more. But he resumes the whole by saying: "The very sound of his aid occasioned the evacuation of Philadelphia by the British army; his presence suspended the operation of a vast British force in these states, by sea and land; it animated our own efforts; it protected our coast and navigation, obliging the enemy to keep their men-of-war and cruisers collected, and facilitated our necessary supplies from abroad. By drawing the powerful squadron of Admiral Byron to these seas, it gave security to the islands of France in the West Indies, and equilibrium to her naval power in the Channel, and a decided superiority in the Mediterranean."

When it is remembered that, in the events of the summer and autumn of 1778, the English lost twenty vessels in their collisions with D'Estaing's fleet, it must be granted that its exploits were by no means inconsiderable.^y

NAVAL ENCOUNTERS; PAUL JONES TAKES THE *SERAPIS*

The first commander-in-chief of the navy, or high admiral, was Ezekiel Hopkins, of Rhode Island, whom congress had commissioned as such in December, 1775. He first went against Dunmore, on the coast of Virginia. He also went to the Bahamas, and captured the town of New Providence and its governor. Sailing for home, he captured some British vessels off the east end of Long Island, and with these prizes he went into Narragansett Bay. In the mean while Paul Jones¹ and Captain Barry were doing good service, and New England cruisers were greatly annoying English shipping on the coast. In 1777 Doctor Franklin, under the authority of congress, issued commissions to naval officers in Europe. Expeditions were fitted out in French seaports, and these produced great alarm on the British coasts. While these things were occurring in European waters, captains Biddle, Manly, M'Neil, Hinman, Barry, and others were making many prizes on the American coasts.²

In 1778, Jones, cruising on the coast of Great Britain, from the Land's End to Solway Firth, where as yet the American flag had never ventured, made a descent on the Scotch coast near Kirkcudbright, and plundered the

[¹ John Paul Jones was born in Scotland in 1747, and came to Virginia in boyhood. He entered the American naval service in 1775, and was active during the whole war. He was afterwards very active in the Russian service, against the Turks, in the Black Sea, and was created rear-admiral in the Russian navy. He died in Paris in 1782.²]

[1778 A.D.]

house of the earl of Selkirk, where, tradition says, he had once lived as servant, and a second by night on the Cumberland coast, at Whitehaven, where he spiked the guns in the fort and burned one or two vessels. For a whole summer he kept the northwestern coast of England and the southern coast of Scotland in a continual state of alarm, and made his name one of terror. The next year he returned to cruise on the eastern coast, no longer with a single ship, but a squadron, manned by French and Americans. This squadron consisted of the *Bonhomme Richard*, of forty guns, which he himself commanded, the *Alliance*, of thirty-six, the *Pallas*, a frigate of thirty-two, and two other smaller vessels. Cruising with these ships, he fell in with a British merchant-fleet on its return from the Baltic, under convoy of Captain Pearson, with the *Serapis*, of forty-four guns, and a smaller frigate; and one of the most desperate naval engagements on record took place off Flamborough Head. About seven o'clock in the evening Paul Jones in the *Bonhomme Richard* engaged Captain Pearson in the *Serapis*, the ships advancing nearer and nearer, until at length they dropped alongside of each other, head and stern, and so close that the muzzles of the guns grated. [When at a sudden slackening in the American fire, Pearson called out to Jones, "Have you struck?" Jones made his famous answer, "I have not begun to fight!"] In this close contact the action continued with the greatest fury till half past ten, during which time Jones, who had the greater number of men, vainly attempted to board, and the *Serapis* was set on fire ten or twelve times. After a desperate and last attempt to board Paul Jones, Captain Pearson hauled down his colours, two thirds of his men being killed or wounded, and his mainmast gone by the board. The *Bonhomme Richard* was in little better condition, for, to add to her misfortunes, the *Alliance*, coming up in the darkness and confusion of the night, and mistaking her for the enemy, had fired a broadside into her, not discovering his error till the glare of the burning *Serapis* had revealed it.¹ The next day Paul Jones was obliged to quit his ship, and she sank at sea almost immediately, with, it is said, great numbers of the wounded on board. Of the three hundred and seventy-five men whom she carried, three hundred were killed or wounded. The *Pallas* captured the *Countess of Scarborough*, and Jones, on the 6th of October, succeeded in carrying his shattered vessels into the waters of the Texel.²

Because of his achievement of the apparently impossible, and because of his having been a Scotchman, a British subject by birth, who enlisted with Americans and preyed upon British commerce, English historians like English officers of the time regarded Paul Jones as only a pirate and unjustly accused him of actual theft. The captain of the *Serapis* insulted him even in the moment of surrendering to him; the English historian Stedman³ calls him "a ruffian commander," and has only this praise for his indomitable courage, "None but a desperado would have continued the engagement." And yet it was this desperado who first flung the American flag at a masthead, and who first carried it into an English port.⁴

FINANCIAL DIFFICULTIES

A cause of anxiety and distress was the depreciation of the paper currency. At the close of 1778 a dollar in specie could scarcely be obtained for forty in bills. But the very paper was fluctuating in value. Hence a

[The *Alliance* was commanded by Pierre Landais, who was extremely jealous of Jones' whose crew always insisted that Landais fired into them with full intention. Landais shortly after went insane.]

set of men arose, who, speculating on this currency, amassed immense wealth, while honest men and the nation itself were reduced to beggary.^s George Washington vividly expressed the condition of affairs when he wrote that "it required a wagonload of money to buy a wagonload of provisions." But the finances of the colonies would have been in far sadder plight had it not been for the Herculean energies of Robert Morris. According to W. G. Sumner,^z "the only man in the history of the world who ever bore the title of superintendent of finance was Robert Morris of Philadelphia." He ought to have had a peculiar title, for the office he filled has never had a parallel. Among his retrenchments, for instance, was the cutting down of \$10,525 a month in commissary salaries. This saving alone paid for 3,278 rations a day. Robert Morris was, like Washington and everyone else in authority, the victim of opposition and distrust. Although he had been one of the most brilliant financiers in the history of the world, after the war was over he was unable to manage his own affairs and went into bankruptcy, dying very poor. He was of British birth, and was a good offset to the other British contributions to the American cause—Conway, who tried to scheme Washington out of office, and the traitor General Charles Lee, who was very nearly granted the chief command of the army.^a

DISASTERS IN THE SOUTH; GATES AT CAMDEN

The war was gathering fresh combatants. Spain, after vainly offering her mediation between Great Britain and France, entered into the lists on the side of the latter power, June, 1779. There was no thought of the United States in the transaction. John Jay, hastily appointed minister to Spain in September, could not obtain a recognition of American independence. But the United States hailed the entrance of a new nation into the arena. It was so much against their enemy, however little it was for themselves. The beginning of 1780 beheld large detachments from the British at New York, under Clinton, the commander-in-chief himself, on their way southward. Charleston, twice already assailed in vain, was the first object. The siege began April 11th, with five thousand British against fifteen hundred Americans; the numbers afterwards increasing to eight thousand on the British side and three thousand on the American. The naval forces of the attack and the defence were still more unequal. Lincoln, yet in command of the southern army, made a brave resistance, but was of course overpowered. The loss of Charleston (May 12th) was followed by the loss of the state, or the greater part of it. Three expeditions, the chief under Lord Cornwallis, penetrated into the interior without meeting any repulse. So complete was the prostration of South Carolina that Clinton returned to New York in June, leaving Cornwallis to retain and to extend the conquest which had been made.

All was not yet lost. The partisans of South Carolina, like those of Georgia, held out in the upper country, whence they made frequent descents upon the British posts. The names of Thomas Sumter and Francis Marion recall many a chivalrous enterprise. Continental troops and militia were marching from the north under De Kalb, the companion of La Fayette in his voyage, and under Gates, who assumed the command in North Carolina (July). Thence entering South Carolina in the hope of recovering it from its conquerors, Gates encountered Cornwallis near Camden, and, although much superior in numbers, was routed—the militia of North Carolina and Virginia leaving the few continental troops to bear the brunt of the battle in vain.

[1780 A.D.]

The brave De Kalb fell a sacrifice upon the field (August 16th). Two days afterwards Sumter was surprised by the British cavalry under Lieutenant-Colonel Tarleton, and his party scattered. Marion was at the same time driven into North Carolina.^d

Gates' popularity, gained by profiting from Schuyler's good work in the Burgoyne campaign, never recovered the shock of Camden when he was beaten by an inferior number. He was accused of cowardice and incompetency, and a court of inquiry proposed but never held, as his successor, the brilliant Nathanael Greene, defended him. He has found a recent advocate in Edward Channing,^{bb} who praises Gates' plans, and says that the defeat was (in the words of Stevens, a Virginia officer) "brought on by the damned cowardly behaviour of the militia."^a

ARNOLD'S TREASON AT WEST POINT (1780 A.D.)

The utmost gloom hung over the American affairs in the north. A scheme of treason, in the very bosom of the American camp, came to light, which fell like a thunderbolt on the country. In September a plot was laid for betraying the important fortress of West Point, and other posts of the Highlands, into the hands of the enemy, the traitor being no other than Arnold, the most brilliant officer and one of the most honoured in the American army. Arnold, however, with all his fine qualities as a soldier, had in many cases shown great want of integrity and disregard of the rights of others; nevertheless his valour and his many brilliant achievements had cast his faults into the shade and placed him in command at Philadelphia. There, however, his conduct had given rise to much dissatisfaction. He lived in so expensive a style as to become involved in debt, to free himself from which he entered into mercantile and privateering speculations. This mode of living and these speculations led to the interference of congress, which required that Washington should deliver him a reprimand.¹ His debts and money difficulties caused him to request, but in vain, a loan from the French minister. The same causes [combined with indignation at the mistakes of congress, with doubt of the possibilities of successfully warring with England, and with jealousy of other officers more favoured] had already led him to open a secret correspondence with Sir Henry Clinton. The strong and very important post of West Point, with its neighbouring dependencies and one wing of the army, were now intrusted to the custody and conduct of General Arnold. An interview was necessary with some confidential British agent, and Major André, with whom Arnold had already carried on a correspondence under the feigned names of Gustavus and Anderson, volunteered for this purpose. The outlines of the project were that Arnold should make such a disposition of the wing under his command as should enable Sir Henry Clinton to surprise their strong posts and batteries, and throw the troops so entirely into his hands that they must inevitably either lay down their arms or be cut to pieces on

[Nothing could be more delicate than the form of this reprimand, which was at once a fatherly rebuke and a noble exhortation. Though it has been considered somewhat apocryphal, there are many reasons for accepting it as given by Marbois: *cc* "When Arnold was brought before him," says Marbois, "he kindly addressed him, saying, 'Our profession is the chastest of all. Even the shadow of a fault tarnishes the lustre of our finest achievements. The least inadvertence may rob us of the public favour, so hard to be acquired. I reprimand you for having forgotten that, in proportion as you had rendered yourself formidable to our enemies, you should have been guarded and temperate in your deportment to your fellow citizens. Exhibit anew those noble qualities which have placed you on the list of our most valued commanders. I will myself furnish you, as far as it may be in my power, with opportunities of regaining the esteem of your country.'"]

the spot. Such a blow, it was deemed, would be irrevocable. The British sloop-of-war *Vulture*, with Major André on board, ascended the Hudson. A boat was sent off by Arnold at nightfall, which brought André on shore and landed him on the west side of the river, just below the American lines, where Arnold was waiting for him. In the mean time the *Vulture*, having attracted the notice of the American gunners, had found it necessary to change her position. On the second day, assuming an ordinary dress, and being furnished with a pass from Arnold, in the name of John Anderson, André set out on horseback, with Smith for a guide, and passed through a remote part of the camp, and all the guards and posts, in safety. He had now to pass through a district some thirty miles above the island of New York, known as "neutral ground," a populous and fertile region, infested by bands of plunderers called "Cow-Boys and Skinners."

In passing through Tarrytown, André was stopped by three young men, John Paulding, David Williams, and Isaac van Wert, on the lookout for cattle or travellers. André, not prepared for such an encounter—or, as he himself said in his letter to Washington, too little versed in deception to practise it with any degree of success—offered his captors a considerable purse of gold, a valuable watch, or anything which they might name, if they would suffer him to proceed to New York. His offers were rejected;¹ he was searched, suspicious papers were found in his boots, and he was carried before Colonel Jamison, the commanding officer on the lines. Although these papers were in the handwriting of Arnold, Jamison, unable to believe that his commanding officer was a traitor, forwarded them by express to Washington at Hartford, and sent to Arnold, informing him of his prisoner, his passport, and that papers of a very suspicious character had been found upon him. Washington's aides-de-camp were breakfasting with Arnold when Jamison's letter arrived. Pretending that it was an immediate call to visit one of the forts on the other side of the river, Arnold rose from table, called his wife upstairs, told her sufficient to throw her into a fainting-fit, mounted a ready-saddled horse, rode to the riverside, threw himself into a barge, passed the forts, waving a handkerchief by way of flag, and ordered his boatmen to row for the *Vulture*. André was examined before a board of officers, and upon the very story which he himself told he was pronounced a spy, and as such was doomed to speedy death. Sir Henry Clinton used the utmost efforts to save him. The public heart sympathised with him, but martial justice demanded his life, and his last prayer that he might be shot rather than hanged was denied. The day after the sentence was passed, October 2nd, it was carried into execution. The sympathy which André excited in the American army is perhaps unexampled under any circumstances. It was said that the whole board of general officers shed tears at the drawing up and signing the report, and that even Washington wept upon hearing the circumstances of his death.²

All historians have felt pity for André's fate, and a few have impugned the justice of his execution, the earl of Stanhope especially; he calls it "by far the greatest, and perhaps the only blot in Washington's most noble career." With this numerous of the later British historians strongly disagree, notably Lecky and also Massey,^{3d} who even doubts the propriety of burying André in Westminster Abbey for "services of this character."^{4a}

Arnold received £10,000, and was made a brigadier-general in the British army.⁵

[¹ The charge has been made, and denied, that the three captors were very near accepting André's offers, but feared difficulty in collecting them.]

[1780 A.D.]

THE GENIUS OF GENERAL GREENE

With Gates in disgrace and Arnold eternally infamous in American history, it was evident that some new genius must arise in support of Washington if the all-necessary work along the line were to be accomplished. The hour and the man came together. In General Nathanael Greene, who was sent to relieve Gates, was found the man, who saw that what was necessary, under the conditions of the country and the people, was to organise and hold together an army that should keep the British troops busy. To make attacks, except under most advantageous circumstances of surprise and safe retreat, was to risk another Camden. General Greene therefore takes his place in history as another Fabius like Washington. His retreats make monotonous reading for the proud American of to-day—they must have been a sore trial to the patriot of that time. But all the while the British troops were being worn out.

As in the case of Washington, it seemed at times that the weather must be in active alliance with him. It would be difficult to credit those almost miraculous instances where General Greene's sorely wearied army just managed to cross a stream ahead of the British when a merciful flood swept down as a barrier for their defence, or to explain many other coincidences in his favour as anything but the direct interference of providence, if this theory would not bring upon that same providence an accusation of fickleness and sloth in aiding those whom it apparently wished so well.^a

Cornwallis, conqueror of South Carolina, prepared to march upon North Carolina. To secure the upper country, he detached a trusted officer, Major Ferguson, with a small band of regular troops and loyalists, in addition to whom large accessions were soon obtained from the tory part of the population. These recruits, like all of the same stamp, were full of hatred towards their countrymen on the American side, and fierce were the ravages of the party as Ferguson marched on. Aroused by the agony of the country, a considerable number of volunteers gathered, under various officers—Colonel Campbell, of Virginia, Colonels Cleaveland, Sevier, and Shelby, of North Carolina, and others. Nine hundred chosen men hastened to overtake the enemy, whom they found encamped in security on King's Mountain, near the frontier of South Carolina. The Americans never fought more resolutely. Ferguson was killed, and his surviving men surrendered at discretion (October 7th). The march of Cornwallis was instantly checked; instead of advancing, he fell back.

The year had been marked by important movements in Europe. The empress Catherine of Russia put forth a declaration of independence, as it may be styled, in behalf of the neutral states, by proclaiming their right to carry on their commerce in time of war exactly as in time of peace, provided they conveyed no contraband articles. This doctrine was wholly at variance with the rights of search and of blockade, as asserted by England in relation to neutral nations. But it prevailed, and a league, by the name of the Armed Neutrality, soon comprehended nearly the whole of Europe. On the accession of Holland to the Armed Neutrality, Great Britain, having just before captured a minister to the Dutch from the United States—Henry Laurens, of South Carolina—declared war at the close of 1780. But Holland no more became an ally of the United States than Spain had done.

In the mean time events were hastening to a crisis in the field. General Greene determined to save the Carolinas. He was confirmed in his purpose by his brigadier, General Morgan, who, distinguished in various actions, won

a decisive victory over Tarleton at the Cowpens, in South Carolina (January 17th, 1781). Later, Greene and Morgan having retreated in the interval, the main bodies of the armies, British and American, met at Guilford, in North Carolina (March 15th). Both retired from the field; the Americans first, but the British with the greater loss. Cornwallis withdrew towards Wilmington, pursued by Greene, who presently dashed into South Carolina. There he was opposed by Lord Rawdon, who at once defeated him in an engagement at Hobkirk's Hill, near Camden (April 25th). This was a cruel blow to Greene's hopes of surprising South Carolina. "This distressed country," he wrote, "cannot struggle much longer without more effectual support." But it was not in Greene's nature to despair. While he advanced against the stronghold of Ninety-Six, in South Carolina, he detached a body of troops under Lieutenant-Colonel Lee to join a band of Carolinians and Georgians who were besieging Augusta. The result was the surrender of that town (June 5th). But the fort at Ninety-Six held out against repeated assaults, and Greene was obliged to retire before the superior force which Rawdon was leading to raise the siege (June 19th). For a time the war subsided; then Greene reappeared, and fought the action of Eutaw Springs. He lost the field of battle (September 8th); but the British, under Colonel Stuart, were so much weakened as to give way and retreat precipitately towards Charleston. Thus from defeat to defeat, without the intermission of a single victory, in the common sense, Greene had now marched, now retreated, in such a brave and brilliant way as to force the enemy back upon the seaboard. The successes of the militia and of the partisan corps had been equally effective. All the upper country, not only of the Carolinas, but of Georgia, was once more in the American possession.

At the time when things were darkest at the south, greater perils arose at the centre of the country. Virginia was invaded in the first days of 1781 by a formidable force, chiefly of loyalists under the traitor Arnold. He took Richmond, but only to leave it and retire to Portsmouth, where he bade defiance both to the American militia and the French vessels from Newport (January). Soon after, two thousand British troops were sent from New York, under General Phillips, with directions to march up the Chesapeake against Maryland and Pennsylvania (March). This plan embraced the two-fold idea of cutting off the Carolinas from all assistance and of laying the central states equally prostrate. At about the same time Cornwallis, baffled by Greene in North Carolina, set out to join the forces assembled in Virginia. They, meanwhile, had penetrated the interior, swept the plantations and the towns, and taken Petersburg (April). The arrival of Cornwallis completed the array of the enemy (May). The very heart of the country was in danger.

The nation was far from being up to the emergency. A spirit of weariness and selfishness was prevailing among the people. The army, ill-disciplined and ill-paid, was exceedingly restless. Troops of the Pennsylvania and New Jersey lines had broken out into actual revolt at the beginning of the year. The government was still ineffective, the confederation feeble, congress inert, not to say broken down. When one reads that this body stood ready to give up the Mississippi to Spain, nay, to waive the express acknowledgment of American independence as an indispensable preliminary to negotiations with Great Britain—when one reads these things, he may well wonder that there were any preparations to meet the exigencies of the times. The German baron von Steuben,¹ collecting troops in Virginia at the time of the invasion,

[¹ To Baron Steuben had been due the reform of the drill. It may be instructive to see how the Prussian officer had set about bringing this irregular force into something like military

[1787 A.D.]

was afterwards joined by La Fayette, whose troops had been clad on their march at his expense. By sea, the French fleet was engaged in defending the coasts against the invader. It seemed as if the stranger were the only defender of Virginia and of America. But on the southern border was Greene, with his troops and his partisan allies. At the north was Washington, planning, acting, summoning troops from the states, and the French from Newport, to aid him in an attack upon New York, as the stronghold of the foe, until, convinced of the impossibility of securing the force required for such an enterprise, he resolved upon taking the command in Virginia (August 14th). Thither he at once directed the greater part of his scanty troops, as well as of the French. The allied army was to be strengthened by the French fleet, and not merely by that of Newport, but by another and a larger fleet from the West Indies.

THE SURRENDER AT YORKTOWN, AND END OF THE WAR

The British under Cornwallis were now within fortified lines at Yorktown and Gloucester (August 1st-22nd). There they had retired under orders from the commander-in-chief at New York, who thought both that post and the Virginian conquests in danger from the increasing activity of the Americans, and especially the French. Little had been done in the field by Cornwallis. He had been most gallantly watched, and even pursued by La Fayette, whose praises for skill, as well as heroism, rang far and wide. Washington and the French general Rochambeau joined La Fayette at Williamsburg (September 14th). A great fleet under Count de Grasse was already in the Chesapeake. As soon as the land forces arrived, the siege of Yorktown was begun (September 28th). The result was certain. Washington had contrived to leave Sir Henry Clinton impressed with the idea that New York was still the main object. Sir Henry, therefore, thought of no reinforcements for Cornwallis, until they were too late, until, indeed, they were out of the question in consequence of the naval superiority of the French. In fact, an expedition to lay waste the eastern part of Connecticut was occupying Clinton's mind. He placed the loyalists and the Hessians despatched for the purpose under the traitor Arnold, who succeeded in destroying New London in September. Thus there were but seven thousand five hundred British at Yorktown to resist nine thousand Americans and seven thousand French, besides the numerous fleet. In less than three weeks Cornwallis asked for terms (October 17th), and two days afterwards surrendered.

The blow was decisive. The United States were transported, Government, army, people were for once united, for once elevated to the altitude of order, with the sanction of Washington. He drafted a hundred and twenty men from the line, as a guard for the chief-in-command. He drilled them himself twice a day. "In a fortnight my company knew perfectly how to bear arms, had a military air, knew how to march, deploy, and execute some little manœuvres with excellent precision." In the course of instruction he departed altogether from the general rule. "In our European armies a man who has been drilled for three months is called a recruit; here, in two months, I must have a soldier. In Europe we had a number of evolutions very pretty to look at when well executed, but in my opinion absolutely useless so far as essential objects are concerned." He reversed the whole system of eternal manual and platoon exercises, and commenced with manœuvres. He soon taught them something better than the pedantic routine which was taught in manuals of tactics. To the objectors against Steuben's system it was answered that "in fact there was no time to spare in learning the minutie—the troops must be prepared for instant combat." The sagacious German had his men at drill every morning at sunrise, and he soon made the colonels of regiments not ashamed of instructing their recruits.—KAPP.^{ee}

those noble spirits who, like Washington, had sustained the nation until the moment of victory. "The play is over," wrote La Fayette, "and the fifth act is just finished." "O God!" exclaimed Lord North, the English prime minister, on hearing of the event. "It is all over—all over!"

It was Washington's earnest desire to avail of the French fleet in an attack on Charleston. De Grasse refused. Then Washington urged him to transport troops to Wilmington. But De Grasse alleged his engagement in the West Indies, and sailed thither. The French under Rochambeau went into winter quarters at Williamsburg, while the Americans marched, a part to reinforce the southern army, and a part to the various posts in the north. Prospects were uncertain. It was evident that the war was approaching its close, but none could tell how nearly.

A vote of parliament that the king be requested to bring the war to a close (February 27th, 1782) led to a change of ministry. Determining to recognise the independence of the United States, and to concentrate hostilities against the European powers, the new ministry sent out Sir Guy Carleton as commander-in-chief, with instructions to evacuate New York, Charleston, and Savannah—in a word, the entire seaboard. It was the result of past campaigns, not of any present one. The Americans were without armies, without supplies, at least without such as were indispensable for any active operations. When the French under Rochambeau reached the American camp on the Hudson in the autumn, they passed between two lines of troops clothed and armed by subsidies from France. It was a touching tribute of gratitude, and an equally touching confession of weakness. All but a single corps of the French embarked at the close of the year. The remainder followed in the ensuing spring. Peace was then decided upon. It had been brought about by other operations besides those which have been described. The contest in America, indeed, was but an episode in the extended warfare of the period. Upon the sea, the fleets of Britain hardly encountered an American man-of-war. The opposing squadrons were those of France and Spain and Holland. By land, the French opposed the British in the East Indies, upon the coast of Africa, and in the West Indies. They also aided the Spaniards to conquer Minorca, in the Mediterranean, and to assail, but in vain, the great stronghold of Gibraltar. The Spanish forces were also active in the Floridas. Holland alone of the European combatants made no stand against Great Britain. In the Indies, both East and West, and in South American Guiana, the Dutch were immense losers. What was gained from them, however, did not compensate for what was lost to others by the British. The preliminaries of peace, at first with America (November 30th, 1782), and afterwards with the European powers (January 20th, 1783), were signed to the general contentment of Great Britain, of Europe, and of America.

Hostilities soon ceased. In America, Sir Guy Carleton proclaimed their cessation on the part of the British (April 8th). Washington, with the consent of congress, made proclamation to the same effect. By a singular coincidence, the day on which hostilities were stayed was the anniversary of that on which they were begun at Lexington, eight years before (April 19th). Measures, already proposed by the British commander, were at once taken on both sides for the release of prisoners. The treatment and the exchange of these unfortunate men had given rise to great difficulties during the war. Even where actual cruelty did not exist, etiquette and policy were too strong for humanity. The horrors of the British jails and prison ships were by-words, and when their unhappy victims were offered in exchange for the better treated prisoners of the other side, the Americans hesitated to receive them.

[1783 A.D.]

The troops that surrendered at Saratoga, on condition of a free passage to Great Britain, were detained, in consequence of various objections, to be freed only by desertions and slow exchanges after the lapse of years. In short, the prisoners of both armies seem to have been regarded in the light of troublesome burdens, alike by those who had captured them and those from whom they were captured. Individual benevolence alone lights up the gloomy scene. At the close of the war, we find congress, on the recommendation of Washington, voting its thanks to Reuben Harvey, a merchant of Cork, for his humane succours to the American prisoners in Ireland.

Negotiations for peace met with many interruptions. So far as the United States were concerned, the questions of boundary, of the St. Lawrence and Newfoundland fisheries, of indemnity to British creditors as well as to American loyalists, were all knotty points; the more so that the four negotiators—Franklin, John Jay, John Adams, and Henry Laurens—were by no means agreed upon the principles by which to decide them. Some of the envoys, moreover, were possessed of the idea that France was disposed to betray her American allies; and so strong was this feeling that the consent of the French government, the point which had been agreed upon as the essential condition of making peace, was not even asked before the signature of the preliminaries already mentioned. It was before the preliminaries were signed that all these embarrassments appeared, and they continued afterwards. At length, however, definitive treaties were signed at Paris and at Versailles between Great Britain and her foes (September 3rd). The treaty with Holland was not concluded until the following spring. America obtained her independence, with all the accompanying privileges and possessions which she desired. She agreed, however, against her will, to make her debts good, and to recommend the loyalists, whose property had been confiscated, to the favour of the state governments. Spain recovered the Floridas. The other terms of the treaties—the cessions on one side and on the other—have been detailed elsewhere in our history. The treaty between Great Britain and the United States was formally confirmed by congress at the beginning of the following year (January 14th, 1784). After long delays, the British withdrew from their post on the Penobscot. New York was evacuated (November 25th, 1783), and ten days later the remaining forces embarked from Staten Island and Long Island (December 4th–6th). A few western posts excepted, the territory of the United States was free.

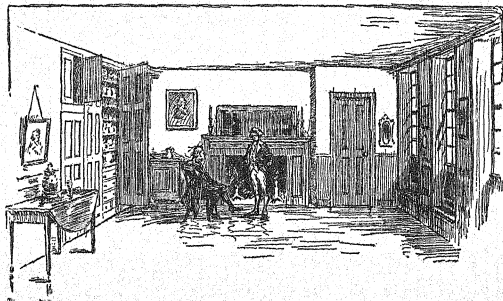
MUTINIES IN THE AMERICAN ARMY

The disposal of the American army had long been a serious question. A year before, the army had addressed congress on the subject of the pay, then months, and even years, in arrears (December, 1782). Congress was powerless. The army was incensed. When, therefore, anonymous addresses to the officers were issued from the camp at Newburg, proposing the alternative of redress or of desertion,¹ the worst consequences appeared inevitable. The more so, that the excitement was greatest amongst the better class of soldiers, the "worthy and faithful men," as their commander described them, "who, from their early engaging in the war at moderate bounties, and from their patient continuance under innumerable distresses, have not only deserved well of their country, but have obtained an honourable distinction over those

¹ "If peace [comes], that nothing shall separate you from your arms but death; if war, that you will retire to some unsettled country."

[1783 A.D.]

who, with shorter times, have gained large pecuniary rewards." Washington, and Washington alone, was equal to the crisis. He had repelled with unutterable disdain the offer of a crown from certain individuals in the army a year before (May, 1782). He now rebuked the spirit of the Newburg addresses, and by his majestic integrity quelled the rising passions of those around him. But he entered with all the greater fervour into the just claims of the army. His refusal at the outset of the war, renewed at the close, to receive any compensation for his services to the country, placed him in precisely the position from which he could now appeal in behalf of his officers and soldiers to congress and the nation. His voice was heard. The army obtained a promise of its pay, including the commutation to a fixed sum of the half pay for life formerly promised to the officers at the expiration of the war (March, 1783). All was not yet secure. But three months later, and a body of Pennsylvanian troops marched upon congress itself in Philadelphia. Washington denounced the act with scorn. "These Pennsylvania levies," he says, "who have now

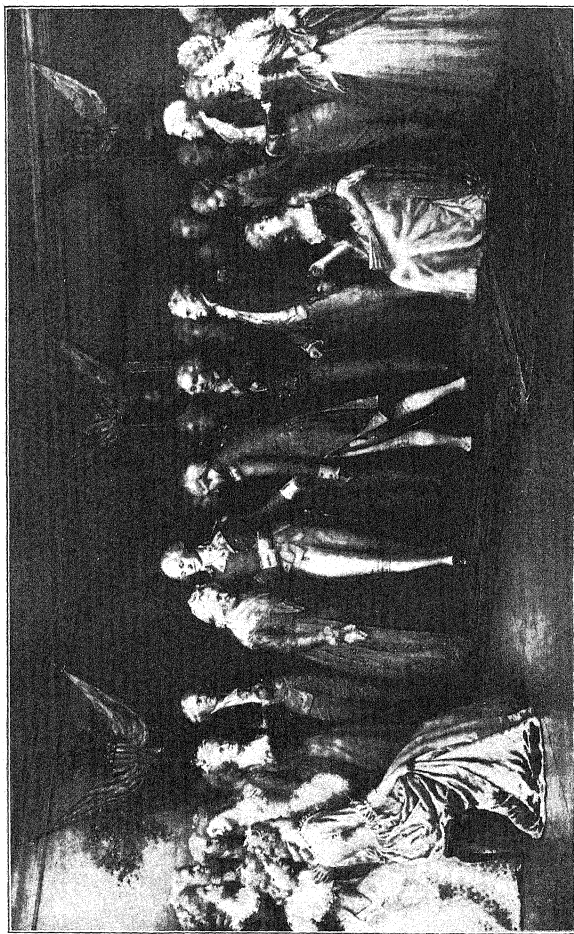


THE LONG ROOM OF FRAUNCES' TAVERN
(Where Washington took formal farewell of his officers)

mutinied, are recruits and soldiers of a day, who have not borne the heat and burden of the war." He at once sent a force to reduce and to chastise them.

"It is high time for a peace," Washington had written some months previously. The army was slowly disbanded, a small number only being left when the formal proclamation of dissolution was made, November 3rd. A few troops were still retained in arms. Of these, and of his faithful officers, the commander-in-chief took his leave at New York, December 4th. Thence he repaired to Annapolis, where congress was in session, and there resigned (December 23rd) the commission which he had held, unstained and glorious, for eight years and a half.

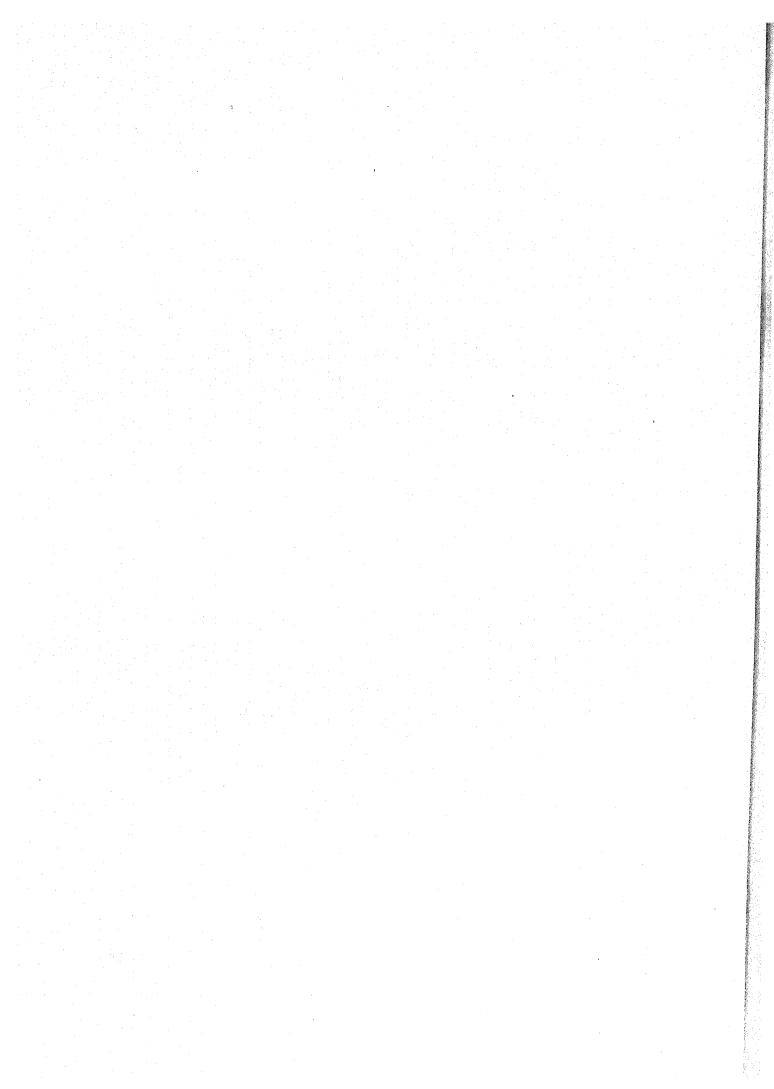
It seems as if he left no one behind him. The town and the state each had its authorities; but the nation was without a government, at least with nothing more than the name of one. Yet the need of a directing and a sustaining power had never been greater or clearer. If the war itself was over, its consequences, its burdens, its debts, its wasting influences, were but begun. No one saw this more plainly, no one felt it more deeply, than the retiring commander-in-chief. At no time had he been absorbed in his military duties.



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THE PEACE BALL, FREDERICKSBURG, VA.

(From the painting by Jennie Browncombe)



[1783 A.D.]

In his relations to congress, to the states, even to the citizens, as well as in those to foreigners, whether allies or enemies, he had been almost as much the civil as the military head of the country. The arm that had led the nation through the field was now lifted to point out the paths that opened beyond. "According to the system of policy the states shall adopt at this moment"—thus Washington wrote to the governors of the states, on disbanding the army—"they will stand or fall; and, by their confirmation or lapse, it is yet to be decided whether the revolution must ultimately be considered as a blessing or a curse—a blessing or a curse, not to the present age alone, for with our fate will the destiny of unborn millions be involved. There are four things," he continued, "which I humbly conceive are essential to the well-being, I may even venture to say to the existence, of the United States as an independent power:

"(1) An indissoluble union of the states under one federal head.

"(2) A sacred regard to public justice.

"(3) The adoption of a proper peace establishment. And

"(4) The prevalence of that pacific and friendly disposition among the people of the United States which will induce them to forget their local prejudices and policies; to make those mutual concessions which are requisite to the general prosperity; and, in some instances, to sacrifice their individual advantages to the interest of the community."^d

In summing up the results of the Revolution, John Fiskeⁱ very justly asserts that, despite the humiliation for George III and the men who had been his tools, the day when the war was concluded was "a day of happy omen for the English race, in the Old World as well as in the New."^a



CHAPTER VIII

THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE UNION

[1783-1814 A.D.]

A GREAT political principle had been strengthened by the success of the Revolution; republican government had been revived in a fashion unknown since ancient times. The territory claimed by Virginia was larger than the island of Great Britain. The federal republic included an area nearly four times as large as that of France. The suffrage was still limited to the holders of land; but the spirit of the Revolution looked towards abolishing all legal distinctions between man and man; and the foundation of later democracy, with its universal suffrage, was thus already laid. The influence of the republican spirit upon the rest of the world was not yet discerned; but the United States had established for themselves two principles which seriously affected other nations. Forty years later not one of the Spanish continental colonies acknowledged the authority of the home government. The other principle was that of the rights of man. The success of the Revolution was a shock to the system of privilege and of class exemptions from the common burdens, which had lasted since feudal times. The French Revolution of 1789 was an attempt to apply upon alien ground the principles of the American Revolution.—ALBERT BUSHNELL HART.⁵

JOHN FISKE ON "THE CRITICAL PERIOD OF AMERICAN HISTORY"¹

"THE times that tried men's souls are over," said Thomas Paine in the last number of the *Crisis*, which he published after hearing that the negotiations for a treaty of peace had been concluded. Paine was sadly mistaken. The most trying time of all was just beginning. It is not too much to say that the period of five years following the peace of 1783 was the most critical moment in all the history of the American people. The dangers from which we were saved in 1788 were even greater than the dangers from which we were saved in 1865. In the war of Secession the love of union had come

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[1783 A.D.]

to be so strong that thousands of men gave up their lives for it as cheerfully and triumphantly as the martyrs of older times, who sang their hymns of praise even while their flesh was withering in the relentless flames. In 1783 the love of union, as a sentiment for which men would fight, had scarcely come into existence. The souls of the men of that day had not been thrilled by the immortal eloquence of Webster, nor had they gained the historic experience which gave to Webster's words their meaning and their charm. The men of 1783 dwelt in a long, straggling series of republics fringing the Atlantic coast, bordered on the north and south and west by two European powers, whose hostility they had some reason to dread. Had there been such a government that the whole power of the thirteen states could have been swiftly and vigorously wielded as a unit, the British, fighting at such disadvantage as they did, might have been driven to their ships in less than a year. The length of the war and its worst hardships had been chiefly due to want of organisation. Congress had steadily declined in power and in respectability; it was much weaker at the end of the war than at the beginning, and there was reason to fear that as soon as the common pressure was removed the need for concerted action would quite cease to be felt, and the scarcely formed Union would break into pieces. There was an intensely powerful sentiment in favour of local self-government. This feeling was scarcely less strong as between states like Connecticut and Rhode Island, or Maryland and Virginia, than it was between Athens and Megara, Argos and Sparta, in the great days of Grecian history. A most wholesome feeling it was, and one which needed not so much to be curbed as to be guided in the right direction.

Unless the most profound and delicate statesmanship should be forthcoming to take this sentiment under its guidance, there was much reason to fear that the release from the common adhesion to Great Britain would end in setting up thirteen little republics, ripe for endless squabbling, like the republics of ancient Greece and mediæval Italy, and ready to become the prey of England and Spain, even as Greece became the prey of Macedonia.

Frederick of Prussia, though friendly to the Americans, argued that the mere extent of country from Maine to Georgia would suffice either to break up the Union or to make a monarchy necessary. No republic, he said, had ever long existed on so great a scale. The Roman Republic had been transformed into a despotism mainly by the excessive enlargement of its area. It was only little states, like Venice, Switzerland, and Holland, that could maintain a republican government. Such arguments overlooked three essential differences between the Roman Republic and the United States. The Roman Republic in Cæsar's time comprised peoples differing widely in blood, in speech, and in degree of civilisation; it was perpetually threatened on all its frontiers by powerful enemies, and representative assemblies were unknown to it. The only free government of which the Roman knew anything was that of the primary assembly or town-meeting. On the other hand, the people of the United States were all English in speech, and mainly English in blood. The differences in degree of civilisation between such states as Massachusetts and North Carolina were considerable, but in comparison with such differences as those between Attica and Lusitania they might well be called slight. The attacks of savages on the frontier were cruel and annoying, but never since the time of King Philip had they seemed to threaten the existence of the white man. A very small military establishment was quite enough to deal with the Indians. And, to crown all, the American people were thoroughly familiar with the principle of representation, having

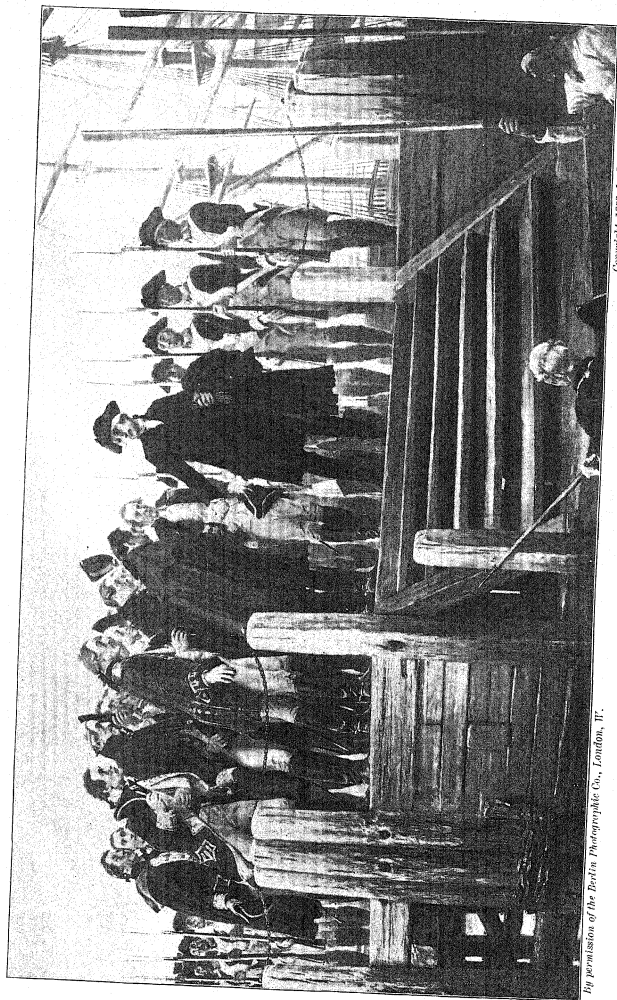
practised it on a grand scale for four centuries in England, and for more than a century in America. The governments of the thirteen states were all similar, and the political ideas of one were perfectly intelligible to all the others. It was essentially fallacious, therefore, to liken the case of the United States to that of ancient Rome.

But there was another feature of the case which was quite hidden from the men of 1783. Just before the assembling of the first continental congress, James Watt had completed his steam-engine; in the summer of 1787, while the federal convention was sitting at Philadelphia, John Fitch launched his first steamboat on the Delaware river; and Stephenson's invention of the locomotive was to follow in less than half a century. But for the military aid of railroads the government would hardly have succeeded in putting down the rebellion of the Southern states. In the debates on the Oregon Bill in the United States senate in 1843, the idea that the United States could ever have an interest in so remote a country as Oregon was loudly ridiculed by some of the members. It would take ten months, said George McDuffie, the very able senator from South Carolina, for representatives to get from that territory to the District of Columbia and back again. Yet, since the building of railroads to the Pacific coast, we can go from Boston to the capital of Oregon in much less time than it took John Hancock to make the journey from Boston to Philadelphia. Railroads and telegraphs have made that vast country, both for political and for social purposes, more snug and compact than little Switzerland was in the Middle Ages or New England a century ago.

It will be remembered that at the time of the Declaration of Independence there were three kinds of government in the colonies. Connecticut and Rhode Island had always been true republics. Pennsylvania, Delaware, and Maryland presented the appearance of limited hereditary monarchies. The other eight colonies were vicerealties, with governors appointed by the king, while in all alike the people elected the legislatures.

The organisation of the single state was old in principle and well understood by everybody. On the other hand, the principles upon which the various relations of the states to each other were to be adjusted were not well understood. There was wide disagreement upon the subject, and the attempt to compromise between opposing views was not at first successful. Hence, in the management of affairs which concerned the United States as a nation, we shall not find the central machinery working smoothly or quietly. We are about to traverse a period of uncertainty and confusion, in which it required all the political sagacity and all the good temper of the people to save the half-built ship of state from going to pieces on the rocks of civil contention.

Until the connection with England was severed the thirteen commonwealths were not united, nor were they sovereign. It is also clear that in the very act of severing their connection with England these commonwealths entered into some sort of union which was incompatible with their absolute sovereignty taken severally. It was not the people of New Hampshire, Massachusetts, and so on through the list, that declared their independence of Great Britain, but it was the representatives of the United States in congress assembled, and speaking as a single body in the name of the whole. Three weeks before this declaration was adopted, congress appointed a committee to draw up the "articles of confederation and perpetual union," by which the sovereignty of the several states was expressly limited and curbed in many important particulars.



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WASHINGTON'S FAREWELL TO THE ARMY

(From the painting by Andrew C. Gow)

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[1783-1787 A.D.]

A most remarkable body was the "continental congress." For the vicissitudes through which it passed, there is perhaps no other revolutionary body, save the Long Parliament, which can be compared with it. The most fundamental of all the attributes of sovereignty—the power of taxation—was not given to congress. The states shared with congress the powers of coining money, of emitting bills of credit, and of making their promissory notes a legal tender for debts. Such was the constitution under which the United States had begun to drift towards anarchy even before the close of the Revolutionary War, but which could only be amended by the unanimous consent of all the thirteen states.^c

THE CHAOS AFTER THE REVOLUTION (1783 A.D.)

There was hardly a political principle upon which the entire country agreed. There was not one political power by which it was governed. Interests were opposed to interests, classes to classes; nay, men to men. When the officers of the army, for instance, formed into a society, under the name of the Cincinnati, for the purpose of keeping up their relations with one another, and more particularly of succouring those who might fall into distress, a general uproar was raised, because the membership of the society was to be hereditary, from father to son or from kinsman to kinsman. It was found necessary to strike out this provision, at the first general meeting of the Cincinnati (1784). Even then, though there remained nothing but a charitable association, it was inveighed against as a caste, as an aristocracy—as anything, in short, save what it really was. It is easy to say that all this is a sign of republicanism, of a devoted anxiety to preserve the institutions for which loss and sufferings had been endured. But it is a clearer sign of the suspicions and the collisions which were rending the nation asunder.

The states were absorbed in their own troubles. The debts of the confederation lay heavy upon them, in addition to those contracted by themselves. Their citizens were impoverished, here and there maddened by the calamities and the burdens, private and public, which they were obliged to bear together. At Exeter, the assembly of New Hampshire was assailed by two hundred men with weapons, demanding an emission of paper money. All day the insurgents held possession of the legislative chamber; but in the early evening they were dispersed by a rumour that Exeter was taking up arms against them (1786). The same year occurred Shays' Rebellion, in which the courts of Massachusetts were prevented from holding their usual sessions by bodies of armed men, under Captain Daniel Shays, whose main object it was to prevent any collection of debts or taxes. Nearly two thousand were in arms at the beginning of the following year (1787). The horror excited in the rest of the country was intense. Congress ordered troops to be raised; but, as it had no power to interfere with the states, the pretext of Indian hostilities was set up. Massachusetts was fortunate in having James Bowdoin for a governor. One or two thousand militia, under the command of General Lincoln, marched against the insurgents, who were put to rout. Of all the prisoners, fourteen alone were tried and condemned, not one being executed. The insurrection had lasted about six months.

Nor were such insurrections the only ones of the time. A body of settlers in Wyoming, principally emigrants from New England, held their land by grants from Connecticut, long the claimant of the territory. When Connecticut gave way to Pennsylvania, and the latter state insisted upon the

necessity of new titles to the settlements of Wyoming, the settlers armed themselves, and threatened to set up a state of their own (1782-1787). What was threatened there was actually executed elsewhere. The western counties of North Carolina, excited by being ceded to the United States, organised an independent government, as the state of "Franklin" or "Frankland" (1784). But the people were divided, and the governor, Colonel Sevier, of King's Mountain fame, was ultimately compelled to fly by the opponents of an independent organisation (1788). Meanwhile old projects of independence had been revived in the Kentucky counties of Virginia. Petitions and resolutions led to acts of the Virginia legislature consenting to the independence of Kentucky on certain conditions. Kentucky soon after petitioned congress for admission to the Union, but without immediate effect. Maine again and again strove to be detached from Massachusetts (1786). The case of Vermont was one apart. The inhabitants of that district, then known as the New Hampshire grants, declared it the state of Vermont (January, 1777), and asked admission to the Union in July. The request was denied, on account of the claims of New York to the territory. Overtures were then made to the British authorities in Canada, with whom the Vermonters might well wish to be on good terms, so long as they were excluded from the Union. Congress took alarm, but still kept Vermont at a distance (1782). So Vermont remained aloof, contented, one may believe, to be free from the troubles of the United States.

Partially settled at the time when the confederation was completed, the question of the unoccupied lands was still undecided. It united the smaller states, as a general rule, against the larger ones, by whom the western regions were claimed. Besides these great divisions between north and south, and between the larger and the smaller states, there were boundary questions.

The general government continued in the same feeble state. If there was any change, it was that the confederation and its congress had sunk to a still lower degree of inefficiency. There was even less attention to its wants on the part of the states; its requisitions went almost unanswered, their obligations almost unregarded. The superintendent of finance, Robert Morris, of Philadelphia, by whose personal exertions and advances the country had been forced through the last years of the war, laid down his office in despair, after a year of peace. His creation of a bank—the Bank of North America (1781)—was recommended by congress to the states, with the request that branches should be established; but in vain. Congress, in 1783, renewed its petition, as it may be styled, for power to lay a duty on imports, if only for a limited period. After long delay, a fresh appeal was made with really piteous representations of the national insolvency. New York refused to comply upon the terms proposed, and congress was again humiliated in 1786. During its efforts on this point, congress had roused itself upon another, and asked for authority over foreign commerce. But the supplications of congress to the states were once more denied.

On one point alone was congress worthy to be called a government. It organised the western territory, after having prevailed upon the states, or most of them, to abandon their pretensions to regions so remote from themselves. Virginia having followed the earlier example of New York, a plan was brought forward by one of her delegates, Thomas Jefferson, for the division and constitution of the western territory. The plan, at first, embraced the organisation of the entire western territory, out of which seventeen states, all free, were to be formed. The proposed prohibition of slavery was at once voted down; otherwise the project was adopted, in April, 1784. But the

[1787 A.D.]

cessions of the states not yet covering the whole of the region thus apportioned, its organisation was postponed until the national title to the lands could be made complete. Massachusetts, in 1785, and Connecticut, in 1786, ceded their claims, the latter state, however, with a reservation. Treaties with various tribes disposed in part of the Indian titles to the western territories (1784-1786). All these cessions completing the hold of the nation upon the tract northwest of the Ohio, that country was definitely organised as the Northwest Territory, by an ordinance of congress (July 13th, 1787).¹ This intrusted the government of the territory partly to officers appointed by congress, and partly to an assembly to be chosen by the settlers as soon as they amounted to five thousand. Articles provided for the equal rights and responsibilities of the new states and the old, and for the division of the territory. Under liberal organisation, surveys, sales, and settlements followed fast. A colony from Massachusetts was the first to occupy Ohio, at Marietta (1788).

Singular enough, while congress was taking these steps to preserve the western domains, it was taking others to endanger them. Eager to secure a treaty of commerce with Spain, the northern and central states assented to surrender the navigation of the Mississippi to that power (1786). In this they had no less an authority upon their side than Washington, who appears to have attached more importance to internal communication between the west and the east alone than to that wider intercourse which the west would possess by means of its mighty river. Jefferson, then the American minister at Paris, was farther-sighted. "The act," he wrote, "which abandons the navigation of the Mississippi, is an act of separation between the eastern and western country" (1787). Suppose the right to the Mississippi waived, even for a limited period, and the probability is that a large number of the western settlers, conceiving themselves sacrificed, would have separated from their countrymen [as the Kentuckians actually threatened to do], and gained a passage through the stream either in war or in alliance with Spain.

Relations with Great Britain were still more disturbed than those with Spain. Nor were they less threatening to the west. The treaty of peace exacted the surrender of the western posts by Britain. But America was required at the same time to provide for the debts of great magnitude due to British merchants. This, however, was not done. Congress was unable, and the states were unwilling, to effect anything—five states, indeed, continuing or commencing measures to prevent the collection of British debts. When, therefore, John Adams, the first minister to Great Britain, entered into a negotiation for the recovery of the posts which the British still held, he was met at once by the demand that the American part in the treaty should be fulfilled (1786). A remonstrance which congress addressed to the states was altogether in vain (1787).

"The consideration felt for America by Europe," wrote La Fayette, "is diminishing to a degree truly painful; and what has been gained by the Revolution is in danger of being lost little by little." Amid this tottering of the national system the old foundations stood secure. The laws that had been laid deep in the past, the institutions, political and social, that had been reared above them, remained to support the present uncertainties. Every strong principle of the mother country, every broad reform of the colonies, contributed to the strength and the development of the struggling nation. The claim of the eldest son to a double share of his father's property, if not to all

[¹ A. B. Hart^b says of this ordinance that "it was inferior in importance only to the Federal constitution."]

the prerogatives of primogeniture, was gradually prohibited, Georgia taking the lead. Suffrage was extended in several states, from holders of real or personal property to all tax-paying freemen. Personal liberty obtained extension and protection. The class of indented servants diminished. That of slaves disappeared altogether in some of the states. Massachusetts, declaring men free and equal by her Bill of Rights, was pronounced by her supreme court to have put an end to slavery within her limits (1780-1783). Pennsylvania, New Hampshire, Rhode Island, and Connecticut forbade the importation of slaves, and the bondage of any persons thereafter born upon their soil. Other states declared against the transportation of slaves from state to state, others against the foreign slave trade; all, in fine, moving with greater or less energy in the same direction, save only South Carolina and Georgia. Societies were formed in many places to quicken the action of the authorities. In making exertions, and in maintaining principles like these, the nation was proving its title to independence.

Nothing, however, was more full of promise than the religious privileges to which the states consented. Rhode Island struck out the prohibitory statute against Roman Catholics (1784). But Rhode Island was no longer alone in her glory. The majority of the state constitutions allowed entire religious liberty. The only real restrictions upon it were those to which the Puritan states still clung, in enforcing the payment of taxes and the attendance upon services in some church or other—the old leaven not having entirely lost its power. Particular forms of faith were here and there required, if not from the citizens, at any rate from the magistrates; Roman Catholics being excluded from office in several states of the north, the centre, and the south.

A CONVENTION DEVISES THE CONSTITUTION (1787 A.D.)

It was time for the nation to profit by the examples and the principles that have been enumerated—time for it to guard against the conflicts and the perils that have been described. Alexander Hamilton conceived the idea of a convention for forming a national constitution as early as 1780. Other individuals, including Thomas Paine, advocated the same measure, in private or in public. The legislature of New York supported it in 1782. The legislature of Massachusetts supported it in 1785.

A convention of five states at Annapolis recommended a national convention at Philadelphia in the ensuing month of May.

The first to act upon this proposal from Annapolis was the state so often foremost in the cause of the country, Virginia. The example thus set was at once followed by New Jersey, Pennsylvania, North Carolina, and Delaware. By the time these states declared themselves (February, 1787), congress, after many doubts as to the propriety of the course, came out with a call of its own, but limited its summons to a convention "for the sole and express purpose of revising the articles of confederation."

The state house at Philadelphia was chosen for the sessions of the convention. The day fixed for the opening arrived, only two states being represented, namely, Virginia and Pennsylvania. At length, eleven days after the appointed time, the representatives of seven states—a bare majority—assembled and opened the convention. As a matter of course, George Washington was elected president (May 25th).

The United States of America never wore a more majestic aspect than in the convention, which gradually filled up with the delegates of every state except Rhode Island. The purpose of the assembly was sufficient

[1787 A.D.]

to invest it with solemnity. To meet in the design of strengthening instead of enfeebling authority, of forming a government which should enable the nation to fulfil instead of eluding its obligations alike to the citizen and the stranger—to meet with these intentions was to do what the world had never witnessed. It is scarcely necessary to say that lower motives entered in; that the interests of classes and of sections, the prejudices of narrow politicians and of selfish men, obtruded themselves with ominous strength. Many of the members were altogether unequal to the national duties of the convention. But they were surrounded by others of a nobler mould, including the venerable Franklin, lately returned from his French mission, the representative of the later colonial days; and by several representatives of the younger class of patriots, notably by Alexander Hamilton and James Madison.

The rules of the convention ordered secrecy of debate and the right of each state to an equal vote. Governor Randolph, of Virginia, then opened the deliberations upon a constitution by offering a series of resolutions proposing a national legislature of two branches, a national executive, and a national judiciary of supreme and inferior tribunals. Charles C. Pinckney, of South Carolina, offered a sketch of government, based on the same principles as Randolph's, but developed with greater detail. Both the plans were referred to a committee of the whole; but Randolph's, or the Virginia plan, as it was rightly called, engrossed the debate. At the end of a fortnight the committee reported in favour of the Virginia system. On the report of the committee, a new plan was offered by William Patterson, of New Jersey. This New Jersey plan, so styled, proposed a government of much more limited powers than that of the Virginia pattern. The two were referred to a committee of the whole.

Parties were by this time but too distinctly defined. The federal side was taken, as a general rule, by the representatives of the small states, the national by those of the large. Whatever was upheld by the large states, especially Massachusetts, Pennsylvania, and, above all, Virginia, was, as if for this simple reason, opposed by the small ones. There was a constant dread of the dominion which, it was supposed, would be exercised by the superior states to the disadvantage and the disgrace of those of inferior rank. Perhaps the tone assumed by the large states was such as reasonably to inspire suspicion. Certain it is, that the breach between the two parties grew wider and wider, particularly when the committee and the convention pronounced in favour of the national plan. Within ten days afterwards, Franklin [who was by no means a pious man], shocked by the altercations around him, moved that prayers should be said every morning. The motion was parried, partly, it was said, to prevent the public from surmising the divisions of the convention.¹

The starting-point, so far as theory was concerned, of the two parties, was the government by states. In this, the federal members argued, resides the only principle of sovereignty, and to this recourse must be had for the life and breath of a government for the nation. Hence the name of Federal, implying the support of a league—that is, a league between the states—as the true form of a general government. All this the national party opposed. We are not met, they reasoned, to fashion a constitution out of the states or for the states, but to create a constitution for the people; it is the people, not the states, who are to be governed and united; it is the people, moreover,

[¹ The actual reason why they did not engage a chaplain was because they had no money to pay him.—J. S. LONDON.²]

from whom the power required for the constitution is to emanate. At the same time, the national members, with a few exceptions, were far from denying the excellence of state governments.

But the votes to be taken in the legislative branches of the new government are not, it was asserted, the votes of the states, but the votes of the people; let them, therefore, be given according to the numbers of the people, not of the states. Not so, replied the federal members—and they had reason to be excited, for it was from apprehension on this very point that they had opposed the national plan—not so, they replied, or our states, with their scanty votes, will be utterly absorbed in the larger states. One of the small states, Delaware, sent her representatives with express instructions to reserve her equal vote in the national legislature. But the federal party, already disappointed, found itself doomed to a fresh disappointment. Abandoning, or intimating that it was willing to abandon, the claim of an equal vote in both branches of the legislature, it stood the firmer for equality in one of the branches—the senate of the constitution. Even this more moderate demand was disregarded by the majority, intent upon unequal votes in both the branches.

Great agitation followed. “We will sooner submit to foreign power!” cried a representative from one of the small states. But for the reference of the matter to a committee, who, at the instance of Franklin, adopted a compromise, making the votes of the states equal in the senate, the work of the convention would have come to a sudden close. As it was, the report of the committee but partly satisfied the small states, while it kindled the wrath of the large. “If no compromise should take place,” asked Elbridge Gerry, of Massachusetts, “what will be the consequence? A secession will take place, for some gentlemen seem decided on it.” It was the federal party that talked of secession. The national party, no wiser, as a whole, spoke of the dismemberment and absorption of the smaller states, hinting at the sword. Fortunately, peace prevailed. The compromise was accepted, and both national and federal members united in determining on an equal vote in the senate and an unequal vote in the house that were to be.

Another division besides that between the large and the small states had now appeared. Slavery separated the North from the South. The first struggle upon the point arose with respect to the apportionment of representation. Upon this subject all other questions yielded to one, namely, whether slaves should be included with freemen, not, of course, as voting, but as making up the number entitled to representation. The necessity for compromise was again evident. The moderate members of either side came together, and agreed that three-fifths of the slave population should be enumerated with the whole of the white population in apportioning the representatives amongst the different states.

A graver point was raised. In the draft of the constitution now under debate, there stood a clause forbidding the general government to lay any tax or prohibition upon the migrations or the importations authorised by the states. This signified that there was to be no interference with the slave trade. The opposition to the claims of the extreme South came from the central states, especially from Virginia, not from the North. The North, intent upon the passage of acts protective of its large shipping interests, was quite ready to come to an understanding with the South. The consequence was that, instead of imitating the example of earlier years and declaring the slave trade at an end, the convention protracted its existence for twenty years (till 1808). At the same time, the restriction upon acts relating

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to commerce was stricken from the constitution. Dark as this transaction seems, it was still a compromise. To extend the slave trade for twenty years was far better than to leave it without any limit at all. It was at the close of these discussions that the draft of the clause respecting fugitive slaves was introduced, and accepted without discussion. The word "slaves," however, was avoided here, as it had been in all the portions of the constitution relating to slavery.

At length, after nearly four months' perseverance through all the heat of summer, the convention agreed to the constitution (September 15th). As soon as it could be properly engrossed, it was signed by all the delegates, save Gerry, of Massachusetts—who hinted at civil war being about to ensue—Randolph and George Mason, of Virginia (September 17th). As the last members were signing, Franklin pointed to a sun painted upon the back of the president's chair, saying, "I have often and often, in the course of the session and the vicissitude of my hopes and fears as to its issue, looked at that sun behind the president, without being able to tell whether it was rising or setting; but now, at length, I have the happiness to know that it is a rising and not a setting sun." The dawn was still uncertain. Presented to congress, and thence transmitted to the states, to be by them accepted or rejected, the constitution was received with very general murmurs. Even some members of the convention, on reaching home, declared, like Martin, of Maryland, "I would reduce myself to indigence and poverty, if on those terms only I could procure my country to reject those chains which are forged for it." It was thought that the constitution was too strong, that it exalted the powers of the government too high, and depressed the rights of the states and the people too low. This was the opinion of the anti-federalists—a name borne rather than assumed by those who had constituted, or by those who succeeded to, the federal party in the convention. They opposed, not the union, but what they called the subjection of the states proposed by the constitution.

The constitutional writings, as they may be called, of the twelvemonth succeeding the convention, were far in advance of any preceding productions of America. The greatness of the cause called forth new powers of mind, new powers of heart. Washington's letters upon the subject overflow with emotions such as his calm demeanour had seldom betrayed before. Under the signature of Publius, Alexander Hamilton, James Madison, and John Jay united in the composition of *The Federalist*. It was a succession of essays, some profound in argument, others thrilling in appeal, and all devoted to setting forth the principles and foretelling the operations of the constitution. Under the signature of Fabius, John Dickinson—the same whose *Farmer's Letters* had pleaded for liberty twenty years before—now pleaded for constitutional government. It was not merely the constitution that was thus rendered clear and precious. The subject was as wide as are the rights of man.

So strong and so wise exertion was not in vain. State after state, beginning with Delaware (December 7th, 1787), assented to the constitution, some by large, some by exceedingly small majorities. But, actuated by different motives, the large states, or rather the parties in the large states, opposing the unconditional adoption of the constitution, were unable to combine with any effect. The generous impulses and the united exertions of their opponents carried the day. Only North Carolina and Rhode Island stood aloof, and the former but partially, when congress performed the last act preliminary to the establishment of the constitution by appointing days for the requisite

elections and for the organisation of the new government (September 13th, 1788). Thus was completed the most extraordinary transaction of which merely human history bears record. A nation enfeebled, dismembered, and dispirited, broken by the losses of war, by the dissensions of peace, incapacitated for its duties to its own citizens or to foreign powers, suddenly bestirred itself and prepared to create a government. It chose its representatives without conflicts or even commotions. They came together, at first only to disagree, to threaten, and to fail. But against the spells of individual selfishness and sectional passion, the inspiration of the national cause proved potent. The representatives of the nation consented to the measures on which the common honour and the common safety depended. Then the nation itself broke out in clamours. Still there was no violence, or next to none. No sort of contention arose between state and state. Each had its own differences, its own hesitations; but when each had decided for itself, it joined the rest and proclaimed the constitution.

The work thus achieved was not merely for the nation that achieved it. In the midst of their doubts and their dangers, a few generous spirits, if no more, gathered fresh courage by looking beyond the limits of their country. Let Washington^e speak for them: "I conceive," says he, "under an energetic general government, such regulations might be made, and such measures taken, as would render this country the asylum of pacific and industrious characters from all parts of Europe—a kind of asylum for mankind."^f

A. B. HART ON THE CONSTITUTION¹

Americans have become accustomed to look upon the constitution as a kind of political revelation; the members of the convention themselves felt no sense of strength or inspiration. They had no authority of their own. Their work must be submitted for the ratification of states which had been unable to agree upon a single modification of the articles.

Another popular delusion with regard to the constitution is that it was created out of nothing; or, as Mr. Gladstone^g puts it, that "it is the greatest work ever struck off at any one time by the mind and purpose of man."² The radical view on the other side is expressed by Sir Henry Maine,^h who informs us that the "constitution of the United States is a modified version of the British constitution which was in existence between 1760 and 1787." The real source of the constitution is the experience of Americans. They had established and developed admirable little commonwealths in the colonies; since the beginning of the Revolution they had had experience of state governments organised on a different basis from the colonial; and, finally, they had carried on two successive national governments, with which they had been profoundly discontented. The general outline of the new constitution seems to be English; it was really colonial. The president's powers of military command, of appointment, and of veto were similar to those of the colonial governor. National courts were created on the model of colonial courts. A legislature of two houses was accepted because such legislatures had been common in colonial times. In the English parliamentary system as it existed before 1760 the Americans had had no share; the later English system of parlia-

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[² Gladstone^g at the same time called "the British constitution the most subtle organism which has proceeded from progressive history."]

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mentary responsibility was not yet developed, and had never been established in colonial governments; and they expressly excluded it from their new constitution.

They were little more affected by the experience of other European nations. Just before they assembled, Madison drew up an elaborate abstract of ancient, mediæval, and existing federal governments, of which he sent a copy to Washington. It is impossible to trace a single clause of the constitution to any suggestion in this paper. The chief source of the details of the constitution was the state constitutions and laws then in force. Thus the clause conferring a suspensive veto on the president is an almost literal transcript from the Massachusetts constitution. In fact, the principal experiment in the constitution was the establishment of an electoral college; and of all parts of the system this has worked least as the framers expected. The constitution represents, therefore, the accumulated experience of the time; its success is due to the wisdom of the members in selecting out of the mass of colonial and state institutions those which were enduring.

The real boldness of the constitution is the novelty of the federal system which it set up. For the first time in history an elaborate written constitution was applied to a federation; and the details were so skilfully arranged that the instrument framed for thirteen little agricultural communities works well for many large and populous states. A second novelty was a system of federal courts skilfully brought into harmony with the state judiciary. Even here we see an effect of the twelve years' experience of imperfect federation. The convention knew how to select institutions that would stand together; it also knew how to reject what would have weakened the structure.

It was a long time before a compromise between the discordant elements could be reached. To declare the country a centralised nation was to destroy the traditions of a century and a half; to leave it an assemblage of states, each claiming independence and sovereignty, was to throw away the results of the Revolution. The convention finally agreed that while the Union should be endowed with adequate powers, the states should retain all powers not specifically granted, and particularly the right to regulate their own internal affairs.

These difficult points out of the way, the convention arranged the details of the new government. One of the principal minor questions was the method of presidential election. Many members inclined towards an executive council; instead, it was agreed that there should be a president elected by congress; but almost at the last moment, on September 7th, 1787, the better plan of indirect election by the people was adopted. At one time the convention had agreed that congress should have the right of veto upon state laws; it was abandoned, and instead was introduced a clause that the constitution should be the supreme law of the land, and powerful courts were created to construe the law.

In making up the list of the powers of congress, the convention used brief but comprehensive terms. Thus all the difficulties arising out of the unfriendly commercial legislation of states, and their interference with foreign treaties, were removed by the simple clause: "The congress shall have power to regulate commerce with foreign nations, and among the several states, and with the Indian tribes." The great question of taxation was settled by fourteen words: "The congress shall have power to lay and collect taxes, duties, imposts, and excises." In a few respects the constitution was deficient. It did not profess to be all-comprehensive, for the details of the government were to be worked out in later statutes. There was, however, no provision

for future annexations of territory. No safeguards were provided for the proper appointment and removal of public officers. The growth of corporations was not foreseen, and no distinct power was conferred upon congress either to create or to regulate them. Above all, the convention was obliged to leave untouched the questions connected with slavery which later disrupted the Union. On September 17th, 1787, the convention finished its work. To the eloquent and terse phraseology of Gouverneur Morris we owe the nervous English of the great instrument. As the members were affixing their signatures, Franklin remarked, pointing to the picture of a sun painted behind the president's chair: "I have often, in the vicissitudes of my hopes and fears, looked without being able to tell whether it was rising or setting; but now at length I have the happiness to know it is a rising and not a setting sun." The new constitution was, strictly speaking, unconstitutional; it had been ratified by a process unknown to law. The situation was felt to be delicate, and the states were for the time being left to themselves. North Carolina came into the Union by a ratification of November 21st, 1789. It was suggested that the trade of states which did not recognise congress should be cut off, and Rhode Island yielded May 29th, 1790; her ratification completed the Union.

Was the new constitution an agreement between eleven states, or was it an instrument of government for the whole people? Upon this question depends the whole discussion about the nature of the Union and the right of secession. The first theory is that the constitution was a compact made between sovereign states. Thus Hayne in 1830 declared that "before the constitution each state was an independent sovereignty, possessing all the rights and powers appertaining to independent nations. After the constitution was formed, they remained equally sovereign and independent as to all powers not expressly delegated to the federal government. The true nature of the federal constitution, therefore, is a compact to which the states are parties." The importance of the word "compact" is that it means an agreement which loses its force when any one of the parties ceases to observe it; a compact is little more than a treaty. Those who framed the constitution appeared to consider it no compact; for on May 30th, 1787, they voted that "no treaty or treaties among the whole or part of the states, as separate sovereignties, should be sufficient." In fact, the reason for the violent opposition to the ratification of the constitution was that when once ratified the states could not withdraw from it. Another view is presented by Webster in his reply to Hayne: "It is, sir, the people's constitution, the people's government, made for the people, made by the people, and answerable to the people. The people of the United States have declared that this constitution shall be the supreme law." It is plain that the constitution does not rest simply upon the consent of the majority of the nation. No popular vote was taken or thought of; each act of ratification set forth that it proceeded from a convention of the people of a state.

The real nature of the new constitution appears in the light of the previous history of the country. The articles of confederation had been a compact. The new constitution was meant to be stronger and more permanent. The constitution was, then, not a compact, but an instrument of government similar in its origin to the constitutions of the states. Whatever the defects of the confederation, however humiliating its weakness to the national pride, it had performed an indispensable service: it had educated the American people to the point where they were willing to accept a permanent federal union.^b

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A GERMAN CRITICISM OF THE CONSTITUTION (H. VON HOLST¹)

When we consider the situation of the thirteen colonies and their relations to one another; when we follow the development which, in consequence of this situation and these relations, their political affairs and political theories received during the Revolutionary War and the following years, and endeavour to express the result in a few words, we are compelled to say, with Justice Story,² that we ought to wonder, not at the obstinacy of the struggle of 1787 and 1788, but at the fact that, despite everything, the constitution was finally adopted. The simple explanation of this is that it was a struggle for existence, a struggle for the existence of the United States; and that after the dissolution of the Philadelphia convention it could be saved only by the adoption of the proposed constitution, no matter how well grounded the objections that might be made to it.

The masses of the American people in their vanity and too great self-appreciation are fond of forgetting the dreadful struggle of 1787 and 1788, or of employing it only as a name for the "divine inspiration" which guided and enlightened the "fathers" at Philadelphia. In Europe this view of the case has been generally accepted as correct. Much eloquence has been lavished in laudation of the "isolated fact in history" that thirteen states, loosely bound together as one confederate body, did not see in the sword the only engine to weld together their political machinery, which was falling to pieces, but met in peaceful consultation and agreed to transform a confederacy of states into a federal state of masterly construction. In America this is an inexhaustible theme for Fourth-of-July orations, and in Europe it is only too frequently used as a text for doctrinarian politico-moral discussions. With history, however, it has nothing to do. The historical fact is that "the constitution had been extorted from the grinding necessity of a reluctant people."

"Mr. Cobb the other night said it [the government of the Union] had proven a failure. A failure in what? Why, we are the admiration of the civilised world, and present the brightest hopes of mankind. No, there is no failure of this government yet." In these words Alexander H. Stephens expressed his judgment concerning the constitution and the political history of the Union, on the eve of the four years' civil war. Four weeks later he accepted the position of vice-president of the Confederate states, a position which he retained until the close of the war. A few years after the restoration of the Union, he published a comprehensive treatise, which is at once an emphatic reiteration and explication of that declaration and a justification of the rebellion, as well as of his personal participation in it. Only a thorough study of American history can solve the enigma how a man of so much acuteness as a thinker and of so much intelligence, one who has spent his whole life in the study of political questions, could honestly say that his views and his actions were in complete harmony.

It is possible for us to trace the earliest beginnings of the worship of the constitution. At first it was looked upon as the best possible constitution for the United States. By degrees it came to be universally considered as a masterpiece, applicable to every country. For four years the people of the United States tore one another to pieces in the most frightful civil war recorded in history, each camp thinking, in the best of faith, that it was following the standard of the constitution. A model constitution—so far as it is allowable

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at all to speak of such a one—would have done poor service for the United States. Besides, it is very probable that it would not have been ratified.

Almost from the very day on which the new order of things was inaugurated the conflict between the opposing tendencies broke out anew, and before the close of the century it attained a degree which suggested very serious fears. Were it not that the letter of the constitution permitted all parties to verge upon the actual dissolution of the Union, without feeling themselves responsible for a breach of the constitution, it is likely that long before 1861 a serious attempt in that direction would have been made. Calhoun and his disciples were not the authors of the doctrine of nullification and secession. That question is as old as the constitution itself, and has always been a living one, even when it has not been one of life and death. Its roots lay in the actual circumstances of the time, and the constitution was the living expression of these actual circumstances.

JUDSON S. LANDON ON THE EXECUTIVE AND THE SUPREME JUDICIARY¹

The duties of the president were prescribed. As the first officer of the nation, it was agreed that he ought to be the commander-in-chief of the army and navy, and of the militia, when called into the actual service of the United States. He was permitted to make treaties by and with the advice and consent of the senate, and could therefore make peace; but he was not permitted to declare war, lest his ambition should lead the nation into useless wars. That power was vested in congress. Vast and almost unlimited executive powers were conferred by the provisions, "The executive power shall be vested in a president" and "he shall take care that the laws be faithfully executed."

The only expressions in the constitution authorising a cabinet are "the principal officer in each of the executive departments," whose opinion the president may require in writing, "and heads of departments" and "any department." His independence of congress and influence over legislation were provided for by giving him a qualified veto power. His fidelity was secured by his oath of office and liability to impeachment. Great as is the presidential office by reason of the powers and duties intrusted to it by the constitution, it has become still greater, because congress has intrusted it with many discretionary powers which it can limit, or prescribe the means and methods of performance. Its greatness is partly of constitutional and partly of legislative creation. It is often said that the president has greater power than any constitutional monarch; if this is so, it is largely because congress has made it so. It is our pleasure, not our obligation, that makes him so great.

The federal judiciary was the subject of the careful attention of the very able lawyers of the convention. The power of the confederacy to enforce the decrees of its courts was dependent upon the support of the states. There was need of a uniform rule of decision upon federal cases in the several state courts. There should be one ultimate power of decision and enforcement, and that must be the judicial power of the Union. That power, having no will of its own, should utter the will of the supreme law. Behind it should be the power of the nation, but the wisdom and moral influence of the judicial power should be so pre-eminent that the sword which was ready to support it

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should rust in its scabbard. Thus too the Union should pledge its justice against the danger of its power.

To make this department as independent as possible, it was agreed that the judges should hold office during good behaviour. It was also agreed that it should not have any jurisdiction over cases arising in a state, between its citizens, in respect to matters wholly controlled by state laws. But the court should have jurisdiction over cases controlled by the laws of the United States, its constitution, and treaties.

It was resolved to provide a supreme court and inferior courts. To the supreme court was given appellate jurisdiction. All this seems very simple. But in these simple regulations lies the most admirable and important feature of the whole constitution. Without it the system might have failed. The appellate jurisdiction of the supreme court has, more than any other agency, composed dissensions, settled conflicting claims, and defined the powers by which the nation has developed into its stable greatness.

Under these happy provisions, whatever law any state may pass, no matter how much it conflicts with the constitution of the United States, it may go upon the statute-book of the state without exciting the least apprehension or alarm. There it will quietly repose until somebody seeks to assert or deny the right or duty which this law purports to confer or enjoin. The opposite party then challenges the state law as contrary to the supreme law of the constitution of the United States. Under the practice adopted, if the state courts hold the state law to be unconstitutional, no appeal is necessary to vindicate the national power; but if the state courts sustain the validity of the state law, an appeal lies to the supreme court of the United States, and that court will decide whether the state law is valid or void.

If it decide that it is void, it is to all intents and purposes not merely practically repealed, but declared never to have existed. In like manner, if congress enact any law in conflict with the constitution of the United States, whether by violating the rights reserved to the states, or by exercising powers not conferred by the constitution, the supreme court, whenever a case comes before it in which the question is raised—and its determination is decisive of the case—declares the act of congress void.^d

WASHINGTON'S FIRST ADMINISTRATION; HAMILTON'S FINANCES

The name of Washington was almost a part of the constitution. "The constitution would never have been adopted"—thus Edmund Randolph, by no means a strong adherent to Washington, wrote to him afterwards—"but from a knowledge that you had once sanctioned it, and an expectation that you would execute it." The presidential electors gave in their votes without a single exception in favour of Washington; and he consented to what he had reason to call "this last great sacrifice."

The two houses of congress had been organised in New York, after a month's delay, March 4th being the appointed day; and the house not having a quorum till March 30th, the senate none till April 6th. A day or two before Washington's arrival, John Adams took his place as vice-president. The inauguration of the president, postponed a few days after he was ready for the ceremony, at length completed the organisation of the government (April 30th, 1789). Whatever has been said of the solemnity of former periods, or of former duties, must be repeated with stronger emphasis of the work now before Washington and his coadjutors. Of far greater difficulty than the

formation of the constitution was the setting it in operation. Its principles were to be applied to a nation now numbering nearly four millions. The census of 1790 gave, whites, 3,172,464; free blacks, 59,466; slaves, 697,897; total, 3,929,827. This was the population of all the thirteen states.

The great feature of the opening years of Washington's administration was the work of congress, the body upon whose laws the government depended for movement, if not for life. The departments were organised: one of state, one of the treasury, and one of war, each being under the control of a secretary. The three secretaries, with an attorney-general, constituted the cabinet of the president; the postmaster-general not being a cabinet officer until a later period. Washington appointed Thomas Jefferson the first secretary of state, Alexander Hamilton the first secretary of the treasury, Henry Knox the first secretary of war, Edmund Randolph the first attorney-general, and Samuel Osgood the first postmaster-general (September, 1789). At the same time he made his appointments for the offices of the judiciary, congress having created a supreme court, with circuit and district courts appended. John Jay was the first chief justice of the United States.

Congress had already launched into constitutional discussions. The amendments to the constitution, proposed by the different states, were numerous enough—fifty and upwards—to call for early attention. It was not suggested either by the states or by their congressional representatives to make any fundamental alterations in the constitution. They were contented with a few articles, declaring the states and the people in possession of all the powers and all the rights not expressly surrendered to the general government. These articles, to the number of ten, were adopted by congress, and accepted by the states.

A far more vital matter was the revenue. To this congress addressed itself in the first weeks of the session. The result of long and difficult debates was the enactment of a tariff, intended to serve at once for revenue and for protection of domestic interests. A tonnage duty, with great advantages to American shipping, was also adopted. Some time afterwards, indeed towards the close of the first congress, an excise was laid on domestic spirits. These measures were modified at intervals. But beneath them, in all their forms, there continued the principle, that the duties upon imports were to provide for government in the shape of a revenue, and for the nation in the shape of protection.

It fell to the first congress, likewise, to provide for the public credit. The debts of the confederation amounted to \$54,000,000, or to \$80,000,000 if the debts of the states, incurred for general objects, were added. It was the plan of Hamilton, secretary of the treasury, that these debts should be taken as a whole to be assumed and funded by the new government. Those who, like the proposer of the system, desired to see the national government strong, advocated its being made the centre of the public credit; while those who inclined to the rights of the states preferred to have the debt remain in state rather than in national stocks.

The question was not decided upon any abstract grounds. It had been a bone of contention where the seat of the general government should be located, some going for one place and some for another. When the house of representatives decided against assuming the state debts, the advocates of the assumption hit upon the plan of securing the necessary votes from some of the Virginian or Maryland members by consenting to fix the projected capital on the Potomac, Philadelphia to be the capital until 1800. The bait was snapped at, and a measure on which the honour of the states,

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if not of the nation, depended passed by means of unconcealed intrigue.¹ The state debts were then assumed, not in mass, but in certain proportions. This being the chief object of altercation, the funding of the domestic and foreign debt of the general government was rapidly completed (August 4th, 1790). The transaction was by no means to the satisfaction of the entire nation.

The public creditors, on the other hand, were delighted, All the moneyed interests of the country, indeed, were quickened, the public bonds being so much additional capital thrown into the world of industry and of commerce. The creation of a national bank, with the design of sustaining the financial operations of government, took place in the early part of the following year (1791). On the opening of the subscription books, a signal proof of the confidence now placed in the national credit was given, the whole number of shares offered being taken up in two hours.^f

HAMILTON AND HIS WORK

John Fiske^c entertains the highest admiration for Alexander Hamilton, whom he characterises as perhaps the most precocious man of his time, with the possible exception of William Pitt. Fiske declares that the American government is to-day, as to many substantial particulars, moving along the lines first pointed out by Hamilton. It is admitted that his economic views lacked something of finality, but this could scarcely have been otherwise in an age preceding the publication of Adam Smith's *Wealth of Nations*. Comparing Hamilton with his own contemporaries, it is doubtless just to assert that he was surpassed in a comprehensive view of the financial situation by no other American save perhaps Albert Gallatin. But Hamilton was much more than a mere financier. He was an orator and writer, a practical lawyer, and a clear-headed student of politics, who was able to put his political views to the test of practice. It is conceded, however, that he lacked faith in the democratic government, and that he sometimes proceeded along by-paths towards ends that he considered desirable, in a manner which, in the most charitable interpretation, showed "impatience of temperament"; and which, as McMaster^k does not hesitate to affirm, is susceptible of being interpreted—or, at least, was interpreted by many of his contemporaries—as out and out unscrupulousness. But this, after all, is no more than has been urged by party opponents against every politician of prominence; and there is nothing in evidence to disprove the friendlier estimate, according to which Hamilton strove to attain ends that he believed were conducive to the public weal. McMaster asserts that Hamilton's zeal, industry, and ability as a public servant "were never attacked even by Jefferson, who hated him with an animosity more implacable than the animosity of Burr"; and, if this be true, it can hardly be supposed that Hamilton "followed dark and crooked ways" from evil motives.

In estimating Hamilton's capacities, McMaster is at one with the generality of critics. He declares that Hamilton at thirty-two had a maturity of judgment and fitness for carrying out high political aims comparable to that of any man of his time who was twenty years his senior. As secretary Hamilton at once set to work to prepare a report

^f The whole compromise was a bargain between the North and the South. The "geographical" and "sectional" character of the parties was a matter of frequent mention and lament. It is well to call special attention to this, because the erroneous view largely prevailed afterwards that the mischievous political division of the country by a geographical line dates back only to the Missouri Compromise.—VON HOLST.^f]

on the state of the national debt, and to devise the most equitable system of taxation by which the obligation might be met. But, long before his work was completed, the houses of congress met and began to grapple, after their own fashion, with the same momentous problem. The result of their labours was the financial policy that McMaster characterises as "fruitful of wonders," and as bringing to the front for the first time questions which were long to remain a source of public unrest, and were ultimately to lead to an appeal to the sword. McMaster points out that in January, 1791, the funded debt of the United States amounted to \$75,463,476, a sum which the anti-federalists believed would ruin the country if funded; and that seventy-five years later, when this sum had long since been paid off, the Civil War created a new debt thirty-seven times as great—aggregating the almost unthinkable sum of \$2,844,649,626—and that this colossal debt was borne with ease. But it must not be overlooked, if we would draw a correct inference, that in the meantime the United States had developed into a power of first magnitude.^a

WASHINGTON'S SECOND TERM; THE WHISKY INSURRECTION

New states were presenting themselves for admission into the line of the thirteen. The consent of New York having been obtained, Vermont was admitted (March 4th, 1791). Provision was already made for the entrance of Kentucky in the following year (June 1st, 1792). The territory south of the Ohio was subsequently admitted as the state of Tennessee (June 1st, 1796). The general government itself was concentrated in Washington. Jefferson, the head of the republicans, wrote to him: "The confidence of the whole Union is centred in you. Your being at the helm will be more than an answer to every argument which can be used to alarm and lead the people in any quarter into violence or secession. North and South will hang together, if they have you to hang on." "It is clear," wrote Hamilton, the leader of the federalists, "that if you continue in office nothing materially mischievous is to be apprehended; if you quit, much is to be dreaded." Thus urged, Washington could do no less than accept the unanimous summons to another term of labour for his country. Adams was again chosen vice-president (1792-1793).

There was one thing over which Washington had no influence. The animosity of parties had spared him, but without being checked by him. He vainly exerted himself to keep the peace, even in his own cabinet. Jefferson and Hamilton were at swords' points, and at swords' points they remained until Jefferson retired (1794). In congress all was uproar. The slightest question sufficed to set the northerner against the southerner, the federalist against the republican. Out of congress the tumult was increasing. A new party, chiefly from the republican ranks, had gathered under the name of democrats, in societies of which the model was taken from abroad, and which, as Washington wrote, might "shake the government to its foundation."

The fearful passion of the time at length broke out in insurrection. In consequence of the excise upon domestic spirits, some parts of the country where distillation was common had been greatly discontented. North Carolina and Pennsylvania, or rather the interior counties of those states, had been agitated to such a degree that the president deemed it necessary to issue a proclamation, calling upon his fellow citizens to support the laws (1792). The excitement gradually subsided, except in Pennsylvania, where, after various acts of violence, an armed convention, seven thousand strong, met at Brad-

[1792-1795 A. D.]

dock's Field (August, 1794). The president of this assembly was a Colonel Cook; the secretary, Albert Gallatin, a Swiss emigrant, and the commander of the troops a lawyer named Bradford. Of course the objects of so large a body were various; some being intent merely upon suspending the collection of the excise, while others meditated the possession of the country and separation from the Union. The president at once put forth a proclamation announcing the march of fifteen thousand militia from Pennsylvania, New Jersey, Maryland, and Virginia. The president himself took the field for a few days; but finding that the insurgents had disappeared before the approach of his troops, he left his officers—General Henry Lee, governor of Virginia, being commander-in-chief—to complete the work that was no sooner begun than it was ended. A considerable number of prisoners was taken in November, but no executions followed. Enough had been done to decide "the contest," as Washington described it, "whether a small proportion of the United States shall dictate to the whole Union."

The same year (1794) witnessed the suppression by Anthony Wayne of a danger, half domestic and half foreign—a long-continued Indian war, in which two expeditions had been defeated in 1790 and 1791. No part of Washington's administration, domestic or foreign, was more original or more benign than the policy which he constantly urged towards the Indians of the United States. To save them from the frauds of traders, a national system of trade was adopted. To protect them from the aggressions of borderers, as well as to secure them in the rights allowed them by their treaties, a number of laws were prepared.

A far more savage foe than the Indian was appeared at the same period, but with much less credit, it must be added, to the nation. This was the dey of Algiers, who, with a number of neighbours like himself, was wont to sweep the seas with piratical craft. Singular to say, the sway of these buccaneering potentates was acknowledged by the European states, who paid an annual tribute on condition of their commerce being spared. Ten years before the present date the freebooters of the dey of Algiers had captured two American vessels and thrown their crews into bondage. He now (1795) consented to release his captives and to respect the merchantmen of the United States, on the reception of a tribute like that received from the powers of Europe. Three-quarters of a million were paid down, an annual payment of full fifty thousand dollars being promised in addition. Other treaties of the same sort with Tripoli and Tunis were under way.

RELATIONS WITH FRANCE; CITIZEN GENÊT

A special envoy, Thomas Pinckney, was sent to Spain. It took him nearly a year to bring about a treaty defining the Florida boundary and opening the Mississippi to the United States (1795). Britain continued to wear the aspect of an antagonist, keeping her troops upon the United States territory until her demands were satisfied, while on the other side of the sea she laid one restraint after another upon commerce, as if she would have kept the Americans at a distance from her shores. France, on the contrary, was still the friend of the rising nation, and not only as its patron but as its follower. The same year that Washington entered the presidency the French Revolution began. Its early movements, professedly inspired by those that had taken place in America, kindled all the sympathies of American hearts. Hitherto the bond between them and the French was one of gratitude and of dependence; now it was one of sympathy and of equality. But the nation was by no means unanimous against Great Britain, by no means unanimous for France.

on the state of the national debt, and to devise the most equitable system of taxation by which the obligation might be met. But, long before his work was completed, the houses of congress met and began to grapple, after their own fashion, with the same momentous problem. The result of their labours was the financial policy that McMaster characterises as "fruitful of wonders," and as bringing to the front for the first time questions which were long to remain a source of public unrest, and were ultimately to lead to the sword. McMaster points out that in January, 1791, the funded debt of the United States amounted to \$75,463,476, a sum which the anti-federalists believed would ruin the country if funded; and that seventy-five years later, when this sum had long since been paid off, the Civil War created a new debt thirty-seven times as great—aggregating the almost unthinkable sum of \$2,844,649,626—and that this colossal debt was borne with ease. But it must not be overlooked, if we would draw a correct inference, that in the meantime the United States had developed into a power of first magnitude.^a

WASHINGTON'S SECOND TERM; THE WHISKY INSURRECTION

New states were presenting themselves for admission into the line of the thirteen. The consent of New York having been obtained, Vermont was admitted (March 4th, 1791). Provision was already made for the entrance of Kentucky in the following year (June 1st, 1792). The territory south of the Ohio was subsequently admitted as the state of Tennessee (June 1st, 1796). The general government itself was concentrated in Washington. Jefferson, the head of the republicans, wrote to him: "The confidence of the whole Union is centred in you. Your being at the helm will be more than an answer to every argument which can be used to alarm and lead the people in any quarter into violence or secession. North and South will hang together, if they have you to hang on." "It is clear," wrote Hamilton, the leader of the federalists, "that if you continue in office nothing materially mischievous is to be apprehended; if you quit, much is to be dreaded." Thus urged, Washington could do no less than accept the unanimous summons to another term of labour for his country. Adams was again chosen vice-president (1792-1793).

There was one thing over which Washington had no influence. The animosity of parties had spared him, but without being checked by him. He vainly exerted himself to keep the peace, even in his own cabinet. Jefferson and Hamilton were at swords' points, and at swords' points they remained until Jefferson retired (1794). In congress all was uproar. The slightest question sufficed to set the northerner against the southerner, the federalist against the republican. Out of congress the tumult was increasing. A new party, chiefly from the republican ranks, had gathered under the name of democrats, in societies of which the model was taken from abroad, and which, as Washington wrote, might "shake the government to its foundation."

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Many paused, and turning with distrust from the scenes of which France was the unhappy theatre, looked with kinder emotions towards the sedate Britain. It would be too much to say that this led to a British party; but it did lead to a neutral one, while, on the other hand, a French party applauded the license as well as the liberty of the Revolution. This party was the republican, its more impetuous members being the democratic-republicans. Their opponents were the federalists. France declared war against Britain. The nation was again close upon the breakers, when Washington—never greater, never wiser—issued his proclamation of neutrality, making it known "that the duty and interest of the United States require that they should with sincerity and good faith adopt and pursue a conduct friendly and impartial towards the belligerent powers" (April 22nd, 1793). It is a memorable act in history. Its purpose is not always rightly estimated. Look at the nation, tasked to its utmost, one may almost say, to subdue a few Indian tribes, obliged to pay tribute to the Algerines, unable to keep the Spaniards to their obligations, and we shall not behold a power that could enter safely into European wars. If such a thing were attempted, it would be at the hazard of the independence that had been achieved.

France, having baptised herself a republic in the blood of her king, Louis XVI, sent a new minister to the United States in the person of "Citizen" Genêt. An enthusiastic representative of his nation, Genêt excited a fresh enthusiasm in the French party of America. Feasted at Charleston, where he landed (April, 1793), and at all the principal places on the route northward, he was led to imagine the entire country at his feet, or at those of the French Republic. He began at Charleston to send out privateers and to order that their prizes should be tried and condemned by the French consuls in the United States. It was a part of the treaty of commerce between the two nations that the privateers and prizes of the French should be admitted to the American ports. But Genêt was soon to be checked. He did battle for his privateers and his courts; appealed from the executive to congress and the people, and pursued so extreme a course as to set his supporters and his opponents bitterly at variance. The French party now went openly for war against England. "Marat, Robespierre, Brissot, and the Mountain," says Vice-President Adams, "were the constant themes of panegyric and the daily toasts at table. Washington's house was surrounded by an innumerable multitude from day to day, huzzaing, demanding war against England, cursing Washington, and crying, 'Success to the French patriots and virtuous republicans!'" "I had rather be in my grave," exclaimed Washington one day in great excitement, "than in my present situation." He was equal, however, and more than equal, to his duty, and, supported by his cabinet, in August he sent to request the recall of Genêt. As the party by which Genêt had been commissioned had sunk to ruin, their successors readily appointed a minister of their own—"Citizen" Fauchet.

THE JAY TREATY; WASHINGTON'S UNPOPULARITY

But the troubles of the time were too complicated to be reached by a mere change of ministers. France had pronounced against the neutrality of America—not, indeed, by direct menace or violence, but by ordering that neutral vessels, containing goods belonging to her enemies, should be captured (May 1st, 1793). An embargo was then laid upon the shipping at Bordeaux. Both these measures were decided violations of the treaty with America. The most that France did, however, was as nothing compared with the extremes

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to which her chief enemy, Great Britain, resorted. France had ordered that the goods of an enemy were liable to capture. In June, Great Britain ordered that the goods of a neutral power, if consisting of provisions for the enemy, were to be captured or bought up, unless shipped to a friendly port. This was followed in November by an order that all vessels laden with the produce of a French colony, or with supplies for the same, were lawful prizes—a decree so arbitrary that it was soon modified by the nation that issued it (January, 1794). Worse than all, Great Britain claimed the right to impress into her service every seaman of British birth, wherever he might be found; so that the ships of the United States would be stopped, searched, and stripped of their crews, at the pleasure of the British cruisers. It often happened that American sailors as well as British were the victims of this impressment. A thrill of indignation and of defiance against such proceedings ran through the Americans. They would have been less than freemen, less, even, than men, to have borne with such injuries in silence.

The very party most opposed to France was earnest in sustaining the necessity of preparations for war, defensive, indeed, but still war with Great Britain. A temporary embargo upon the American ports was voted by congress, for the purpose of suspending commercial intercourse (March, 1794). One hint that Washington, the still trusted though still slandered magistrate, was in favour of arming, and the nation would have armed.

It was proposed to send a special mission to Great Britain. Washington selected Chief-Justice Jay (April, 1794). It was a fitting choice. Amongst all the prominent figures of the time, Jay's is almost, perhaps altogether, the only one that stands close to Washington's, aloof from the tarnishes and the collisions of opposing parties. No other man was so fit to join with Washington in rescuing the nation from its present perils. Accordingly, Jay proceeded to England and after some months of anxious diplomacy obtained a treaty (November). It was not much to obtain. The United States agreeing to indemnify their British creditors, Great Britain consented to surrender the posts which she had so long held in the west, the surrender to take effect June 1st, 1796. A few concessions to the claims of American commerce were made; but the rigid policy of Britain, especially in relation to her colonial trade, was strongly maintained. In short, the treaty did not acknowledge the rights of the Americans as neutrals, or their privileges as traders—both matters of the highest importance to their commercial interests. At the same time, the earlier points of controversy were determined, and from the later ones the sting was taken away, at least in some degree. So Jay thought, so Washington, though neither considered the treaty decidedly satisfactory. It was better at any rate, they reasoned, than war. Thus, too, reasoned the senate, who, convened in special session (June, 1795), advised the ratification of the treaty.

Not thus, however, the nation. If the necessity of the treaty, even as it stood, needed to be proved, the proof was the general insanity which it provoked. Meetings were held everywhere; harangues were made, resolutions passed; copies of the treaty were destroyed; Jay was burned in effigy. The French and the American flags waved together over these scenes; while the British ensign was dragged through the dirt and burned before the doors of the British representatives.

The example of Virginia was imitated in congress, where the phrase of "undiminished confidence" was also stricken from an address of the house to the president (December). As the session progressed, a fierce struggle arose with respect to the bills for carrying out the British treaty.

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A three weeks' debate terminated in a call upon the president for the specified documents. He and his cabinet being alike of opinion that the house had transgressed its powers, the call was refused. After a fortnight's debate, in which Fisher Ames distinguished himself above all his colleagues in defending the treaty, a vote, by a bare majority, determined that the house would proceed to its duty (March, April, 1796). By this time the frenzy out of doors had died away.

Thus terminated the great event of Washington's administration. The proclamation of neutrality was the first decisive step; the treaty with Great Britain was the second, and, for the present, the last. The point thus gained may be called the starting-point of the infant nation in its foreign relations. But if the French party of the United States, if the minister of the United States to France, James Monroe, were indignant at the British treaty, it was but natural that France should be the same. The French government announced to Mr. Monroe that they considered their alliance with the United States to be at an end (February, 1796). To prove that they were in earnest, the authorities of France, in addition to their previous orders of capture and embargo, decreed that neutral vessels were to be treated exactly as they were treated by the British; that is, stopped, searched, and seized upon the seas (July). This was subsequently made known to the United States by a communication from the French envoy, Adet, who improved the opportunity by appealing to the people to take part with France and against Great Britain. To restore matters, as far as possible, to a better position, Washington had sent out Charles C. Pinckney as minister to France, in the place of Monroe (September).

The parties—northern and southern, federalist and republican, anti-French and French—that racked the nation were never so much agitated. Newspapers, especially those published at Philadelphia, carried the hostile notes from congress to the nation, and echoed them back to congress. It is difficult, without having room for extracts, to convey any idea of the virulence of political writing at the time. Both the administration and its head were objects of the fiercest assault. Washington wrote with natural indignation of the abuse which he, "no party man," as he truly called himself, had received, "and that, too, in such exaggerated and indecent terms as could scarcely be applied to a Nero, a notorious defaulter, or even to a common pickpocket."¹ It was amidst these outrages that Washington sent forth his farewell address to the people of the United States (September 17th, 1796). Soon afterwards congress came together, and showed that many of its members were violent against the retiring president. On the proposal of an address of grateful acknowledgments from the house of representatives, a man from Washington's own state, William B. Giles, of Virginia, took exception to the more expressive passages. The same attitude was taken by a considerable number, and amongst them Andrew Jackson, of Ten-

[¹ Forged letters purporting to show Washington's desire to abandon the revolutionary struggle were published; he was accused of drawing more than his salary; hints of the propriety of a guillotine for his benefit began to appear; some spoke of him as the "stepfather of his country." The attacks embittered the close of his term of service; he declared, in a cabinet-meeting in 1793, that "he had never repented but once the having slipped the moment of resigning his office, and that was every moment since." Indeed, the most unpleasant portions of Jefferson's *Anna* are those in which, with an air of psychological dissection, he details the storms of passion into which the president was hurried by the newspaper attacks upon him. These attacks, however, came from a very small fraction of the politicians; the people never wavered in their devotion to the president, and his election would have been unanimous in 1796, as in 1789 and 1792, if he had been willing to serve.—ALEXANDER JOHNSTON.²¹]

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nessee. "Although he is soon to become a private citizen," wrote Washington of himself (January, 1797), "his opinions are to be knocked down, and his character reduced as low as they are capable of sinking it."

If Washington could thus excite animosity and wrong, what must it have been with ordinary men? The country seemed unwilling to be pacified, unwilling to be saved.

Washington retired. He had done even greater things at the head of the government than he had done at the head of the army. But it was beyond his power to change the character of the nation. He left it as he found it—divided and impassioned. Yet he left it as he had not found it—with a constitution in operation, with principles and with laws in action—on the road to increase and to maturity.

At the close of the century which he adorned Washington died (December 14th, 1799). His retirement, to which he had looked forward so longingly, had been disturbed. He had been greatly occupied with the organisation of the provisional army, of which he had been appointed chief—the last of his many services to his country. He had been still more harassed by the party passions of the time; himself inclined to the support of federalist principles, he had been to some degree drawn into the whirl of political movements. Perhaps it was not too soon for his peace or for his fame that he was taken away. Beside his grave his countrymen stood united for an instant, then returned to their divisions and their strifes. His memory continued to plead, and not unavailingly, for love of country and of countrymen./

VARIOUS ESTIMATES OF WASHINGTON

It has been our custom to give varying characterisations of great historical characters. Among these Washington stands in the front rank as patriot, soldier, statesman, and man. In none of these qualities is he exceeded in history; in the purity of his lifelong patriotism he is perhaps unequalled. On these points, aside from certain contemporary attacks of faction, there is no divergence of opinion among authorities of any country or creed. The only point of dispute is his rank as a general. His soldiership is not questioned nor his abilities as a tactician and man of resource and courage in action. It is as a strategist that he has been criticised—and also eulogised. We have previously quoted some animadversions on his battle plans. We can only emphasise the fact that, after all, he kept his force together, that he would not accept defeat, and that he won what he fought for, and left it as his monument. He was undoubtedly no epoch-making general, but as a man of honour, a lover and benefactor of his kind, a man whose works live after him in increasing glory, he makes such self-maniacs as Alexander, Cæsar, and Napoleon dwindle into insignificance or loom up only as monstrosities. Alexander left an empire of chaos; Cæsar, assassinated by his own friends, marked the end of a republic; Napoleon left France smaller than he found it. Indeed, the very republic which gave birth to Napoleon and which he overthrew only for a few years—that very republic was largely the result of Washington's successes and his ideals.

We shall give only foreign estimates: British, German, and French. The American opinion need not be quoted; it amounts perhaps to as near an approach to the apotheosis of deification as a nation can ever make, and it finds its summing-up in the phrase, "The Father of his Country." He is the standard by which all other statesmen and patriots are tested—and found wanting.^a

Lord Brougham

The relief which the friend of mankind, the lover of virtue, experiences when, turning from the contemplation of such a character [Napoleon I], his eye rests upon the greatest man of our own or of any age! It will be the duty of the historian and the sage in all ages to omit no occasion of commemorating this illustrious man; and until time shall be no more will a test of the progress which our race has made in wisdom and virtue be derived from the veneration paid to the immortal name of Washington.//

The Earl of Stanhope

In the mind of Washington punctuality and precision did not, as we often find them, turn in any degree to selfishness. Nor yet was his constant regularity of habits attended by undue formality of manner. In one of his most private letters there appears given incidentally, and as it were by chance, a golden rule upon that subject: "As to the gentlemen you mention, I cannot charge myself with incivility, or—what in my opinion is tantamount—ceremonious civility." In figure Washington was strongly built and tall (above six feet high), in countenance grave, unimpassioned, and benign. An inborn worth, an unaffected dignity, beamed forth in every look as in every word and deed. No man, whether friend or enemy, ever viewed without respect the noble simplicity of his demeanour, the utter absence in him of every artifice and every affectation.

Mark how brightly the first forbearance of Washington combines with his subsequent determination; how he who had been slow to come forward was magnanimous in persevering. When defeat had overtaken the American army, when subjugation by the British rose in view, when not a few of the earliest declaimers against England were, more or less privately, seeking to make terms for themselves, and fitting their own necks to the yoke, the high spirit of Washington never for a moment quailed; he repeatedly declared that if the colonies were finally overpowered he was resolved to quit them forever, and, assembling as many people as would follow, go and establish an independent state in the West, on the rivers Mississippi and Missouri. There is a lofty saying which the Spaniards of old were wont to engrave on their Toledo blades, and which with truth and aptness might have adorned the sword of Washington: "Never draw me without reason; never sheath me without honour!"

Nor was Washington in any measure open to the same reproach as the ancient Romans, or some of his own countrymen at present—that while eager for freedom themselves they would rivet the chains of their slave. To him at least could never be applied Doctor Johnson's taunting words: "How is it that we hear the loudest yelps for liberty among the drivers of negroes?" The views of Washington on this great question are best shown at the close of the Revolutionary War, and at a period of calm deliberation, in one of his letters to La Fayette: "Your late purchase of an estate in Cayenne with a view of emancipating the slaves on it is a generous and noble proof of your humanity. Would to God a like spirit might diffuse itself generally into the minds of the people of this country!"

There was certainly no period in his career when he would not have joyfully exchanged—had his high sense of duty allowed him—the cares of public for the ease of private life. And this wish for retirement, strong and sincere as it was in Washington, seems the more remarkable since it was not

[1799 A. D.]

with him, as with so many other great men, prompted in any degree by the love of literature. He was not like Cicero, when shrinking in affright from the storms which rent the commonwealth, and reverting with fond regret to the well-stored library of Atticus, and to his own favourite little seat beneath the bust of Aristotle; he was not like Clarendon at Montpellier, when he turned from an ungrateful age, not worthy of his virtue, and indited for all time to come his immortal history. Neither reading nor writing as such had any charms for Washington. But he was zealously devoted to the earliest and most needful of all the toils of man—he loved to be a feeder of flocks and a tiller of the ground.

It has been justly remarked that of General Washington there are fewer anecdotes to tell than perhaps of any other great man on record. There were none of those checkered hues, none of those warring emotions, in which biography delights. There was no contrast of lights and shades, no flickering of the flame; it was a mild light that seldom dazzled, but that ever cheered and warmed. His contemporaries or his close observers, as Jeffersonⁿ and Gallatin,^o assert that he had naturally strong passions, but had attained complete mastery over them. In self-control, indeed, he has never been surpassed. If sometimes on rare occasions, and on strong provocation, there was wrung from him a burst of anger, it was almost instantly quelled by the dominion of his will. He decided surely, though he deliberated slowly; nor could any urgency or peril move him from his serene composure, his calm, clear-headed good sense. Integrity and truth were also ever present in his mind.

Not a single instance, as I believe, can be found in his whole career when he was impelled by any but an upright motive, or endeavoured to attain an object by any but worthy means. Such are some of the high qualities which have justly earned for General Washington the admiration even of the country he opposed, and not merely the admiration but the gratitude and affection of his own. Such was the pure and upright spirit to which, when its toils were over and its earthly course had been run, was offered the unanimous homage of the assembled congress, all clad in deep mourning for their common loss, as to “the man first in war, first in peace, and first in the hearts of his fellow citizens.” At this day in the United States the reverence for his character is, as it should be, deep and universal, and not confined, as with nearly all English statesmen, to one party, one province, or one creed. Such reverence for Washington is felt even by those who wander farthest from the paths in which he trod. Thus may it be said of this most virtuous man what in days of old was said of Virtue herself, that even those who depart most widely from her precepts still keep holy and bow down to her name.^p

John Richard Green

John Richard Green^q is among the more modern writers who have spoken of Washington with similar enthusiasm. He commends the serene calmness of temper that told of perfect self-mastery; yet curiously enough he says that there was little in Washington's outward bearing to reveal his grandeur of soul; whereas in reality, it would appear that rarely has a hero possessed physical gifts more closely in keeping with his nobility of character. Nevertheless it is quite true that the colonists did not at first fully appreciate the greatness of their leader. As Green remarks, it was only after he had been tested through years of danger and defeat that he came to be understood at his full worth. Then it came to pass that men reposed in him

"a trust and faith such as few other men have won." It is even true, no doubt, that a large number of his contemporaries regarded him with reverence. But a correct interpretation of history requires that we should remember that, even to the last, Washington had his full quota of political opponents, who criticised him as antagonists are wont to criticise. It is not in the nature of things that a great man should be regarded by all his contemporaries in quite the same light with which he is viewed by posterity. Washington was no exception to this rule.^a

Sir Archibald Alison

Modern history has not a more spotless character to commemorate. Invincible in resolution, firm in conduct, incorruptible in integrity, he brought to the helm of a victorious republic the simplicity and innocence of rural life; he was forced into greatness by circumstances rather than led into it by inclination, and prevailed over his enemies rather by the wisdom of his designs and the perseverance of his character than by any extraordinary genius for the art of war. A soldier from necessity and patriotism rather than disposition, he was the first to recommend a return to pacific counsels when the independence of his country was secured; and bequeathed to his countrymen an address on leaving their government, to which there are few compositions of uninspired wisdom which can bear a comparison. He was modest, without diffidence; sensible to the voice of fame, without vanity; independent and dignified, without either asperity or pride. He was a friend to liberty, but not to licentiousness—not to the dreams of enthusiasts, but to those practical ideas which America had inherited from her British descent. Accordingly, after having signalled his life by successful resistance to English oppression, he closed it by the warmest advice to cultivate the friendship of Great Britain, and exerted his whole influence, shortly before his resignation, to effect the conclusion of a treaty of friendly and commercial intercourse between the mother country and its emancipated offspring. He was a Cromwell without his ambition; a Sulla without his crimes; and, after having raised his country, by his exertions, to the rank of an independent state, he closed his career by a voluntary relinquishment of the power which a grateful people had bestowed.

If it is the highest glory of England to have given birth, even amidst transatlantic wilds, to such a man, and if she cannot number him among those who have extended her provinces or augmented her dominions, she may at least feel a legitimate pride in the victories which he achieved, and the great qualities which he exhibited, in the contest with herself, and indulge with satisfaction in the reflection that that vast empire which neither the ambition of Louis XIV nor the power of Napoleon could dismember received its first shock from the courage which she had communicated to her own offspring, and that, amidst the convulsions and revolutions of other states, real liberty has arisen in that nation alone which inherited in its veins the genuine principles of British freedom.^r

Henri Martin

The Declaration of Independence was the birth-act of a society the most untrammelled and soon to be the vastest that the world has ever known. In the union of Protestant Christianity with eighteenth-century philosophy lay the germ of this gigantic progeny. Two men of the first order were to be its defenders and its guides during its early years, and each was the particular

[1790 A. D.]

representative of one of its parent sources: Washington, of tradition, but tradition transformed, and of progressive Protestantism enlightened and tolerant; Franklin, type of the age, of the movement of Locke and Rousseau—philosophy, but philosophy with a religious element.

Washington shook off ill-fortune by prodigies of constancy. He was a mingling of Fabius and Epaminondas, though he lacked the artistic and poetic *élan* that marked Epaminondas and all the Greeks. As Théodore Fabas³ has so well phrased it, he was like those monuments whose grandeur does not at first strike the eye, precisely because of the perfect harmony of their proportion and because no one feature seizes the attention. "The sanest of great men," he was the very personification of the most rationalist of peoples, and his "august good sense," to use the happy expression of Eugène Pelletan,⁴ was nothing but the distinctively Anglo-American quality exalted to the sublime.

During this time Franklin, America's other glory, had quitted his country the better to serve her. After having edited the immortal Declaration, he had gone to obtain the French alliance. The United States had made admirable choice of a plenipotentiary. Risen from the working classes; enlightened and uplifted in opinion by Diderot; not Protestant, like the majority, but deist philosopher of a shade intermediary between Voltaire and Rousseau; a physicist of the first order in that century; passionately devoted to the natural sciences, simple in dress and manners like Jean Jacques and his heroes, and yet the most spiritual and refined of men; of a mind altogether French in its grace and elasticity; at one and the same time a man of antiquity in certain phases and the most modern product of his day; redeeming his lack of idealism by the excellent moral equilibrium which he possessed in common with Washington, though in a degree at once wider, more comprehensive, and less severe—it was natural that he should appeal to France in all his sentiments, in all his ideas. He conquered the learned by the good sense of his genius; the enthusiastic by the dramatic aspect of his rôle; the frivolous by the originality of his position and his physiognomy. At the end of but a few days he was as popular at Paris as at Boston and Philadelphia.⁵

Charles von Rotteck

America had placed herself between magnificence and ruin in 1776. In this position, in which such a great destiny was involved, she needed a great man, who would gain the victory for her. And she found him, put him at her head, and showed herself worthy of him. With newly levied soldiers, hardly provided with suitable arms, generally without experience and discipline, he undertook the contest against the best-disciplined and the best-equipped troops of the world, under able generals, and aided by all the resources with which it was easy for England to supply them, whilst he, afflicted by great want of money, was often unable to furnish his troops with provisions, still oftener unable to pay them, in constant danger of losing all with one blow, also not seldom persecuted by misfortune, in a situation almost desperate, but always of high courage and of unbent power of soul, provident, vigilant, and at suitable times ardent and heroically bold, but never rash, never intoxicated by success. But in order that no species of glory might not be his, he combined, as the most celebrated of the great ancients, the talents of the statesman with those of the warrior, all the private virtues of the noblest man with the public virtues of the patriot and republican. As long as civilisation and humanity have an empire or a place on earth, as long as the ideas

of freedom and fatherland retain a worth and historical recollections live among men, so long will Washington's name stand resplendent in the temple of glory.^v

Friedrich von Raumer

Few men who have earned for themselves a celebrated name in the history of the world exhibit such a harmony, such a concordant symmetry of all the qualities calculated to render himself and others happy, as Washington; and it has been very appropriately observed that, like the masterpieces of ancient art, he must be the more admired in the aggregate the more closely he is examined in detail. His soul was elevated above party spirit, prejudice, self-interest, and paltry aims; he acted according to the impulses of a noble heart and a sound understanding, strengthened by impartial observation. To the greatest firmness he united the mildness and patience equally necessary in the then state of affairs; to prudence and foresight he joined boldness at the right moment; and the power intrusted to him he never abused by the slightest infraction of the laws. Although it is impossible that an American can ever again perform such services for his country as were then rendered by Washington, his noble, blameless, and spotless image will remain a model and a rallying-point to all, to encourage the good and to deter the bad. How petty do the common race of martial heroes appear in comparison with Washington!

Washington, the founder of the great American republic, proved in an affecting and exalted manner that the fame which had been won by the sword, without crimes and ambition, could also be maintained in private life without power or outward pomp. Happier than Timoleon and Brutus, no dark shadows of memory flitted across the cheerful serenity of his existence. Washington was unanimously chosen president of the new and renovated republic. This second founding of the state, this call to the head of a people recent in origin but sensible of true greatness, the modest and unsurpassed merit of Washington, and his solemn oath to support and maintain the constitution, form one of the brightest and most truly delightful pictures in modern history. The admiration with which Washington was regarded by all civilised nations showed him to be one of the few among mankind to whom is given an immortality more durable than brass or marble, and whose spotless and beneficent memory is cherished to the latest posterity.^w

PRESIDENCY OF ADAMS; WAR WITH FRANCE; "X. Y. Z."

During the closing months of Washington's administration the first great struggle among the people of the United States for ascendancy between the federalists and republicans took place. The only man on whom the nation now could possibly unite was about to retire to private life. There was very little time for preparation or electioneering, for a new choice must be made in November following. Activity the most extraordinary appeared among politicians in every part of the Union. The federalists nominated John Adams for the high office of chief magistrate, and the republicans nominated Thomas Jefferson for the same. The contest was fierce, and party spirit, then in its youthful vigour, was implacable. The result was a victory for both parties—Adams being elected president, and Jefferson, having the next highest number of votes, vice-president. On March 4th, 1797, Washington retired from office, and Adams was inaugurated the second president of the United States.^z

[1797-1798 A.D.]

The contrast between the administration of Washington and the administrations of his successors is as wide as that between a nation and a party. He was the head of the nation; they have been the heads of parties, as well as of the nation. It was what foreign powers were doing, rather than what the United States had to do, which formed the staple of political action for the fifteen years (1797-1812) following the retirement of Washington.^f

Chief amongst the combatants in Europe and the aggressors against America were Great Britain and France. For the moment the relations with France occupied the foreground. Charles C. Pinckney, accredited by Washington to negotiate with the French government, was refused an audience at Paris; and not only that, but was ordered to depart the French territory (December, 1796-February, 1797). Notwithstanding this, notwithstanding the rapidly following decrees against American ships and American crews, President Adams sent out a new mission, consisting of Pinckney, John Marshall, and Elbridge Gerry, with moderate instructions, which, however, availed nothing. Pinckney and Marshall, incensed by the intrigue as well as the insolence of which they were the objects (October, 1797-April, 1798), shook off the dust of France from their feet, being followed in a few months by Gerry, who had undertaken to do alone what he had not been able to do with his colleagues.^f

A. B. Hart thus describes the mission: "It was nearly a year before news of the result was received. On April 2nd, 1798, the president communicated the despatches revealing the so-called 'X. Y. Z. affair.' It appeared that the envoys, on reaching Paris in October, 1797, had been denied an official interview, but that three persons, whose names were clouded under the initials X. Y. Z., had approached them with vague suggestions of loans and advances; these were finally crystallised into a demand for £50,000 'for the pockets of the Directory.' The despatch described one conversation: 'Gentlemen,' said X., 'you do not speak to the point. It is money. It is expected that you will offer money.' We said that we had spoken to that point very explicitly, that we had given an answer. 'No,' he replied, 'you have not. What is your answer?' We replied, 'It is No, no, no; not a sixpence.' The president concluded with a ringing paragraph which summed up the indignation of the American people at this insult. 'I will never send another minister to France without assurances that he will be received, respected, and honoured as the representative of a great, free, powerful, and independent nation.' The republican opposition in congress was overwhelmed and almost silenced. For the first and last time in his administration Adams found himself popular. There was built up a compact federal majority. It proceeded deliberately to destroy its own party."^b

The president leaned to the side of his party. He had no mind to declare war, but he recommended congress to put the country in a state of defence (March, 1798). The recommendation was at once opposed by the republican leaders. According to Vice-President Jefferson, indeed, the president was aiming at a dissolution of the Union or at the establishment of a monarchical government. But the federalists upheld the president, and carried a series of measures providing for the organisation of a provisional army, as well as of a naval department, by which the existing navy might be more efficiently managed (May). Orders were issued directing the national ships to seize all armed vessels engaged in hostile acts against American shipping, while merchantmen were authorised to arm themselves and capture their assailants upon the seas. But to prevent hostilities, as far as possible, commercial intercourse with France and her colonies was formally prohibited in June.

Soon after, Washington was appointed to the command of the provisional army. The United States were fairly in arms.

War followed at sea. No declaration was made; the most that was done being to proclaim the treaties with France void, and then to authorise the president to send out national and to commission private vessels for the purpose of capturing any armed ships of the French, whether participating or not in hostilities. The seas were at once overrun with American ships, by which the French privateers were taken or driven from the coast. No actual engagement between national vessels, however, occurred, until the beginning of the following year, when Commander Truxton, in the *Constellation*, forced the French frigate *L'Insurgente* to strike (February, 1799). Hostilities were continued chiefly by privateers, the profits to whose owners were the principal results of the war. Still it pleased the party by whom it was favoured. "A glorious and triumphant war it was!" exclaimed Adams in after years. "The proud pavilion of France was humiliated."

ALIEN AND SEDITION LAWS, KENTUCKY RESOLUTIONS, AND NULLIFICATION

But against the deeds of battle must be set the measures of government. These alone show the strain upon the nation. To provide ways and means, stamp duties and taxes on houses and slaves were voted, besides the loans that were procured. To keep down party opposition, the Alien and Sedition acts, as they were called, were passed. The first authorised the president to banish all aliens suspected of conspiracy against the United States. This was more of a party manœuvre than appears on the face of it, inasmuch as many of the most ardent spirits of the republicans, especially the democratic republicans, were aliens. The Sedition Act denounced fine and imprisonment upon all conspiracies, and even all publications, "with intent to excite any unlawful combination for opposing or resisting any law of the United States, or any lawful act of the president." Both these acts, however, were to be but temporary, the Alien to be in force for two years, the Sedition until March 4th, 1801, the end of Adams' administration. It was at midsummer that party spirit rose so high as to demand and to enact these urgent laws (June-July, 1798). The Alien Act was never put in operation. But the Sedition Act was again and again enforced, and almost if not altogether invariably upon party grounds. It may safely be said that the nation was straining itself too far.

So thought the party opposing the administration and the war. Strongest in the south and in the west, the republican leaders threw down the gauntlet to their opponents, nay, even to their rulers. The legislature of Kentucky, in resolutions drawn up for that body by no less a person than Vice-President Jefferson, declared the Alien and Sedition laws "not law, but altogether void and of no force" (November, 1798). The note thus sounded was taken up in the Virginia legislature, whose resolutions, drafted by James Madison, declared the obnoxious laws "palpable and alarming infractions of the constitution." Both sets of resolutions, as they came from the hands of their framers, were stronger still. Jefferson had written, "Where powers are assumed which have not been delegated, a nullification of the act is the right remedy, and every state has a natural right, in cases not within the compact [the constitution], to nullify of their own authority all assumptions of power by others within their limits." Madison had made his resolutions declare the acts in question "null, void, and of no force or effect." But it

[1799 A.D.]

was an early day for nullification; and neither Kentucky nor Virginia went the length prescribed for them. They went far enough, as has been seen, to excite very general opposition from their sister states, especially those of the centre and the north, where legislature after legislature came out with strong and denunciatory denials of the right of any state to sit in judgment upon the national government.

Things were in this seething state, the factions on both sides being at the height of their passions, when the president nominated a minister to France in the person of William Vans Murray, to whom he afterwards joined Oliver Ellsworth, then chief justice, and William R. Davie, as colleagues (February, 1799). They were to insist upon redress for the decrees and the captures of the French; yet, unless received on their arrival at Paris, they were not to linger, but to demand their passports and abandon the mission. In all this, one finds it difficult to detect anything unworthy of the nation. But the din upon the nomination of the embassy was tremendous. All the more active federalists, conspicuous amongst whom were the principal members of the cabinet, Timothy Pickering and Oliver Wolcott, cried out against the treachery of the president. It was treachery against their party rather than against their country, even in their own eyes; but they were blinded by the political animosity that dazzled and bewildered almost all around them. The president himself was suspected of urging the mission, in some degree, out of spite against the federal party, by whom, or by whose extreme members, he considered himself badly used. "The British faction," he wrote afterwards, "was determined to have a war with France, and Alexander Hamilton at the head of the army, and then president of the United States. Peace with France was therefore treason." "This transaction," he exclaimed in relation to the appointment of a new mission, "must be transmitted to posterity as the most disinterested, prudent, and successful conduct in my whole life!"

The envoys to France reached their destination in the beginning of the following year (1800).¹ They found Napoleon Bonaparte first consul. With his government, after some difficulty, they concluded a convention, in October, providing in part for mutual redress, but leaving many of the questions between the two nations for future settlement. The effect was soon seen in claims for French spoliations. The treaty sufficed to restore peace.

THE MISSISSIPPI AND INDIANA TERRITORIES; THE SLAVERY QUESTION

France was not the only foreign power with which there had been difficulties. Spain, aggrieved, as she professed herself to be, by the same British treaty that had offended France, regarded the United States not only as an unimportant but as an untrustworthy ally. The former troubles in connection with the Florida territory continued, especially upon the subject of a boundary between it and the United States. New troubles, too, arose. Vague projects to get possession of the Mississippi valley, by dint of intrigue amongst the western settlers, were ascribed, and not without reason, to the Spaniards. Thus, on both sides there were suspicions, on both contentions.

The country at which Spain appeared to be aiming was rapidly organised by the United States. The Mississippi Territory was formed, including at first the lower part of the present Alabama and Mississippi (1798). This organisation excited a debate concerning slavery, which, as the organising

[¹ During the summer of 1800 the seat of government was removed to the city of Washington, in the District of Columbia, according to Hamilton's previous arrangement.]

act provided, was not to be prohibited in the territory. Here was no such plea as had existed in the case of the territory south of the Ohio. No cession from a state, no conditions laid any restraint upon congress. Yet but twelve votes were given in favour of an amendment proposed by George Thacher, of Massachusetts, prohibiting the introduction of slavery into the territory. The most that congress would agree to was to forbid the importation of slaves from abroad; a concession, inasmuch as the slave trade, it will be remembered, was still allowed by the constitution. So, for the second time, and this time without its being required by terms with any state,¹ the decision of the national government was given in favour of slavery. Let it be borne in mind, when we come to the controversies of later years.

But congress took the other side likewise. The western portion of the Northwest Territory soon needed to be set off as the territory of Indiana, embracing the present Indiana, Illinois, and Michigan (1800). There slavery was already prohibited. But this went against the interests of the inhabitants, as they thought, and they petitioned congress, within three and again within seven years after the organisation of the territory, to be allowed to introduce slaves amongst them. Twice a report was made in favour of the petition. Reports and petitions, however, were alike fruitless. Congress would not authorise slavery where it had been prohibited.^f

THE PRESIDENCY OF JEFFERSON; THE LOUISIANA PURCHASE

Adams had been elected by the predominance of federal principles, but several things had occurred in his administration which had not only weakened his personal influence, but tended greatly to the overthrow of the federal party.²

The federalists supported for the approaching election Adams and General Thomas Pinckney, the democratic party Thomas Jefferson and Colonel Aaron Burr. The two latter were found to have a small majority, the whole of the republican party having voted for them, with the intention of making Jefferson president and Burr vice-president. On counting the votes, however, it was discovered that both were equal; the selection, therefore, of the president devolved upon the house of representatives, who, voting by states, according to the constitution, should decide between the two. Again and again, and yet again, the balloting was repeated in the house, and the result always the same; nor was it until the thirty-sixth balloting that one altered vote turned the scale in Jefferson's favour. He became president, and Aaron Burr vice-president. To guard against the recurrence of such a difficulty, Article XII was added to the constitution.

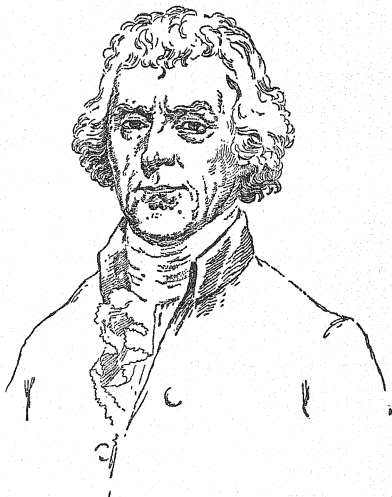
¹ The part of the territory at this time organised was claimed by the United States as a portion of the old Florida domain. Georgia likewise claimed it as hers; and when she surrendered what was allowed to be hers, that is, the upper part of the present Alabama and Mississippi, she made it a condition that slavery should not be prohibited (1802).

² It was impossible to realise that there never again would be a federalist president. The reasons for this downfall are many. However popular the French war had been, the taxes made necessary by it had provoked great dissatisfaction; and in 1799 a little insurrection, the so-called Fries Rebellion, had broken out in Pennsylvania. The Sedition prosecutions were exceedingly unpopular. They had governed well; they had built up the credit of the country; they had taken a dignified and effective stand against the aggressions both of England and of France. Yet their theory was of a government by leaders. Jefferson, on the other hand, represented the rising spirit of democracy. It was not his protest against the over-government of the federalists that made him popular; it was his assertion that the people at large were the best depositaries of power. Jefferson had taken hold of the "great wheel going uphill." He had behind him the mighty force of the popular will.—A. B. HART.^b

[1801-1802 A.D.]

On the election of Jefferson, all the principal offices of the government were transferred to the republican party; Madison was appointed to the department of state; the system of internal duties was abolished, together with several unpopular laws which were enacted during the last administration. A second census of the United States was taken in 1801, giving a population of 5,319,762, presenting an increase of 1,400,000 in ten years. During the same time the exports had increased from \$19,000,000 to \$94,000,000, and the revenue from \$4,771,000 to \$12,945,000—a wonderful increase, which has scarcely a parallel in the history of the progress of nations, excepting it may be in some extraordinary cases, like those of California and Australia under the gold impulse.

The right of depositing merchandise at New Orleans, which had been granted to the citizens of the United States by the Spanish governor of Louisiana, in a late treaty, and which was absolutely necessary to the people of the Western states, was withdrawn this year, and caused a general agitation. A proposal was made in congress to take forcible possession of the whole province of Louisiana; but milder measures were adopted, and the right of deposit was restored. In the year 1800 Louisiana had been secretly ceded to France, and Jefferson, in 1802, opened a private correspondence with Robert R. Livingston, in Paris, on the subject of this cession. The United States had hitherto, he said, considered France as their natural friend, but the moment she became possessed of New Orleans, through which three-eighths of the produce of the Americans must pass, she would become their natural enemy. The case was different with a feeble and pacific power like Spain; but it would be impossible that France and the United States could continue friends when they met in so irritating a position; that the moment France took possession of New Orleans, the United States must ally themselves with Great Britain; and, he asked, was it worth while for such a short-lived possession of New Orleans for France to transfer such a weight into the scale of her enemy? He then artfully suggested the cession of New Orleans and the Floridas; but adds, and even that they would consider as no equivalent while she possessed Louisiana.



THOMAS JEFFERSON
(1743-1826)

In January, 1803, James Monroe was sent over to aid Livingston in the purchase of Florida; but instead of the purchase merely of New Orleans and the Floridas, as had been planned, they were able to effect that of all Louisiana, equal in extent to the whole previous territory of the United States. They owed their good fortune to the war which was so suddenly renewed between France and England, when the government of France, convinced that the possession of Louisiana would soon be wrested from her by the superior naval power of England, readily consented to make sale of it to a third power, and the rather, as the money was very acceptable at that time.

For the trifling sum of \$15,000,000 the United States became possessed of that vast extent of country embracing the present state of Louisiana, which was called "the territory of Orleans," as well as of "the district of Louisiana," embracing a large tract of country extending westward to Mexico and the Pacific Ocean. The treaty was concluded at Paris in 1803.¹ The area of the country thus ceded was upwards of one million square miles, but all, excepting a small proportion, occupied by the Indians, its natural proprietors. Its inhabitants, chiefly French, or the descendants of the French, with a few Spanish creoles, Americans, English, and Germans, amounted to between eighty thousand and ninety thousand, including about forty thousand slaves.

In 1803 an appropriation was made by congress for defraying the expenses of an exploring party across the continent to the Pacific. This was a scheme which the president had much at heart, and under his auspices it was carried out; Captain Meriwether Lewis being at the head of the expedition, while second in command was Captain Jonathan Clark, brother of George Rogers Clark, and under them twenty-eight well-selected individuals, with an escort of Mandan Indians. The expedition set out on May 14th, 1804. Since 1801 war had existed between the United States and Tripoli.^y

WAR WITH TRIPOLI

In 1803 Commodore Preble was sent into the Mediterranean, and after humbling the emperor of Morocco, he appeared before Tripoli with most of his squadron. The frigate *Philadelphia*, under Captain Bainbridge, being sent into the harbour to reconnoitre, struck upon a rock, and was obliged to surrender to the Tripolitans. The officers were considered prisoners of war, but the crew were treated as slaves.

Early in February of the following year, Lieutenant Decatur, under the cover of evening, entered the harbour of Tripoli, in a small schooner, having on board but seventy-six men, with the design of destroying the *Philadelphia*, which was then moored near the castle, with a strong Tripolitan crew. By the aid of his pilot, who understood the Tripolitan language, Decatur succeeded in bringing his vessel in contact with the *Philadelphia*, when he and his followers leaped on board, and in a few minutes killed twenty of the Tripolitans and drove the rest into the sea. Under a heavy cannonade from the surrounding vessels and batteries, the *Philadelphia* was set on fire, and not abandoned until thoroughly wrapped in flames; when Decatur and

[¹ Jefferson came into power as a stickler for a limited government, confined chiefly to foreign and commercial affairs. He now entered upon the most brilliant episode of his administration—the annexation of Louisiana; and that transaction was carried out and defended upon precisely the grounds of loose construction which he had so much contemned.—A. B. HART.^b]

[1804-1805 A.D.]

his gallant crew succeeded in getting out of the harbour without the loss of a single man. During the month of August, Tripoli was repeatedly bombarded by the American squadron, under Commodore Preble, and a severe action occurred with the Tripolitan gunboats, which resulted in the capture of several, with little loss to the Americans.

At the time of Commodore Preble's expedition to the Mediterranean, Hamet, the legitimate sovereign of Tripoli, was an exile, having been deprived of his government by the usurpation of a younger brother. Eaton, the American consul at Tunis, concocted with Hamet an expedition against the reigning sovereign, and obtained from the government of the United States permission to undertake it. With about seventy men from the American squadron, together with the followers of Hamet and some Egyptian troops, Eaton and Hamet set out from Alexandria towards Tripoli, a distance of a thousand miles across a desert country. After two successful engagements had occurred with the Tripolitan army, the reigning bashaw offered terms of peace, which, being considered much more favourable than had before been offered, were accepted by Mr. Lear, the authorised agent of government.²

Sixty thousand dollars were given as a ransom for the unfortunate American prisoners, together with an agreement to withdraw all support from Hamet.

In July, 1804, Alexander Hamilton, the present head of the federalist party, fell in a duel fought with the vice-president, Aaron Burr, who, having lost the confidence of the republicans, and despairing of re-election either as president or vice-president, had offered himself as candidate for the office of governor of New York. He was not elected, and attributing his unsuccess to the influence of Hamilton with his party, sent him a challenge, and Hamilton's death was the result. [Hamilton had simply fired into the air. So great was the popular desire to lynch Burr that he was forced to go into hiding for a time.]

This autumn closed Jefferson's first presidential term, and the general prosperity which prevailed gained for him the national favour. Summing up in short the events of his administration, we find that, by a steady course of economy, although he had considerably reduced the taxes, the public debt was lessened by \$12,000,000, the area of the United States about doubled, and the danger of war with both France and Spain averted, the Tripolitans were chastised, and a large and valuable tract of Indian land was acquired. Jefferson was re-elected president, and George Clinton, late governor of New York, vice-president.³

JEFFERSON'S SECOND TERM; AARON BURR'S CONSPIRACY

The new state of Ohio was already admitted to the Union (November 29th, 1802). New territories—Michigan (1805) and Illinois (1809)—were subsequently formed from out of the Indiana Territory. The signs of expansion were written everywhere, but nowhere so strikingly as along the western plains. There they were such as to kindle projects of a new empire. Aaron Burr, vice-president during Jefferson's first term, but displaced in the second term by George Clinton (1805)—branded, too, with the recent murder of Alexander Hamilton in a duel—was generally avoided amongst his old associates. Turning his face westward, he there drew into his net various men, some of position and some of obscurity, with whose aid he seems to have intended making himself master of the Mississippi valley, or of Mexico, one

or both (1806). Whatever his schemes were, they miscarried. A handful only of followers were gathered round him on the banks of the Mississippi, a hundred miles or more above New Orleans, when he surrendered himself to the government of the Mississippi Territory (January, 1807). Some months afterwards he was brought to trial for high treason before Chief-Justice Marshall, of the supreme court, with whom sat the district judge for Virginia; the reason for trying Burr in that state being the fact that one of the places where he was charged with having organised a military expedition was within the Virginian limits. The trial, like everything else in those days, was made a party question; the administration and its supporters going strongly against Burr, while its opponents were disposed to take his part. He was acquitted for want of proof; and for the same reason he was again acquitted when tried for undertaking to invade the Spanish territories.

BRITISH AGGRESSIONS

Frowning high above all these domestic events were the aggressions from abroad. If they sank in one direction, they seemed sure to rise the more threateningly in another. It was now the turn of Great Britain. The system of impressment, though protested against by the United States, had never been renounced by Great Britain. On the contrary, it had been extended even to the American navy, of which the vessels were once and again plundered of their seamen by British men-of-war. Another subject on which Great Britain set herself against the claims of the United States was the neutral trade, of which the latter nation engrossed a large and constantly increasing share during the European wars. After various attempts to discourage American commerce with her enemies, Great Britain undertook to put it down by condemning vessels of the United States on the ground that their cargoes were not neutral but belligerent property; in other words, that the Americans transported goods which were not their own, but those of nations at war with Great Britain. It must be allowed that the American shippers played a close game, importing merchandise only to get a neutral name for it, and then exporting it to the country to which it could not be shipped directly from its place of origin. But the sharper the practice, the more of a favourite it seemed to be (1805). A cry went up from all the commercial towns of the United States, appealing to the government for protection. The government could do but little. It passed a law prohibiting the importation of certain articles from Great Britain—the prohibition, however, not to take immediate effect.¹

THEODORE ROOSEVELT ON THE RIGHT OF SEARCH¹

Great Britain's doctrine was "once a subject always a subject." On the other hand, the United States maintained that any foreigner, after five years' residence within her territory, and after having complied with certain forms, became one of her citizens as completely as if he was native-born. Great Britain contended that her war-ships possessed the right of searching all neutral vessels for the property and persons of her foes. The United States, resisting this claim, asserted that "free bottoms made free goods," and that consequently her ships when on the high seas should not be molested on

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[1806 A.D.]

any pretext whatever. Finally, Great Britain's system of impressment, by which men could be forcibly seized and made to serve in her navy, no matter at what cost to themselves, was repugnant to every American idea.

Such wide differences in the views of the two nations produced endless difficulties. To escape the press-gang, or for other reasons, many British seamen took service under the American flag; and if they were demanded back, it is not likely that they or their American shipmates had much hesitation in swearing either that they were not British at all, or else that they had been naturalised as Americans. Equally probable is it that the American blockade-runners were guilty of a great deal of fraud and more or less thinly veiled perjury. But the wrongs done by the Americans were insignificant compared with those they received. Any innocent merchant vessel was liable to seizure at any moment, and when overhauled by a British cruiser short of men was sure to be stripped of most of her crew. The British officers were themselves the judges as to whether a seaman should be pronounced a native of America or of Britain, and there was no appeal from their judgment. If a captain lacked his full complement, there was little doubt as to the view he would take of any man's nationality. The wrongs inflicted on our seafaring countrymen by their impressment into foreign ships formed the main cause of the war.

There were still other grievances which are thus presented by the British Admiral Cochrane: "Our treatment of its (America's) citizens was scarcely in accordance with the national privileges to which the young republic had become entitled. There were no doubt many individuals among the American people who, caring little for the federal government, considered it more profitable to break than to keep the laws of nations by aiding and supporting our enemy (France), and it was against such that the efforts of the squadron had chiefly been directed; but the way the object was carried out was scarcely less an infraction of those national laws which we were professedly enforcing. The practice of taking English (and American) seamen out of American ships without regard to the safety of navigating them when thus deprived of their hands has been already mentioned. To this may be added the detention of vessels against which nothing contrary to international neutrality could be established, whereby their cargoes became damaged; the compelling them, on suspicions only, to proceed to ports other than those to which they were destined; and generally treating them as though they were engaged in contraband trade."

The principles for which the United States contended in 1812 are now universally accepted, and those so tenaciously maintained by Great Britain find no advocates in the civilised world. That England herself was afterwards completely reconciled to our views was amply shown by her intense indignation when Commodore Wilkes, in the exercise of the right of search for the persons of the foes of his country, stopped the neutral British ship *Trent*; while the applause with which the act was greeted in America proves pretty clearly another fact—that we had warred for the right, not because it was the right, but because it agreed with our self-interest to do so.^{bb}

AN AMERICAN WAR-SHIP SEARCHED

In April, 1806, a mission, consisting of James Monroe and William Pinkney, was sent to London, to negotiate a new treaty, in which the disputed points should be included. But the mission proved a total failure. In the

first place, the envoys could obtain no satisfaction on the subject of impressment, and next to none on that of the neutral trade. In the next place, the treaty which they signed, notwithstanding these omissions, was at once rejected by President Jefferson, without even a reference to the senate (March, 1807). The tumult of party that ensued was immense. The president was charged with sacrificing the best interests of the country, as well as with violating the plainest provisions of the constitution. Was it he alone who held the treaty-making power—he, too, the republican, who had insisted upon restraining the powers of the executive? But looking back upon the action of Jefferson, we see little in it to have provoked such outcries. He sent envoys to form a new treaty; they had merely reformed an old one. It might be rash to sacrifice the advantages which they had gained; but might it not be ignominious to surrender the claims which they had passed by?

If the nation needed to be convinced of the necessity of some definite understanding with Great Britain on the subjects omitted in the rejected treaty, it soon had an opportunity. The United States frigate *Chesapeake*, sailing from Hampton Roads, was hailed off the capes of Chesapeake Bay, June 22nd, 1807, by the British frigate *Leopard*, the captain of which demanded to search the *Chesapeake* for deserters from the service of Great Britain. Captain Barron, the commander of the *Chesapeake*, refused; whereupon the *Leopard* opened fire. As Barron and his crew were totally unprepared for action, they fired but a single gun, to save their honour, then, having lost several men, struck their flag. The British commander took those of whom he was in search, three of the four being Americans [previously impressed but escaped], and left the *Chesapeake* to make her way back dishonoured, and the nation to which she belonged dishonoured likewise.

The president issued a proclamation ordering British men-of-war from the waters of the United States. Instructions were sent to the envoys at London, directing them not merely to seek reparation for the wrong that had been done, but to obtain the renunciation of the pretensions to a right of search and of impressment, from which the wrong had sprung. The British government recognised their responsibility by sending a special minister to settle the difficulty at Washington. It was four years, however, before the desired reparation was procured. The desired renunciation was never made. One can scarcely credit his eyes when he reads that the affair of the *Chesapeake* was made a party point. But so it was. The friends of Great Britain, the capitalists and commercial classes, generally, murmured at the course of their government, as too decided, "too French," they sometimes called it; as if the slightest resistance to Great Britain were subordination to France.

The aspect of the two nations was very much changed of late years. Bonaparte, the consul of the French Republic, had become Napoleon, the emperor of the French Empire. Regarded by his enemies as a monster steeped in despotism and in blood, he excited abhorrence, not only for himself but for his nation, amongst a large portion of the Americans. On the other hand, Great Britain, formerly scouted at as the opponent of liberty, was now generally considered its champion in Europe. There was but a faint comprehension of the principles involved in the struggle between Great Britain and France, of the real attitude taken by the former in warring against the chosen sovereign of the latter, or of the remorseless ambition by which the one government was quite as much actuated as the other. But there was still a very considerable number in America to sympathise with France, if with either of the contending powers. To these men, the aggressions of

[1807 A.D.]

Great Britain were intolerable; while to the supporters of the British the French aggressions were far the more unendurable.

Both parties had their fill. Before the attack on the *Chesapeake*, the lists had been opened between France and England, to see not merely how much harm they could do to each other, but how much they could inflict upon all allied or connected with each other. Connected with both were the Americans, who were now assailed by both. Great Britain led off by declaring the French ports, from Brest to the Elbe, closed to American as to all other shipping (May 16th, 1806). France retorted by the Berlin Decree, so called because issued from Prussia, prohibiting any commerce with Great Britain (November 21st). That power immediately forbade the coasting trade between one port and another in the possession of her enemies (January 7th, 1807). Not satisfied with this, she went on, by the famous Order in Council, to forbid to neutrals all trade whatsoever with France and her allies, except on payment of a tribute to Great Britain, each vessel to pay in proportion to its cargo (November 11th). Then followed the Milan Decree of Napoleon, prohibiting all trade whatsoever with Great Britain, and declaring such vessels as paid the recently demanded tribute to be lawful prizes to the French marine (December 17th). Such was the series of acts thundering like broadsides against the interests of America. It transformed commerce from a peaceful pursuit into a warlike one, full of peril, of loss, of strife. It did more. It wounded the national honour, by attempting to prostrate the United States at the mercy of the European powers.

There was but one of two courses for the United States to take: peace, or preparation for war. War itself was impossible in the unprovided state of the country; but to assume a defensive, and if need were to get ready for an offensive position, was perfectly practicable. Jefferson thought it enough to order an additional number of gunboats—very different from the gunboats of our time, and yet considered by the administration and its supporters to constitute a navy by themselves.¹

JOHN T. MORSE ON JEFFERSON'S WAR POLICY¹

Obviously Jefferson had forgotten something of what he had once learned concerning the British character. It has been often said that if he had refrained from his prattle about peace, reason, and right, and instead thereof had hectored and swaggered with a fair show of spirit at this crucial period, the history of the next ten years might have been changed and the War of 1812 might never have been fought. Probably this would not have been the case, and England would have fought in 1807, 1808, or 1809 as readily as in 1812. But, however this may be, the high-tempered course was the only one of any promise at all, and, had it precipitated the war by a few short years, at least the nation would have escaped a long and weary journey through a mud slough of humiliation. But it is idle to talk of what might have been had Jefferson acted differently. He could not act differently. Though the people would probably have backed him in a warlike policy, he could not adopt it. A great statesman amid political storms, he was utterly helpless when the clouds of war gathered. He was as miserably out of place now as he had been in the governorship of Virginia during the Revolution. He could not bring himself to entertain any measures looking to so much as preparation for serious conflict.

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[1807-1810 A.D.]

A navy remained still, as it had always been, his abhorrence. His extremest step in that direction was to build gunboats. Everyone has heard of and nearly everyone has laughed at these playhouse flotillas, which were to be kept in sheds out of the sun and rain until the enemy should appear, and were then to be carted down to the water and manned by the neighbours, to encounter, perhaps, the fleets and crews which won the fight at Trafalgar, shattered the French navy at the Nile, and battered Copenhagen to ruins. It almost seemed as though the very harmlessness of the craft constituted a recommendation to Jefferson. At least they were very cheap, and he rejoiced to reckon that nearly a dozen of them could be built for \$100,000. So he was always advising to build more, while England, with all her fighting blood up, inflicted outrage after outrage upon a country whose ruler cherished such singular notions of naval affairs.^{cc}

THE EMBARGO REVIVES SECESSION DOCTRINES; MADISON'S PRESIDENCY

Jefferson at last hit upon the most self-denying of plans. The aggressions of the European powers were directed against the commerce of America, the rights of owners and of crews. That these might be secured, the president recommended, and congress adopted, an embargo upon all United States vessels and upon all foreign vessels with cargoes shipped after the passage of the act in United States ports (December 22nd, 1807). The date shows that the embargo was laid before the news of the last violent decrees of France and Great Britain. In other words, as commerce led to injuries from foreign nations, commerce was to be abandoned. There was also the idea that the foreign nations themselves would suffer from the loss of American supplies and American prizes. It was a singular way, one must allow, of preserving peace, to adopt a measure at once provoking to the stranger and destructive to the citizen. The latter eluded it, and it was again and again enforced by severe and even arbitrary statutes. The former laughed it to scorn. France, on whose side the violent federalists declared the embargo to be, answered by a decree of Napoleon's from Bayonne, ordering the confiscation of all American vessels in French ports (April 17th, 1808). Great Britain soon after made her response, by an order prohibiting the exportation of American produce, whether paying tribute or not to the European continent (December 21st). So ineffective abroad, so productive of discontent at home, even amongst the supporters of the administration, did the embargo prove that it was repealed (March, 1809).

Thus neither preserving peace nor preparing for war, Jefferson in 1809 gave up the conduct of affairs to his successor, Madison, who kept on the same course. [George Clinton was re-elected vice-president.] In place of the embargo were non-intercourse or non-importation acts in relation to Great Britain and France, as restrictive as the embargo, so far as the designated nations were concerned, but leaving free the trade with other countries. These successors of the embargo, however, were nowise more effectual than that had been. They were reviled and violated in America; they were contemned in Europe. The administration amused itself with suspending the restrictions, now in favour of Great Britain (1809), and now in favour of France (1810), hoping to induce those powers to reciprocate the compliment by a suspension of their own aggressive orders. There was a show of doing so. Napoleon had recently issued a decree from Rambouillet, ordering the sale of more than a hundred American vessels as condemned prizes (March 23rd, 1810).

[1810 A.D.]

But on the news from America, willing to involve the young nation in hostilities with Great Britain, he intimated his readiness to retract the decrees of which the United States complained. But he would not do so, and America, mortified, but not yet enlightened, returned to her prohibitions. They were scoffed at by her own people.

It is not so difficult to describe as to conceive the hue and cry, on the part of the opposition, against the embargo and the subsequent acts. Whatever discontent, whatever nullification had been expressed by the republicans against the war measures of Adams, was rivalled, if not outrivalled, by the federalists against the so-called peace measures of Jefferson and Madison. Town-meetings, state legislatures, even the courts in some places, declared against the constitutionality and the validity of the embargo statutes. The federalists of Massachusetts were charged with the design of dissolving the Union. It was not their intention, but their language had warranted its being imputed to them.

Many causes were accelerating the progress of events towards war. Among these, the hostile position of the Indian tribes on the north-western frontier of the United States was one of the most powerful. They, too, had felt the pressure of Bonaparte's commercial system. In consequence of the exclusion of their furs from the continental markets, the Indian hunters found their traffic reduced to the lowest point. The rapid extension of settlements north of the Ohio was narrowing their hunting-grounds and producing a rapid diminution of game, and the introduction of



JAMES MADISON
(1751-1836)

whisky by the white people was spreading demoralisation, disease, and death among the Indians. These evils, combined with the known influence of British emissaries, finally led to open hostilities. In the spring of 1811 it became certain that Tecumseh, a Shawnee chief, who was crafty, intrepid, unscrupulous, and cruel, and who possessed the qualities of a great leader almost equal to those of Pontiac, was endeavouring to emulate that great Ottawa by confederating the tribes of the Northwest in a war against the people of the United States. Those over whom he and his twin-brother, the Prophet, exercised the greatest control, were the Delawares, Shawnees, Wyandots, Miami, Kickapoos, Winnebagoes, and Chippewas. During the summer the frontier settlers became so alarmed by the continual military and religious exercises of the savages that General Harrison, then governor of the Indiana

[1811-1812 A.D.]

Territory, marched with a considerable force towards the town of the Prophet, situated at the junction of the Tippecanoe and Wabash rivers, in the upper part of Tippecanoe county, Indiana. The Prophet appeared and proposed a conference, but Harrison, suspecting treachery, caused his soldiers to sleep on their arms that night (November 6th, 1811). At four o'clock the next morning the savages fell upon the American camp, but after a bloody battle until dawn the Indians were repulsed. The battle of Tippecanoe was one of the most desperate ever fought with the Indians, and the loss was heavy on both sides. Tecumseh was not present on this occasion, and it is said the Prophet took no part in the engagement.

These events, so evidently the work of British interference, aroused the spirit of the nation, and throughout the entire West, and in the Middle and Southern states, there was a desire for war. Yet the administration fully appreciated the deep responsibility involved in such a step; and having almost the entire body of the New England people in opposition, the president and his friends hesitated. The British orders in council continued to be rigorously enforced; insult after insult was offered to the American flag; and the British press insolently boasted that the United States "could not be kicked into a war." Forbearance was no longer a virtue.²

In March, 1811, Pinkney, the American minister, was suddenly recalled from London; and, British ships being stationed before the principal harbours of the United States for the purpose of enforcing the British authority, open acts of hostility took place in May of the same year. The British frigate *Guerrière*, exercising the assumed right of search, carried off three or four natives of the states from some American vessels, whereupon orders came down from Washington to Commodore Rodgers to pursue the British ship and demand their own men. Rodgers sailed from the Chesapeake on the 12th of May, in the frigate *President*, and, not meeting with the offending *Guerrière*, fell in with a smaller vessel, the *Little Belt*, towards evening of the 16th of May. The *President* was a large ship, the *Little Belt* a small one; the *President* hailed, and in return, the Americans declared, a shot was fired. The British, on the other hand, declared that the *President* fired first; however that might be, a severe engagement took place, the guns of the *Little Belt* were silenced, and thirty-two of her men killed and wounded. Through the night the two ships lay at a little distance from each other to repair their damages, the British ship being almost disabled.³

It was plain that war was becoming popular in the United States. As for that, it had always been so; when Washington opposed it, he was abused; when Adams favoured it, he was extolled; when Jefferson avoided it, he risked even his immense influence over the nation. Congress now took up the question, and voted one measure after another, preparatory to hostilities with Great Britain (December-March, 1812). The president hesitated. He was no war leader by nature or by principle; the only tendency in that direction came to him from party motives. His party, or at any rate the more active portion of it, was all for arms: when he doubted, they urged; when he inclined to draw back, they drove him forward. It being the time when the congressional caucus was about to nominate for the presidency, Madison received the intimation that if he was a candidate for re-election he must come out for war. Whether it was to force or to his own free will that he yielded, he did yield, and sent a message to congress, recommending an embargo of sixty days. Congress received it, according to its intention, as a preliminary to war, and voted it, though far from unanimously, for ninety days (April 4th, 1812).⁴

[1812 A.D.]

ENGLISH AND AMERICAN DISCREPANCIES

The English historians have, as a class, little disagreement with the Americans upon the justice and the conduct of the War of Independence. They accept it as indirectly redounding to their own real benefit, and their pages glow with praise of Washington and other patriots. But in the accounts of what has been called "the second War of Independence" there is such fundamental discrepancy between the historians of the two countries that it seems hardly possible they are treating the same conflict. To the Americans the War of 1812 was a combat in which they had no choice; they were goaded into the struggle for very existence. The English historian remembers only the stupendous threat of Napoleon to convert all Europe into one empire; he remembers the overwhelming success of this personified ambition, up to the point where England alone offered up resistance; he remembers the life-and-death struggle of his country. And when he thinks of the United States at all, he can only remember that at this crisis of British existence the United States turned against its own mother country, and threw its armies and its ships into the scale on Napoleon's side.

This very natural feeling colours the whole attitude of the British historians and renders them untrustworthy. Unfortunately, most of the American historians are equally unreliable; largely, no doubt, because the humiliations of the war were such that it was for many years difficult for an historian to resist the temptation to make as respectable a picture as possible, even if the cold facts had to be somewhat coloured. An exception, however, may be made of their accounts of the warfare on the sea, where some of the most notable naval engagements in the world's history took place, and in which the superiority of the American seamen was beyond question.

As to the justification of the war there can hardly be any doubt, unless it be based on a theory that the people who had so long postponed their duties to command self-respect, and had endured unflinchingly such insolent overriding of the laws of common decency, had lost every right of resistance. Some historians maintain that America's real injustice lay not in the declaration of war, but in its declaration against England, it being maintained that it should have been declared either against France alone, or against both England and France, and under no circumstances against England alone. But this theory has little practical basis; for, as events proved, the United States was hardly capable of maintaining war against England alone, to say nothing of bringing upon its shoulders the united weight of England and France; in the second place, England was the ancient enemy of the United States, and France had saved its very existence; in the third place, since the British navy ruled the seas, the British were far the greater sinners against the dignity and commerce of the United States.

Furthermore, it is well to remember that the struggle between Napoleon and Great Britain was not by any means a struggle between a ruthless oppressor and a nation whose hands were entirely clean of oppression. All around the world there were evidences of British land-hunger. The United States had cause enough to declare war against both countries; but such an act would have been mere suicide. Lacking the power to wage a successful combat against both, it was only reasonable that it should choose for an adversary the nation which had done it much the greater injury. The true disgrace of the United States lay in the fact that it had been so long declaring war, and that it waged the inevitable conflict so languidly and so awkwardly.^a

BEGINNING OF THE WAR OF 1812; INTERNAL FACTIONS

The bill declaring war between the United Kingdoms of Great Britain and Ireland and their dependencies, and the United States of America and their territories, was accompanied by a report, setting forth the causes that impelled to war, of which the following is a summary:

(1) For impressing American citizens, while sailing on the seas, the highway of nations, dragging them on board their ships of war, and forcing them to serve against nations in amity with the United States; and even to participate in aggressions on the rights of their fellow citizens when met on the high seas.

(2) Violating the rights and peace of our coasts and harbours, harassing our departing commerce, and wantonly spilling American blood, within our territorial jurisdiction.

(3) Plundering our commerce on every sea, under pretended blockades, not of harbours, ports, or places invested by adequate force, but of extended coasts, without the application of fleets to render them legal, and enforcing them from the date of their proclamation, thereby giving them virtually retrospective effect.

(4) Committing numberless spoliations on our ships and commerce, under her orders in council of various dates.

(5) Employing secret agents within the United States, with a view to subvert our government and dismember our union.

(6) Encouraging the Indian tribes to make war on the people of the United States.

The bill, reported by the committee of foreign relations, passed the house of representatives on the 4th of June, by a majority of thirty, in one hundred and twenty-eight votes, and was transmitted to the senate for its concurrence. In the senate it was passed by a majority of six, in thirty-two votes. On the 18th of June it received the approbation of the president, and on the next day was publicly announced.^{dd}

France having again—and this time unconditionally—repealed her aggressive decrees, Great Britain withdrew her arbitrary orders in council just as the war was declared (June 23rd). One of the chief grounds for hostilities, therefore, fell through. The other remained, but only, it was insisted by Great Britain, until the United States would take some measures to prevent British seamen from enlisting in the American service, which being done, there would be no need of search or of impressment by the navy of Great Britain. Proposals of an armistice were rejected by the United States (June-October). "We must fight," cried the war party, "if it is only for our seamen; six thousand of them are victims to these atrocious impressments." The British government had admitted, the year before, that they had sixteen hundred Americans in their service. "But your six thousand," retorted the advocates of peace, "are not all your own; there are foreigners, British subjects, amongst them; and will you fight for these?" "We will," was the reply [and here the sympathy of every generous heart must be theirs, so far as they were sincere]; "the stranger who comes to dwell or to toil amongst us is as much our own as if he were born in America."

The war was what might have been expected from the movements leading to it—the cause of a party, nominally headed by Madison, the president, by James Monroe, the secretary of state, by Albert Gallatin (the same who appeared in the Pennsylvania insurrection of Washington's time), the secretary of the treasury, and by others, officers or supporters of the administration, both in and out of congress; but the real leaders of the war party were younger men, some risen to distinction, like Henry Clay, speaker of the house of representatives, and John C. Calhoun, member of the same body.

The party support which the war received explains the party opposition which it encountered. The signal, given by a protest from the federalist

[1818 A.D.]

members of congress, was caught up and repeated in public meetings and at private hearthstones. Even the pulpit threw open its doors to political harangues, and those not of the mildest sort. "The alternative then is," exclaimed a clergyman at Boston, "that if you do not wish to become the slaves of those who own slaves, and who are themselves the slaves of French slaves, you must either, in the language of the day, cut the connection, or so far alter the national constitution as to secure yourselves a due share in the government. The Union has long since been virtually dissolved, and it is full time that this portion of the United States should take care of itself." This single extract must stand here for a thousand others that might be cited. Coming from the source that it did, it is a striking illustration of the sectionality, nay, the personal vindictiveness, with which the opposition was animated. Strongest in New England, where alone the federalist party still retained its power, the hostility to the war spread through all parts of the country, gathering many of otherwise conflicting views around the banner that had so long been trailing in the dust. If we cannot sympathise with the party thus reviving, we need not join in the tumult raised against it on the score of treachery or dishonour. The federalists opposed the war not because they were anti-national, but because they thought it anti-national.

The war began at home. The office of a federalist paper, the *Federal Republican*, conducted by Alexander Hanson, at Baltimore, was sacked by a mob, who then went on to attack dwellings, pillage vessels, and, finally, to fire the house of an individual suspected of partialities for Great Britain (June 22nd, 23rd). Such being the passions, such the divisions, internally, the nation needed more than the usual panoply to protect itself externally. But it had less. The colonies of 1775 did not go to war more unprepared than the United States of 1812. There was no army to speak of. Generals abounded, it is true, Henry Dearborn, late secretary of war, being at the head of the list; but troops were few and far between, some thousands of regulars and of volunteers constituting the entire force. As to the militia, there were grave differences to prevent its efficient employment. In the first place, there was a general distrust of such bodies of troops. In the next place, there were local controversies, between certain of the state authorities and the general government, as to the power of the latter to call out the militia in the existing state of things, the constitution authorising congress "to provide for calling forth the militia to execute the laws of the Union, suppress insurrections, and repel invasions."

If the army was inconsiderable, the navy was hardly perceptible, embracing only eight or ten frigates, as many more smaller vessels, and a flotilla of comparatively useless gunboats. The national finances were in a correspondingly low condition. The revenue, affected by the interruptions to commerce during the preceding years, needed all the stimulants which it could obtain, even in time of peace. It was wholly inadequate to the exigencies of war. Accordingly, resort was had to loans, then to direct taxes and licenses (1813). But the ways and means fell far short of the demands upon them. In fine, whether we take a financial or a military point of view, we find the country equally unfitted for hostilities. It might rely, indeed, upon its own inherent energies, the energies of six millions of freemen; but even these were distracted, and to a great degree paralysed.

Fortunate, therefore, was it that Great Britain was occupied—it may be said absorbed—in Europe. Her mighty struggle with Napoleon was at its height when the United States declared war. To British ears the declaration sounded much the same as the wail of a child amidst the contentions

of men. Very little heed was paid to it, the retraction of the orders in council being considered as likely to end it altogether. But to the astonishment of the British government the Americans persisted. "Let them wait," was the tone, "until Bonaparte is crushed, and they shall have their turn."

HULL'S SURRENDER RETRIEVED BY PERRY

Notwithstanding the almost entire want of means, the United States government determined to carry the war into the enemy's country. For this purpose, William Hull, general and governor of Michigan Territory, crossed from Detroit to Sandwich in Canada, with about two thousand men (July 12th, 1813). In a little more than a month he had not only retreated, but surrendered, without a blow, to [an inferior force under] General Brock, the governor of Lower Canada (August 16th)^f. The indignation of the Americans at this cowardly and disgraceful transaction knew no bounds. Expectation had been raised to such a height by the confident language of previous despatches from General Hull that nothing less than the capture of all Upper Canada was expected. The surrender, therefore, of an American army to an inferior force, together with the cession of a large extent of territory, as it had never entered into the calculations of the people, was almost too much for them to bear. As soon as General Hull was exchanged, he was, of course, brought before a court-martial, tried on the charges of treason, cowardice, and unofficer-like conduct, found guilty of the last two, and sentenced to be shot. The president, however, in consequence of his age and former services, remitted the capital punishment, but directed his name to be stricken from the rolls of the army—a disgrace which, to a lofty and honourable spirit, is worse than death.^{dd}

The British, already in possession of the northern part of Michigan, were soon masters of the entire territory. So far from being able to recover it, General Harrison, who made the attempt in the ensuing autumn and winter, found it all he could do to save Ohio from falling with Michigan. A detachment of Kentuckians yielded to a superior force of British at Frenchtown, on the river Raisin (January, 1813), whereupon Harrison took post by the Maumee, at Fort Meigs, holding out there against the British and their Indian allies (April, May). The same fort was again assailed and again defended, General Clay being at that time in command. Fort Stephenson, on the Sandusky, was attacked in August, but defended with great spirit and success by a small garrison under Major Croghan. Yet Ohio was still in danger.

It was rescued by different operations from those as yet described. Captain Chauncey, after gathering a little fleet on Lake Ontario, where he achieved some successes, appointed Lieutenant Oliver H. Perry to the command on Lake Erie. Perry's first duty was to provide a fleet; his next, to lead it, when provided, against the British vessels under Captain Barclay.^f

Early in the spring of this year the attention of the national government had been seriously directed towards the important object of obtaining the command on Lake Erie. The earnest representations of General Harrison had awakened the administration to a proper sense of the necessity of this measure, and great exertions were accordingly made to obtain a force competent to engage the enemy. Two brigs and several schooners were ordered to be built at the port of Erie, under the directions of Commodore Oliver Hazard Perry; the building of which that officer carried on with such rapidity that on the 2nd of August he was able to sail in quest of the enemy's squad-

[1813 A.D.]

ron. He found them lying in the harbour of Malden, their force augmented by a new vessel, the *Detroit*. Finding the enemy, however, unwilling to venture out, the American commander returned to Put-in Bay, in South Bass Island.

On the morning of the 10th of September, while the squadron was lying in this harbour, the enemy's fleet was discovered standing out of the port of Malden, with the wind in their favour. The American fleet immediately weighed anchor, and fortunately got clear of the islands near the head of the lake before the enemy approached. At ten o'clock the wind changed, so as to give the former the weather-gauge. Commodore Perry then formed his line of battle, and at a few minutes before twelve the action commenced. The fire from the enemy's long guns proving very destructive to the *Lawrence*, the flagship of the squadron, she bore up, for the purpose of closing with her opponents, and made signals to the other vessels to support her. The wind, however, being very light, and the fire of the enemy well-directed, she soon became altogether unmanageable; she sustained the action, nevertheless, for upwards of two hours, until all her guns were disabled and most of the crew either killed or wounded. In this situation of affairs the American commodore, with singular presence of mind and a gallantry rarely equalled, resolved upon a step which decided the fortune of the day. Leaving his ship, the *Lawrence*, in charge of a lieutenant, he passed in an open boat, under a heavy fire of musketry, to the *Niagara*, which a fortunate increase of wind had enabled her commander, Captain Elliott, to bring up. The latter officer now volunteered to lead the smaller vessels into close action; while Commodore Perry, with the *Niagara*, bore up and passed through the enemy's line, pouring a destructive fire into the vessels on each side. The smaller American vessels, having soon afterwards arrived within a suitable distance, opened a well-directed fire upon their opponents, and after a short but severe contest the whole of the British squadron struck their colours to the republican vessels.

This victory will long be memorable in the annals of the republic, both as being the first victory of a squadron of its vessels over one of an enemy, and as being among the most brilliant and decisive triumphs ever recorded in the annals of naval warfare. The American loss in this engagement was two officers and twenty-five men killed, and ninety-six wounded, among whom were many officers; that of the British, as near as could be ascertained, was three officers and thirty-eight men killed, and nine officers and eighty-five men wounded.

Not merely was the character of the nation raised to the highest pitch of elevation by this signal victory, but the fate of the campaign on the whole northwestern frontier was decided by the destruction of the British squadron. Having heretofore drawn its supplies through the agency of that fleet, the army of the allies would, it was foreseen, be compelled to evacuate, not only its position in the American territory, but the greater part of Upper Canada.^{dd}

THEODORE ROOSEVELT ON THE BATTLE OF LAKE ERIE ¹

There happened to be circumstances which rendered the bragging of our writers over the victory somewhat plausible. Thus they could say with an appearance of truth that the enemy had sixty-three guns to our fifty-four, and outnumbered us. In reality, as well as can be ascertained

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from the conflicting evidence, he was inferior in number of men; but a few men more or less mattered nothing. Both sides had men enough to work the guns and handle the ships, especially as the fight was in smooth water, and largely at long range. The important fact was that though we had nine guns less, yet, at a broadside, they threw half as much metal again as those of our antagonist. With such odds in our favour it would have been a disgrace to have been beaten. The water was too smooth for our two brigs to show at their best; but this very smoothness rendered our gunboats more formidable than any of the British vessels, and the British testimony is unanimous that it was to them the defeat was primarily due. The American fleet came into action in worse form than the hostile squadron, the ships straggling badly, either owing to Perry having formed his line badly, or else to his having failed to train the subordinate commanders how to keep their places.

The chief merit of the American commander and his followers was indomitable courage and determination not to be beaten. This is no slight merit; but it may well be doubted if it would have insured victory had Barclay's force been as strong as Perry's. Perry made a headlong attack—his superior force, whether through his fault or his misfortune can hardly be said, being brought into action in such a manner that the head of the line was crushed by the inferior force opposed. Being literally hammered out of his own ship, Perry brought up its powerful twin-sister, and the already shattered hostile squadron was crushed by sheer weight. The manœuvres which marked the close of the battle, and which insured the capture of all the opposing ships, were unquestionably very fine.

The British ships were fought as resolutely as their antagonists, not being surrendered till they were crippled and helpless, and almost all the officers and a large portion of the men placed *hors de combat*. Captain Barclay handled his ships like a first-rate seaman. In short, our victory was due to our heavy metal.

Captain Perry showed indomitable pluck, and readiness to adapt himself to circumstances; but his claim to fame rests much less on his actual victory than on the way in which he prepared the fleet that was to win it. Here his energy and activity deserve all praise, not only for his success in collecting sailors and vessels and in building the two brigs, but above all for the manner in which he succeeded in getting them out on the lake. On that occasion he certainly outgeneralled Barclay; indeed, the latter committed an error that the skill and address he subsequently showed could not retrieve.

But it will always be a source of surprise that the American public should have so glorified Perry's victory over an inferior force, and have paid comparatively little attention to McDonough's victory, which really was won against decided odds in ships, men, and metal. It must always be remembered that when Perry fought this battle he was but twenty-seven years old; and the commanders of his other vessels were younger still.^{bb}

THE DISASTROUS LAND WAR

Perry's victory was on a small scale; yet its importance immediately appeared. Taking on board a body of troops from Ohio and Kentucky, under Harrison, Perry transported them to the neighbourhood of Sandwich, on the Canada shore, the same spot against which Hull had marched more than a twelvemonth before. The British having retired, Harrison crossed to Detroit. Recrossing, he advanced in pursuit of the much less numerous enemy, whose rear and whose main body were routed on two successive days

[1813 A. D.]

(October 4th, 5th). The latter action, on the bank of the Thames, was decisive; the British general, Proctor, making his escape with but a small portion of his troops, while his Indian ally, Tecumseh, was slain. Ohio was thus saved, and Michigan recovered; though not entirely, the British still holding the northern extremity of the territory.

All along the frontier between New York and Canada there had been from the first some scattered forces, both American and British. The former pretended to act on the offensive, but amidst continual failures. Chief of these movements without interest and without result was an attack against Queenstown, on the Canada shore of the Niagara river. Advanced parties gained possession of a battery on the bank, but there they were checked, and at length obliged to surrender, for want of support from their comrades on the American side. General Van Rensselaer was the American, General Brock the British commander—the latter falling in battle, the former resigning in disgust after the battle was over (October 13th, 1812). In the following spring General Dearborn and the land troops, in conjunction with Chauncey and the fleet, took York (now Toronto), the capital of Upper Canada, burning the parliament house, and then proceeding successfully against the forts on the Niagara river (April, May, 1813). At this point, however, affairs took an unfavourable turn. The British mustered strong, and though repulsed from Sackett's Harbour by General Brown, at the head of some regular troops and volunteers, they obtained the command of the lake, making descents on various places, and reducing the American forces, both land and naval, to comparative inactivity (June). Months afterwards the land forces, now under the lead of General Wilkinson, started on a long-proposed expedition against Montreal, but, encountering resistance on the way down the St. Lawrence, went straight into winter quarters within the New York frontier. A body of troops under General Hampton, moving in the same direction from Lake Champlain, met with a feint of opposition, rather than opposition itself, from the British; it was sufficient, however, to induce a retreat (November). Both these armies far outnumbered the British, Wilkinson having seventy-five hundred and Hampton forty-five hundred men.

On the western border of New York things went still worse. General M'Clure, left in charge of the Niagara frontier, was so weakened by the loss of men at the expiration of their terms of service, and at the same time so pressed by the enemy, as to abandon the Canada shore, leaving behind him the ruins of Fort George and of the village of Newark. The destruction thus wreaked by orders of the government was avenged upon the New York borders. Parties of British and Indians, crossing the frontier at different places, took Fort Niagara, at the mouth of the river, and swept the adjacent country with fire and sword as far as Buffalo (December). Glutted with success, the invaders retired, save from Fort Niagara, which they held until the end of the war. In the following spring (March, 1814) General Wilkinson emerged from his retreat, and, with a portion of his troops, undertook to carry the approaches to Canada from the side of Lake Champlain. But on coming up with a stone mill held by British troops, he abruptly withdrew. A more helpless group than that of the Americans, whether commanders, officers, or soldiers, on the New York frontier, cannot well be conceived. There were exceptions, of course, as in the fleets of Ontario, and especially of Erie; but on shore there was almost unbroken imbecility. The secretary of war himself, General Armstrong, had been upon the ground; he but confirmed the rule.

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As the war, thus pitifully prosecuted, entered into its third year (1814), a concentration of efforts, both American and British, took place upon the Niagara frontier. General Brown, the defender of Sackett's Harbour, obtaining the command, and with such supporters as General Scott and other gallant officers, resolved upon crossing to the Canada side. There, with an army of some thirty-five hundred men, he took Fort Erie (July 2nd), gained the battle of Chippewa (July 5th), and drove the enemy, under General Riall, from the frontier, save from a single stronghold, Fort George. The British, however, on being reinforced, returned under Generals Riall and Drummond, and met the Americans at Lundy's Lane—the most of an action that had as yet been fought during the war. It was within the roar of Niagara that the opposing lines crossed their swords and opened their batteries. Begun by Scott, in advance of the main body, which soon came up under Brown, the battle was continued until midnight, to the advantage of the American army (July 25th). But they were unable to follow up or even to maintain their success, and fell back upon Fort Erie. Thither the British proceeded, and after a night assault laid siege to the place, then under the command of General Gaines. As soon as Brown, who had withdrawn to recover from his wounds, resumed his command at the fort, he at once ordered a sortie, the result being the raising of the siege (September 17th). He was soon after called away to defend Sackett's Harbour, the British having the upper hand on the lake. His successor in command on the Niagara frontier, General Izard, blew up Fort Erie, and abandoned the Canada shore (November).

Meanwhile the American arms had distinguished themselves on the side of Lake Champlain. Thither descended the British general, Prevost, with twelve thousand soldiers, lately arrived from Europe, his object being to carry the American works at Plattsburg, and to drive the American vessels from the waters. He was totally unsuccessful. Captain McDonough, after long exertions, had constructed a fleet, with which he now met and overwhelmed the British squadron. The land attack upon the few thousand regulars and militia under General Macomb was hardly begun before it was given over in consequence of the naval action (September 11th). No engagement in the war, before or after, was more unequal in point of force, the British being greatly the superiors; yet none was more decisive.^f

Of this victory, won when McDonough was only thirty years old, Theodore Roosevelt says: "The effects of the victory were immediate and of the highest importance. Sir George Prevost and his army at once fled in great haste and confusion back to Canada, leaving our northern frontier clear for the remainder of the war; while the victory had a very great effect on the negotiations for peace. McDonough in this battle won a higher fame than any other commander of the war, British or American. He had a decidedly superior force to contend against, the officers and men of the two sides being about on a par in every respect; and it was solely owing to his foresight and resource that we won the victory. He forced the British to engage at a disadvantage by his excellent choice of position, and he prepared beforehand for every possible contingency. His personal prowess had already been shown at the cost of the rovers of Tripoli, and in this action he helped fight the guns as ably as the best sailor. His skill, seamanship, quick eye, readiness of resource, and indomitable pluck are beyond all praise. Down to the time of the Civil War he is the greatest figure in our naval history. A thoroughly religious man, he was as generous and humane as he was skilful and brave; one of the greatest of our sea captains, he has left a stainless name behind him." ^{bb}

[1812-1814 A.D.]

NAVAL DUELS AT SEA

The British superiority observable at Lake Champlain and elsewhere requires a word of explanation. Napoleon, fallen some months before, had left the armies and fleets of Great Britain free to act in other scenes than those to which they had been so long confined. The war with the United States had acquired no new importance in sight of the British authorities, but it was time to crush the adversary that had dared to brave them. The troops transported to America—some to Canada, as we have seen, some to other places, as we shall soon see—were superior to the Americans generally in numbers, and always in appointments and in discipline. They were the men to whom France had succumbed; it must have seemed impossible that the United States should resist them.

The apprehensions of the enemy, aroused by some of the operations on land, had been highly excited by some of those at sea. Before the gallant actions upon the lakes, a succession of remarkable exploits had occurred upon the ocean. It had been the policy of the republican administration to keep down the navy which their federalist predecessors had encouraged. But the navy, or that fragment of one which remained, returned good for evil. The frigate *Essex*, under Captain Porter, took the sloop of war *Alert* off the northern coast (August 13th, 1812); the frigate *Constitution*, Captain Isaac Hull, took the frigate *Guerrière* in the gulf of St. Lawrence (August 19th)¹; the sloop-of-war *Wasp*, Captain Jones, took the brig *Frolic*, both, however, falling prizes to the seventy-four *Poictiers*, not far from the Bermudas (October 13th); the frigate *United States*, Captain Decatur, took the frigate *Macedonian* off the Azores (October 25th); and the *Constitution* again, now under Captain Bainbridge, took the frigate *Java* off Brazil (December 29th). This series of triumphs was broken by but two reverses, the capture of the brig *Nautilus* by the British squadron, and that of the brig *Vixen* by the British frigate *Southampton*, both off the Atlantic coast. Nothing could be more striking than the effect upon both the nations that were at war. The British started with amazement, not to say terror, at the idea of their ships, their cherished instruments of superiority at sea, yielding to an enemy. The Americans were proportionately animated; they were for once united in a common feeling of pride and national honour.

Here, however, the impulse ceased, or began to cease. The navy was too inconsiderable to continue the contest, the nation too inactive to recruit its numbers and its powers. The captures of the succeeding period of the war, though made with quite as much gallantry, were of much less importance; while one vessel after another, beginning with the frigate *Chesapeake*, off Boston harbour (June 1st, 1813), was forced to strike to Shannon. Many of the larger ships were hemmed in by the British blockade, when this, commencing with the war, was extended along the entire coast. The last glimmer of naval victory for the time was the defeat of the sloop-of-war *Avon* by the *Wasp*, Captain Blakely, off the French coast (September 1st, 1814). But a few weeks later the *Wasp* was lost with all its crew, leaving not a single vessel of the United States navy on the seas. Every one that had escaped the perils of the ocean and of war was shut up in port behind the greatly superior squadrons of Great Britain.

[¹ A small affair it might appear among the world's battles; it took but half an hour, but in that one half hour the United States of America rose to the rank of a first-class power.—HENRY ADAMS.ⁱⁱ]

BRITISH RAVAGES; THE BURNING OF WASHINGTON

The coast, from the first blockaded, and occasionally visited by invading parties of the British, was in an appalling state (1814). Eastport was taken; Castine, Belfast, and Machias were seized, with claims against the whole country east of the Penobscot: Cape Cod, or some of the towns upon it, had to purchase safety; Stonington was bombarded. Fortifications were hastily thrown up wherever they could be by the Americans; the militia was called out by the states, and the general government was urged to despatch its regular troops to the menaced shores. It was officially announced by the British admiral, Cochrane, that he was imperatively instructed "to destroy and lay waste all towns and districts of the United States found accessible to the attack of British armaments." This was not war, but devastation.

The Chesapeake, long a favoured point for the British descents, was now occupied by a large, indeed a double, fleet, under admirals Cochrane and Cockburn, with several thousand land troops and marines under General Ross. This body, landing about fifty miles from Washington, marched against that city, while the American militia retreated hither and thither, making a stand for a few moments only at Bladensburg (August 24th). On the evening following this rout the British took possession of Washington, and next day proceeded to carry out the orders announced by the admiral. Stores were destroyed; a frigate and a sloop were burned; the public buildings, including the Capitol, and even the mansion of the president, were plundered and fired. Against this "unwarrantable extension of the ravages of war," as it is styled by a British writer, the United States had no right to complain, remembering the burning of the parliament house at York, or the destruction of Newark, in the preceding year, although both these outrages had been already avenged on the New York frontier. A few hours were enough for the work of ruin at Washington (August 25th), and the British returned to their ships. On August 29th some frigates appeared off Alexandria, and extorted an enormous ransom for the town. Everything on the American side was helplessness and submission. The president and his cabinet had reviewed the troops, which mustered to the number of several thousands; generals and officers had been thick upon the field; but there was no consistent counsel, no steadfast action, and the country lay as open to the enemy as if it had been uninhabited.

It is a relief to return to Baltimore. Fresh from their marauding victories, the British landed at North Point, some miles below that city. They were too strong for the Americans, who retired, but not until after a bravely contested battle, in which the British commander, General Ross, was slain (September 12th). As the army advanced against the town, the next day, the fleet bombarded Fort McHenry, an inconsiderable defence just below Baltimore. But the bombardment and the advance proving ineffectual, the invaders retreated. They had been courageously met, triumphantly repelled. North Point and Fort McHenry are names which shine out, like those of Erie and Champlain, brilliant amidst encompassing darkness.

As if one war were not enough for a nation so hard pressed, another had broken out. The Indians on the northwest, the followers of Tecumseh, and others besides, were but the allies of the British. Independent foes, fighting altogether for themselves, uprose in the Creeks of the Mississippi Territory, where they surprised some hundreds of Americans at Fort Mims (August, 1813). Numerous bodies of border volunteers at once started for the haunts

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of the enemy, chief amongst the number being the troops of Tennessee, under General Jackson. Penetrating into the heart of the Creek country, after various bloody encounters, Jackson at length routed the main body of the foe at a place called Tohopeka [Horseshoe Bend] (March 27th, 1814). A few months after, he concluded a treaty, by which the Creeks surrendered the larger part of their territory.

Enough remained, as has been seen, to keep the nation in sad straits. There were various causes to produce the same effect. To raise the very first essential for carrying on a war, a sufficient army, had been found impossible, notwithstanding all sorts of new provisions to facilitate the operation. It was in vain to increase the bounties, in vain even to authorise the enlistment of minors without the consent of their parents or masters; all allurements failed. The chief reliance of the government was necessarily upon the militia, about which the same controversies continued as those already mentioned between the federal and the state authorities. Yet, to show the extent to which the opposition party indulged itself in embarrassing the government, an alarm was sounded against the national forces, small though they were, as threatening the liberties of the country.

But the army was not the only point of difficulty. To prevent supplies to the forces of the enemy, as well as to cut him off from all advantages of commerce with the United States, a new embargo was laid (December, 1813). So severe were its restrictions, affecting even the coasting trade and the fishery, that Massachusetts called it another Boston port bill, and pronounced it, by her legislature, to be unconstitutional. It was repealed in a few months, and with it the non-importation act, which, in one shape or another, had hung upon the commercial interests of the nation for years (April, 1814). More serious by far were the financial embarrassments of the government. All efforts to relieve the treasury had been wholly inadequate. Loan after loan was contracted, tax after tax was laid, until carriages, furniture, paper, and even watches were assessed, while plans were formed for other means, such as the creation of a national bank, the earlier one having expired according to the provisions of its charter. But the state to which the finances at length arrived was this: that while eleven millions of revenue were all to be counted upon—ten from taxes, and only one from customs duties—fifty millions were needed for the expenditures of the year (1815). It did not ease matters when a large number of the banks of the country suspended specie payments (August, 1814).

The opposition to the war had never ceased. It rested, indeed, on foundations too deep to be lightly moved. Below the points immediately relating to the war itself were the earlier questions arising during the operation of the government, nay, the still earlier ones that arose with the government—the questions of the constitution. All these had been brought out into contrast and into collision by the conflict with Great Britain.

A. B. HART ON THE SECESSION MOVEMENT IN NEW ENGLAND (1814 A.D.)¹

Positive and dangerous opposition had been urged in New England from the beginning of the war. Besides the sacrifice of men, Massachusetts furnished more money for the war than Virginia. In the elections of 1812 and 1813 the federalists obtained control of every New England state govern-

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ment, and secured most of the New England members of congress. The temper of this federalist majority may be seen in a succession of addresses and speeches in the Massachusetts legislature. On June 15th, 1813, Josiah Quincy offered a resolution that "in a war like the present, waged without justifiable cause and prosecuted in a manner which indicates that conquest and ambition are its real motives, it is not becoming a moral and religious people to express any approbation of military or naval exploits which are not immediately connected with the defence of our seacoast and soil." As the pressure of the war grew heavier, the tone in New England grew sterner. On February 18th, 1814, a report was made to the Massachusetts legislature containing a declaration, taken almost literally from Madison's Virginia Resolution of 1798, that "whenever the national compact is violated, and the citizens of the state oppressed by cruel and unauthorised laws, this legislature is bound to interpose its power and wrest from the oppressor his victim."

The success of the British attacks in August and September, 1814, seemed to indicate the failure of the war. Congress met on September 19th to confront the growing danger; but it refused to authorise a new levy of troops; it refused to accept a proposition for a new United States Bank; it consented with reluctance to new taxes. The time seemed to have arrived when the protests of New England against the continuance of the war might be made effective. The initiative was taken by Massachusetts, which, on October 16th, voted to raise \$1,000,000 to support a state army of ten thousand troops, and to ask the other New England states to meet in convention.

On December 15th, 1814, delegates assembled at Hartford from Massachusetts, Connecticut, and Rhode Island, with unofficial representatives from New Hampshire and Vermont. The head of the Massachusetts delegation was George Cabot, who had been chosen because of his known opposition to the secession of that state. As he said himself, "We are going to keep you young hot-heads from getting into mischief." The expectation throughout the country was that the Hartford convention would recommend secession. Jefferson wrote: "Some apprehended danger from the defection of Massachusetts. It is a disagreeable circumstance, but not a dangerous one. If they become neutral, we are sufficient for one enemy without them; and, in fact, we get no aid from them now."

After a session of three weeks, the Hartford convention adjourned, January 14th, 1815, and published a formal report. They declared that the constitution had been violated, and that "states which have no common umpire must be their own judges and execute their own decisions." They submitted a list of amendments to the constitution intended to protect a minority of states from aggressions on the part of the majority. Finally they submitted, as their ultimatum, that they should be allowed to retain the proceeds of the national customs duties collected within their borders. Behind the whole document was the implied intention to withdraw from the Union if this demand were not complied with. To comply was to deprive the United States of its financial power, and was virtually a dissolution of the constitution. The delegates who were sent to present this powerful remonstrance to congress were silenced by the news that peace had been declared.^b

ANDREW JACKSON'S VICTORY AT NEW ORLEANS

Late in the summer preceding the Hartford convention a British party landed at Pensacola, whose Spanish possessors were supposed to be inclined to side against the United States. An attack, in the early autumn, upon

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Fort Bowyer, thirty miles from Mobile, was repelled by the small but heroic garrison under Major Lawrence (September 15th). A month or two afterwards General Jackson advanced against Pensacola with a force so formidable that the British withdrew, Jackson then resigning the town to the Spanish authorities, and repairing to New Orleans, against which the enemy was believed to be preparing an expedition (November). There he busied himself in raising his forces and providing his defences, until the British arrived upon the coast. After capturing a feeble flotilla of the Americans, they began their advance against the capital of Louisiana (December). They were ten thousand and upwards; the Americans not more than half as numerous. Jackson, on learning of their approach, marched directly against them, surprising them in their camp by night, and dealing them a blow from which they hardly seem to have recovered (December 23rd). They soon, however, resumed the offensive under Sir Edward Pakenham, advancing thrice against the American lines, but thrice retreating. The last action goes by the name of the battle of New Orleans. It resulted in the defeat of the enemy, with the loss of Pakenham and two thousand besides, the Americans losing less than a hundred (January 8th, 1815).^f At the close of the battle some five hundred of the British rose unhurt from among the dead and gave themselves up as prisoners. To save their lives, they had dropped down and lain as if dead until the battle was over.^g The British retired to the sea, taking Fort Bowyer, the same that had resisted an attack the autumn before (February 12th). Louisiana had been nobly defended, and not by the energy of Jackson alone, nor by the resolution of her own people, but by the generous spirit with which the entire South-west sent its sons to her rescue. [Even the outlawed pirates of Barataria, under Jean Lafitte, refused British advances and aided Jackson.]



ANDREW JACKSON
(1767-1845)

Jackson had hesitated at nothing in defending New Orleans. Upon the approach of the British, he proclaimed martial law; he continued it after their departure. The author of a newspaper article reflecting upon the general's conduct was sent to prison to await trial for life. The United States district judge was arrested and expelled from the city for having issued a writ of habeas corpus in the prisoner's behalf; and on the district attorney's applying to the state court in behalf of the judge, he, too, was banished. On the proclamation of peace, martial law was necessarily suspended. The judge returned, and summoning the general before him imposed a fine of \$1,000. The sum was paid by Jackson, but was offered to be repaid to him by a subscription, which proved public opinion to sustain his determined course. Refusing to receive the subscription, he was reimbursed, nearly thirty years afterwards, by order of congress.

THE NAVY REAPPEARS; THE PEACE OF GHENT

While these events were going on by land, the sea was for a time abandoned, at least by all national vessels. Privateers continued their work of plunder and of destruction—a work which, however miserable to contemplate, doubtless had its effect in bringing the war to a close. But the navy of the nation had disappeared from the ocean. It presently reappeared in the shape of its pride and ornament, the *Constitution*, which, under her new commander, Stewart, got to sea from Boston (December, 1814). The *President*, *Hornet*, and *Peacock* did the same from New York, the *President* being immediately captured, though not without a severe combat, by the British cruisers (January, 1815). Her loss was avenged by the sister vessels; the *Constitution* taking two sloops of war at once—the *Cyane* and the *Levant*—off Madeira (February 20th); the *Hornet* sloop taking the *Penguin* brig off the island of Tristan da Cunha (March 23rd); and the *Peacock* sloop taking the *Nautilus*, an East India's Company's cruiser, off Sumatra (June 30th).¹ All these actions were subsequent to a treaty of peace.

The war had not continued a year when the administration accepted an offer of Russian mediation, and despatched envoys to treat of peace. Great Britain declined the mediation of Russia, but offered to enter into negotiations either at London or at Gottenburg. The American government chose the latter place. But on the news of the triumph of Great Britain and her allies over Napoleon, the demands of the United States were sensibly modified. The administration and its party declared that the pacification of Europe did away with the very abuses of which America had to complain; in other words, that there would be no blockades or impressments in time of peace.

Four months and a half elapsed before coming to terms. The British demands, especially on the point of retaining the conquests made during the war, were altogether inadmissible. A treaty was consequently framed at Ghent, restoring the conquests on either side, and providing commissioners to arrange the boundary and other minor questions between the nations (December 24th). The objects of the war, according to the declarations at its outbreak, were not mentioned in the articles by which it was closed; yet the United States did not hesitate to ratify the treaty (February 18th). Within a week afterwards the president recommended "the navigation of American vessels by American seamen, either natives or such as are already naturalised"; the reason assigned being "to guard against incidents which, during the periods of war in Europe, might tend to interrupt peace." What could not be gained by treaty might be secured by legislation.

Though much was waived for the sake of peace, one principle, if no more, had been maintained for the country. In the first year of the war the British had set out to treat some Irishmen taken while fighting on the American side, not as ordinary prisoners of war but as traitors to Great Britain. On their being sent to be tried for treason in England, congress aroused itself in their behalf, and authorised the adoption of retaliatory measures. An equal number of British captives was presently imprisoned, and when the British retorted by ordering twice as many American officers into confinement, the Americans

¹ "Thus terminated at sea," says the British historian Alison, "this memorable contest, in which the English, for the first time for a century and a half, met with equal antagonists on their own element; and in recounting which, the British historian, at a loss whether to admire most the devoted heroism of his own countrymen or the gallant bearing of their antagonists, feels almost equally warmed in narrating either side of the strife."

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did the same by the British officers in their power. The British government went so far as to order its commanders, in case any retaliation was inflicted upon the prisoners in American hands, to destroy the towns and their inhabitants upon the coast. It was at this juncture that Massachusetts, as already alluded to, appeared in the lines of nullification. All along there had been very little sympathy, among the opposition, for the humane professions of defending the sailor and the stranger, upon which the administration party were apt to discourse rather than to act. The federalist majority in Massachusetts, caring little for the fate of the Irish prisoners, forbade the use of the state prisons for the British officers now ordered to be confined (February, 1814). The matter was set at rest by the retraction of the British government, who consented to treat the Irishmen as prisoners of war. Proclamation was made pardoning all past offences of the sort, but threatening future ones with the penalties of treason—a threat that was never attempted to be fulfilled (July). So the Americans gained their point, a point for which the early settlers had laboured, and for which the true men of the revolution had struggled—the protection of foreigners. Some months after the Treaty of Ghent, a treaty was made with the Indians of the Northwest. Such as had been at war agreed to bury the tomahawk, and to join with such as had been at peace in new relations with the United States (September).

Another treaty had been made by this time. It was with the dey of Algiers, who had gone to war with the United States in the same year that Great Britain did. The United States, however, had paid no attention to the inferior enemy until relieved of the superior. Then was war declared, and a fleet despatched, under Commodore Decatur, by which captures were made, and terms dictated to the Algerine. The treaty not only surrendered all American prisoners, and indemnified all American losses in the war, but renounced the claim of tribute on the part of Algiers (June). Tunis and Tripoli being brought to terms, the United States were no longer tributary to pirates.

There had been strength enough to deal the blow against Algiers. But the nation was in a state of nearly complete exhaustion. This remark is not meant to apply to individual cases of embarrassment and destitution produced by the war; for while many had lost, as many more had gained a competence or a fortune. But the nation, as a whole, was, for the moment, exhausted. Madison had been re-elected president, with Elbridge Gerry as vice-president, in the first year of the war with Great Britain. If he really consented to war as the price of his re-election, he had had his reward. The difficulties of his second term weighed upon him, crushed him. He welcomed peace, as his party welcomed it—in fact, as the whole nation welcomed it—with the same sensations of relief that men would feel in an earthquake, when the earth, yawning at their feet, suddenly closed. To see from what the government and the nation were saved, it is sufficient to read that systems of conscription for the army and of impressment for the navy were amongst the projects pending at the close of a war which had increased the public debt by one hundred and twenty million dollars.^h Channing^h declares that “the war of 1812 settled two great questions within the United States.” First, it brought the American people for the first time to a realising sense of nationality, causing the federalist party to lose popularity so steadily that in 1820 it cast not one electoral vote. Secondly, the war taught the American people the danger of foreign complications; it opened their eyes to the fact that they were not a province but a nation. In a sense, then, it is correct, Channing declares, to speak of the war of 1812 as a Second War of Independence.^a

THEODORE ROOSEVELT ON THE RESULTS OF THE WAR OF 1812¹

Neither side succeeded in doing what it intended. Americans declared that Canada must and should be conquered, but the conquering came quite as near being the other way. British writers insisted that the American navy should be swept from the seas; and during the sweeping process it increased fourfold.

When the United States declared war, Great Britain was straining every nerve and muscle in a death-struggle with the most formidable military despotism of modern times, and was obliged to intrust the defence of her Canadian colonies to a mere handful of regulars, aided by the local fencibles. But congress had provided even fewer trained soldiers, and relied on militia. The latter chiefly exercised their fighting abilities upon one another in duelling, and, as a rule, were afflicted with conscientious scruples whenever it was necessary to cross the frontier and attack the enemy. Accordingly, the campaign opened with the bloodless surrender of an American general to a much inferior British force, and the war continued much as it had begun; we suffered disgrace after disgrace, while the losses we inflicted, in turn, on Great Britain were so slight as hardly to attract her attention. At last, having crushed her greater foe, she turned to crush the lesser, and, in her turn, suffered ignominious defeat. By this time events had gradually developed a small number of soldiers on our northern frontier, who, commanded by Scott and Brown, were able to contend on equal terms with the veteran troops to whom they were opposed, though these formed part of what was then undoubtedly the most formidable fighting infantry any European nation possessed. The battles at this period of the struggle were remarkable for the skill and stubborn courage with which they were waged, as well as for the heavy loss involved; but the number of combatants was so small that in Europe they would have been regarded as mere outpost skirmishes, and they wholly failed to attract any attention abroad in that period of colossal armies.

In summing up the results of the struggle on the ocean it is to be noticed that very little was attempted, and nothing done, by the American navy that could materially affect the result of the war. Commodore Rodgers' expedition after the Jamaica Plate fleet failed; both the efforts to get a small squadron into the East Indian waters also miscarried; and otherwise the whole history of the struggle on the ocean is, as regards the Americans, only the record of individual cruises and fights. The material results were not very great, at least in their effect on Great Britain, whose enormous navy did not feel in the slightest degree the loss of a few frigates and sloops. But morally the result was of inestimable benefit to the United States. The victories kept up the spirits of the people, cast down by the defeats on land; practically decided in favour of the Americans the chief question in dispute—Great Britain's right of search and impressment—and gave the navy and thereby the country a world-wide reputation. I doubt if ever before a nation gained so much honour by a few single-ship duels; for there can be no question which side came out of the war with the greatest credit. The damage inflicted by each on the other was not very equal in amount, but the balance was certainly in favour of the United States, as can be seen

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by the following tables, for the details of which reference can be made to the various years:

CAUSED	AMERICAN LOSS		BRITISH LOSS	
	TONNAGE	GUNS	TONNAGE	GUNS
By ocean cruisers	5,984	278	8,451	351
On the lakes	727	37	4,159	212
By the army	3,007	116	500	22
By privateers	402	20
Total	9,718	431	13,512	605

In addition we lost four revenue-cutters, mounting twenty-four guns, and, in the aggregate, of three hundred and eighty-seven tons, and also twenty-five gunboats, with seventy-one guns, and, in the aggregate, of nearly two thousand tons. This would swell our loss to twelve thousand one hundred and five tons and five hundred and twenty-six guns;¹ but the loss of the revenue-cutters and gunboats can fairly be considered to be counterbalanced by the capture or destruction of the various British royal packets (all armed with from two to ten guns), tenders, barges, etc., which would be in the aggregate of at least as great tonnage and gun force, and with more numerous crews.

But the comparative material loss gives no idea of the comparative honour gained. The British navy, numbering at the outset a thousand cruisers,

¹ This differs greatly from the figures given by James in his *Naval Occurrences*. He makes the American loss 14,844 tons and 660 guns. His list includes, for example, the "*Grouler* and the *Hamilton*, upset in carrying sail to avoid Sir James' fleet"; it would be quite as reasonable to put down the loss of the *Royal George* to the credit of the French. Then he mentions the *Julia* and the *Grouler*, which were recaptured; the *Asp*, which was also recaptured; the "*New York*, 46, destroyed at Washington," which was not destroyed or harmed in any way, and which, moreover, was a condemned hulk; the "*Boston*, 42 [in reality 32], destroyed at Washington," which had been a condemned hulk for ten years, and had no guns or anything else in her, and was as much a loss to our navy as the fishing up and burning of an old wreck would have been; and eight gunboats whose destruction was either mythical, or else which were not national vessels. By deducting all these we reduce James' total by 120 guns and 2,600 tons; and a few alterations (such as excluding the swivels in the *President's* tops, which he counts, etc.) brings his number down to that given above—and also affords a good idea of the value to be attached to his figures and tables. The British loss he gives at but 530 guns and 10,273 tons. He omits the 24-gun ship burned by Chauncey at York, although including the frigate and corvette burned by Ross at Washington; if the former is excluded the two latter should be, which would make the balance still more in favour of the Americans. He omits the guns of the *Gloucester*, because they had been taken out of her and placed in battery on the shore, but he includes those of the *Adams*, which had been served in precisely the same way. He omits all reference to the British 14-gun schooner burned on Ontario, and to all 8- and 4-gun sloops and schooners captured there, although including the corresponding American vessels. The reason that he so much underestimates the tonnage, especially on the lakes, I have elsewhere discussed. His tables of the relative loss in men are even more erroneous, exaggerating that of the Americans and greatly underestimating that of the British; but I have not tabulated this, on account of the impossibility of getting fair estimates of the killed and wounded in the cutting-out expeditions and the difficulty of enumerating the prisoners taken in descents, etc. Roughly, about 2,700 Americans and 3,800 British were captured; the comparative loss in killed and wounded stood much more in our favour.

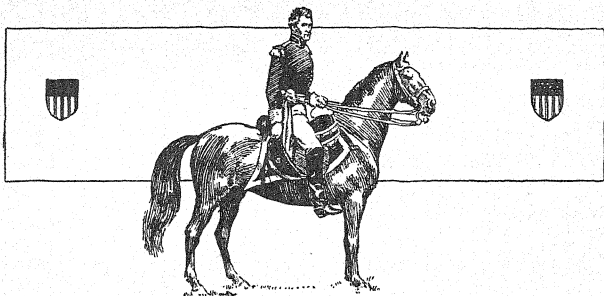
I have excluded from the British loss the brigs *Detroit* and *Caledonia* and schooner *Nancy* (aggregating ten guns and about 500 tons) destroyed on the upper lakes, because I hardly know whether they could be considered national vessels; the schooner *Higflyer*, of eight guns, forty men, and 209 tons, taken by Rodgers, because she seems to have been merely a tender; and the *Dominica*, 15, of seventy-seven men and 270 tons, because her captor, the privateer *Decatur*, though nominally an American, was really a French vessel. Of course both tables are only approximately exact; but at any rate the balance of damage and loss was over four to three in our favour.

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had accomplished less than the American, which numbered but a dozen. Moreover, most of the loss suffered by the former was in single fight, while this had been but twice the case with the Americans, who had generally been overwhelmed by numbers. Of the twelve single-ship actions, two (those of the *Argus* and the *Chesapeake*) undoubtedly redounded most to the credit of the British, in two (that of the *Wasp* with the *Reindeer*, and that of the *Enterprise* with the *Boxer*) the honours were nearly even, and in the other eight the superiority of the Americans was very manifest.

In the American navy, unlike the British, there was no impressment; the sailor was a volunteer, and he shipped in whatever craft his fancy selected. Throughout the war there were no "picked crews" on the American side, excepting on the last two cruises of the *Constitution*, James' statement to the contrary being in every case utterly without foundation. One of the standard statements made by the British historians about the war is that our ships were mainly or largely manned by British sailors. This, if true, would not interfere with the lessons which it teaches; and, besides that, it is not true.^{bb}





CHAPTER IX

THE GROWTH OF DEMOCRACY

[1814-1848 A.D.]

At last, after a period of five-and-twenty years, the people of the United States were free to attend to their own concerns in their own way, unmolested by foreign nations. From 1793 to 1815 the questions which occupied the public mind were neutral rights, orders in council, French decrees, impressment, embargoes, treaties, non-intercourse acts, admiralty decisions, blockades, the conduct of England, the conduct of France, the insolence of the French Directory, the triumphs, the ambition, and the treachery of Napoleon. Henceforth for many years to come, the questions of the day were to be the state of the currency, the national bank, manufactures, the tariff, internal improvements, interstate commerce, the public lands, the astonishing growth of the West, the rights of the states, extension of slavery, and the true place of the supreme court in the system of government. On the day, therefore, when Madison issued his proclamation announcing peace, a new era in the national history was opened.—JOHN BACH McMASTER.^b

AFTERMATH OF THE WAR; MONROE'S PRESIDENCY

THE idea that the United States emerged from the contest with Great Britain with its citizens self-satisfied, and strangers applauding, is certainly a grateful one. But it is difficult to find the authority upon which it rests. To begin with foreign powers, and with the one most likely to be impressed with American grandeur—Great Britain—she appears absorbed in other interests of much larger importance in her eyes. A commercial convention was framed in the summer following the peace; but it left many matters undetermined, many unsatisfactorily determined. As for the negotiations ordered by the Treaty of Ghent, they were begun upon, yet so idly that conclusions were not reached for years and years. Other nations showed even less inclination to come to terms. France, Spain, Naples, the Netherlands, Denmark, and Sweden were all in arrears on the score of indemnities for spolia-

[1815-1825 A.D.]

tions upon American commerce; and most of them remained in arrears until a subsequent period. An act of congress invited maritime powers to abandon the restrictions hitherto placed upon commerce; but the invitation was by no means generally accepted (March, 1815).

At home, affairs were in an equally unsettled state. The war establishment was lowered; a new tariff was adopted at once, to increase the revenue of the government and to encourage the industry of the people; the system of taxation was reformed by the gradual abolition of direct and internal taxes. To aid in restoring the currency, and in directing the finances generally, a new Bank of the United States was chartered (March, 1816). All this was not done in a day; nor was there any instantaneous revival of commerce and of industry. On the contrary, periods of depression recurred, in which individual fortunes vanished and national resources failed. But the general tendency was towards recovery from the disorders into which the country had been plunged by the recent war.

Madison's troubled administration came to an end. James Monroe was the president for the next eight years (1817-1825), with Daniel D. Tompkins as vice-president. Monroe, once an extreme but latterly a moderate republican, so far conciliated all parties as to be re-elected with but one electoral vote against him. Old parties were dying out. The great question of the period, to be set forth presently, was one with which republicans and federalists, as such, had nothing to do.

THE SEMINOLE WAR AND ACQUISITION OF FLORIDA

The new administration had but just opened, when the Seminole War, as it was styled, broke out with the Creeks of Georgia and Florida. Conflicts between the borderers and some of the Indians lingering in the territory ceded several years before led to a determination of the United States government to clear the country of the hostile tribes (November, 1817). A war, of course, ensued, beginning with massacres on both sides, and ending with a spoiling, burning, slaying expedition, half militia and half Indians, under General Andrew Jackson, the conqueror of the Creeks in the preceding war (March, 1818). On the pretext that the Spanish authorities countenanced the hostilities of the Indians, Jackson took St. Mark's and Pensacola, not without some ideas of seizing even St. Augustine. He also put to death, within the Spanish limits, two British subjects accused of stirring up the Indians (March, May), so that the war, though called the Seminole, might as well be called the Florida War. The Spanish minister protested against the invasion of the Florida Territory, of which the restitution was immediately ordered at Washington, though not without approbation of the course pursued by Jackson.

Florida was a sore spot on more accounts than one. The old trouble of boundaries had never been settled; but that was a trifle compared with the later troubles arising from fugitive criminals, fugitive slaves, smugglers, pirates, and, as recently shown, Indians, to whom Florida furnished not only a refuge but a starting-point. The Spanish authorities, themselves by no means inclined to respect their neighbours of the United States, had no power to make others respect them. Former difficulties, especially those upon American indemnities, were not settled; while new ones had gathered in consequence of South American revolutions, and North American dispositions to side with the revolutionists. The proposal of an earlier time

[1819-1821 A. D.]

to purchase Florida was renewed by the United States. A treaty was concluded. On the payment of \$5,000,000 by the American government to citizens who claimed indemnity from Spain, that power agreed to relinquish the Floridas, East and West (February 22nd, 1819). It was nearly two years, however, before Spain ratified the treaty, and fully two before Florida Territory formed a part of the United States (1821).

THE SLAVERY QUESTION; THE MISSOURI COMPROMISES

The state of Connecticut, hitherto content with her charter government, at length adopted a new constitution, in which there was but little improvement upon the old one, except in making suffrage general and the support of a church system voluntary (1818). New constitutions and new states were constantly in process of formation. Indiana (December 11th, 1816), Mississippi (December 10th, 1817), Illinois (December 3rd, 1818), and Alabama (December 14th, 1819), all became members of the Union. The eastern half of the Mississippi Territory had become the territory of Alabama in 1817.

Before the definite accession of Alabama, Missouri was proposed as a candidate for admission. It was a slaveholding territory. But when the preliminary steps to its becoming a state were begun upon in congress, a New York representative, James Tallmadge, moved that no more slaves should be brought in, and that the children of those already there should be liberated at the age of twenty-five. On the failure of this motion, another New York representative, John W. Taylor, moved to prohibit slavery in the entire territory to the north of latitude thirty-six degrees thirty minutes. This, too, was lost. A bill setting off the portion of Missouri Territory to the south of the line just named, as the territory of Arkansas, was passed. But nothing was done towards establishing the state of Missouri (February, March, 1819).

Nothing, unless it were the debate, in which the question at issue became clear. There were two reasons, it then appeared, for making Missouri a free state; one, that it was the turn for a free state, the last (Alabama)¹ having been a slave state; while, of the eight admitted since the constitution, four had been free and four slave states. Another and a broader reason was urged, to the effect that slavery ought not to be permitted in any state or territory where it could be prohibited. On this, the northern views were the more earnest, in that the nation had committed itself by successive acts to a course too tolerant, if not too favourable, towards slavery. First, it will be recollected, came the organisation of the territory south of the Ohio; next, that of the Mississippi Territory; and afterwards, the acquisition and the organisation of Louisiana. All these proceedings were national, and all either acknowledged or extended the area of slavery. Kentucky had been admitted a slave state as a part of Virginia; Mississippi and Alabama as parts of the Mississippi Territory. To carry out the same course would have insured the admission of Missouri as a part of the Louisiana acquisition; and on this the southern members strongly insisted. To this, on the contrary, the North demurred, determined, if possible, to stop the movement that had thus far prevailed.

Greater stress was laid on the constitutional argument. The proposal to oblige Missouri to become a free state, said the advocates of slavery, is

¹ Not yet actually admitted, but authorised to apply for admission in the usual way.

a violation of the constitution. That sovereign authority, they declared, leaves the state itself in all cases to settle the matter of slavery, as well as all other matters not expressly subjected to the general government. To this a twofold answer was returned: first, that Missouri was not a state, but a territory, and therefore subject to the control of congress; and, second, that even if regarded as a state, she would not be one of the original thirteen, to which alone belonged the powers reserved under the constitution. Therefore congress could deal with her as it pleased. It was moreover argued that congress ought to arrest the progress of slavery, as a point upon which the national welfare was staked; a point, therefore, to which the authority of the general government was expressly and indispensably applicable according to the constitution.

Had it been an outbreak of hostilities, had it been a march of one half the country against the other, there could hardly have been a more intense agitation. The attempted prohibition of slavery was denounced in congress as the preliminary to a negro massacre, to a civil war, to a dissolution of the Union. Out of congress, it provoked such language as that used by the aged Jefferson: "The Missouri question," he wrote, "is a breaker on which we lose the Missouri country by revolt, and what more God only knows. From the battle of Bunker Hill to the Treaty of Paris, we never had so ominous a question."¹ Public meetings were held; those at the South to repel the interference of the North, those at the North to rebuke the pretensions of the South. The dispute extended into the tribunals and the legislatures of the states, the northern declaring that Missouri must be for freemen only, the southern that it must be for freemen and for slaves.

So stood the matter as the year drew to a close and congress reassembled. A new turn was then given to the question, by the application of Maine to be received as a state, Massachusetts having consented to the separation. "Here, then, is the free state to match with Alabama," exclaimed the partisans of slavery in Missouri; "now give us our slave state." But the opponents of slavery did not yield; they had planted themselves on principles, they said, not on numbers. At this the South was naturally indignant. It had been a plea all along that a free state was due to the North; and now, when one was forthcoming, two were claimed. If the reply was made that Maine, being but a division of Massachusetts, was no addition to the northern strength, this did not content the South. Feelings of bitterness and of injustice were aroused between both parties; both drew farther apart. If peace did not come, war would, and that soon.

The senate united Maine and Missouri in the same bill and on the same terms, that is, without any restriction upon slavery. But a clause introduced on the motion of Jesse B. Thomas, of Illinois, prohibited the introduction of slavery into any portion of the Louisiana territory as yet unorganised, leaving Louisiana the state and Arkansas the territory, as well as Missouri, just what they were, that is, slaveholding. This was the Missouri Compromise. It came from the North. On the part of the North, it yielded the claim to Missouri as a free state; on the part of the South, it yielded the claim to the immensely larger regions which stretched above and beyond Missouri to the Pacific. The line of 36° 30', proposed the year before, was again proposed, save only that Missouri, though north of the line, was to be a Southern state. Thus the senate determined, not without opposition from both sides. The house, on the contrary, adopted a bill, admitting

[¹ Elsewhere Jefferson said that the outbreak of the slavery agitation came "like a fire-bell in the night."]

[1820-1825 A.D.]

Missouri, separately from Maine, and under the northern restriction concerning slavery. Words continued to run high. But the proposal of the compromise augured the return of tranquillity. A committee of conference between the two branches of congress led to the agreement of both senate and house upon a bill admitting Missouri, after her constitution should be formed, free of restrictions, but prohibiting slavery north of the line of 36° 30' (March 3rd, 1820). Maine was admitted at the same time (March 3rd-15th).

The compromise prohibited slavery in the designated region forever. This was the letter; but it was under different interpretations. When President Monroe consulted his cabinet upon the question of approving the act of congress, all but his secretary of state, John Quincy Adams, inclined to read the prohibition of slavery as applying only to the territories, and not to the states that might arise within the prescribed boundaries. This was not a difference between northern and southern views, but one between strict and liberal constructions of the constitution; the strict construction going against all power in congress to restrict a state, while the liberal took the opposite ground. So with others besides the cabinet. Amongst the very men who voted for the compromise were many, doubtless, who understood it as applying to territories alone. The northern party, unquestionably, adopted it in its broader sense, preventing the state as well as the territory from establishing slavery. That there should be two senses attached to it from the beginning was a dark presage of future differences.

Present differences were not yet overcome. Missouri, rejoicing in becoming a slaveholding state, adopted a constitution which denied even free negroes the rights of citizens. On this being brought before congress towards the close of the year (1820), various tactics were adopted; the extreme southern party going for the immediate admission of the state, while the extreme northern side urged the overthrow of state, constitution, and compromise, together. Henry Clay, at the head of the moderate men, succeeded, after long exertions, in carrying a measure providing for the admission of Missouri as soon as her legislature should solemnly covenant the rights of citizenship to "the citizens of either of the states" (February, 1821). This was done, and Missouri became a state (August 10th).

The United States as a nation were far from insensible to the evils of slavery. Domestic slave trade was permitted and extended. But foreign slave trade, reviving to such a degree that upwards of fourteen thousand slaves were said to have been imported in a single year (1818), provoked general indignation. An act of congress declared fresh and severer penalties to attach to the slave dealer, while to his unhappy victims relief was offered in provisions for their return to their native country (1819). Another act denounced the traffic as piracy (1820). The same denunciation was urged upon foreign governments, one of which, Great Britain, prepared to enter into a convention for the purpose; but the convention fell through (1823-1824).

In the midst of its dissensions and its weakness, the nation was cheered by a visit from La Fayette. He came in compliance with a summons from the government to behold the work which he had assisted in beginning, near half a century before. From the day of his landing (August 16th, 1824) to that of his departure (September 7th, 1825), a period of more than a year, he was, as he described himself, "in a whirlwind of popular kindness of which it was impossible to have formed any previous conception, and in which everything that could touch and flatter one was mingled." To make some amends

for his early sacrifices, pecuniary as well as personal, in the American cause, congress voted La Fayette a township of the public domain, and a grant of \$200,000. He deserved all that could be bestowed.

THE MONROE DOCTRINE ¹

It was time for the nation to assume a more elevated attitude. No longer the solitary republic amidst encompassing domains of distant monarchies, the United States now formed one of a band of independent states, stretching from Canada to Patagonia. The others were the Central and South American colonies of Spain, which had spent years in insurrection and in war before their independence was recognised by their elder sister of the north (1822). Ministers plenipotentiary were at the same time appointed to Mexico, Colombia, Buenos Ayres, and Chili. As if to make amends for its delay, the administration resolved upon stretching out an arm of defence between the nascent states of the south and the threatening powers of Europe. The purpose of the European allies, France, Austria, Prussia, and Russia, to come to the assistance of Spain, in subduing her insurgent colonies, was well known, when President Monroe, in his seventh annual message (December 2nd, 1823), announced that his administration had asserted in negotiations with Russia, "as a principle in which the rights and interests of the United States are involved, that the American continents, by the free and independent position which they have assumed and maintained, are henceforth not to be considered as subjects for future colonisation by any European powers. We owe it," continued the president, "to candour and to the amicable relations existing between the United States and those powers, to declare that we should consider any attempt on their part to extend their system to any portion of this hemisphere as dangerous to our peace and safety. With the existing colonies or dependencies of any European power we have not interfered, and shall not interfere. But with the governments who have declared their independence, and maintained it, and whose independence we have on great consideration and on just principles acknowledged, we could not view any interposition for the purpose of oppressing them, or controlling in any other manner their destiny by any European power, in any other light than as the manifestation of an unfriendly disposition towards the United States."

Such was what has since been called the Monroe Doctrine though the author is known to have been the secretary of state, John Quincy Adams, rather than the president. Far from its being intended to make the United States themselves the guardians or the rulers of America, the doctrine, as expounded by its real author, Adams, proposed "that each [American state] will guard by its own means against the establishment of any future European colony within its borders." The declaration of the president was designed simply to show that the nation undertook to countenance and to support the independence of its sister nations. As such, it was an honourable deed. Congress, however, declined to sustain it by any formal action.

Some time afterwards, when the author of the Monroe Doctrine had risen to the presidency, an invitation was received by the government from some of the Central and South American states to unite in a congress at Panama. The objects, ranging from mere commercial negotiations up to the Monroe

[¹ On this subject see also the essay in the present volume by A. B. Hart.]

[1825-1826 A.D.]

Doctrine, were rather indefinite; but Adams appointed two envoys, whom the senate confirmed, and for whom the house made the necessary appropriations, though not without great opposition (December, 1825-March, 1826). One of the envoys died, the other did not go upon his mission; so that the congress began and ended without any representation from the United States (June-July). It adjourned to meet at Tacubaya, near Mexico, in the beginning of the following year. The ministers of the United States repaired to the appointed place, and at the appointed time, but there was no congress. Thus terminated the vision of an American league. We can hardly estimate the consequences of its having been realised—on one side the perils to which the United States would have been exposed, and on the other the services which they might have rendered, amongst such confederates as those of Central and of South America.

PRESIDENCY OF J. Q. ADAMS; TARIFF COMPROMISE, AND NULLIFICATIONS

John Quincy Adams, the son of the second president, was elected by the house of representatives—the electoral college failing to make a choice—to succeed Monroe (1825). Andrew Jackson, a rival candidate, was chosen by the people at the next election (1829). John C. Calhoun was vice-president under both. Two men more unlike than Adams and Jackson, in associations and in principles, could hardly have been found amongst the politicians of the period. They resembled each other, however, in the resolution with which they met the dangers of their times.

The great question before the country for several years was one as old as the constitution; older, even, inasmuch as it occupied a chief place in the debates of the constitutional convention. It was the subordination of the state to the nation. The first occasion to revive the question and to invest it with fresh importance was a controversy between the national government and the government of Georgia. Many years had passed since that state consented to cede her western lands, including the present Alabama and Mississippi, on condition that the government would extinguish the Indian title to the territory of Georgia itself. Of twenty-five millions of acres then held by the Creek nation, fifteen had been bought up by the United States, and transferred to Georgia. Half of the remaining ten millions belonged to the Cherokees, and half to the Creeks, a nominal treaty with the latter of whom declared the United States possessors of all the Creek territory within the limits both of Georgia and of Alabama (1825). This treaty, however, agreed to by but one or two of the chiefs, provoked a general outbreak on the part of the Creeks. To pacify them, or rather to do common justice to them, the government first suspended the treaty, and then entered into a new one, by which the cession of land was confined to the Georgian territory. A longer time was also allowed for the removal of the Indians from the ceded country (April, 1826). What satisfied the Creeks dissatisfied the Georgians or their authorities. Governor Troup accused the administration of violating the law of the land, in the shape of the earlier treaty, hinting at anti-slavery motives for the course that had been taken, and calling upon the adjoining states to "stand by their arms." Not confining himself to protests or defensive measures, Troup sent surveyors into the Indian territory. President Adams communicated the matter to congress, asserting his intention "to enforce the laws and fulfil the duties of the nation by all the force committed for that purpose to his charge." Whereat the governor wrote to the secretary of war,

"From the first decisive act of hostility, you will be considered and treated as a public enemy" (1827). [He also reported to the legislature that the slave states should "confederate."] Fortunately, the winds ceased. The state that had set itself against the nation more decidedly than had ever yet been done returned to its senses. As for the unhappy Indians, not only the Creeks, but all the other tribes that could be persuaded to move, were gradually transported to more distant territories in the West.

Other causes were operating to excite the states, or some of them, against the general government. Amidst the vicissitudes of industry and of trade through which the nation was passing, repeated attempts were made to steady affairs by a series of tariffs in favour of domestic productions. The first measure, intended to serve for protection rather than for revenue, was adopted in 1816. It was a duty, principally, upon cotton fabrics from abroad. Some years afterwards a new scale was framed, with provision against foreign woollens, as well as cottons (1824). This not turning out as advantageous to the home manufactures as was anticipated, an effort for additional protection was made; but at first in vain. On one side were the manufacturers, not merely of cotton and of woollen goods, but of iron, hemp, and a variety of other materials, clustered in the northern and central states; on the other were the merchants, the farmers, and the artisans of the same states, with almost the entire population of the agricultural South.

A convention of the manufacturing interests, attended by delegates from New England, the middle states, Maryland, Virginia, Ohio, and Kentucky, was held at Harrisburg, in Pennsylvania. "We want protection," was the language used by the delegates, "and it matters not if it amounts to prohibition"; in which spirit they pressed what they called the American system upon the federal government (July-August, 1827). The administration, by the report of the secretary of the treasury, commended the subject to the favourable attention of congress. That body took it up, and after protracted discussions, consented, May 15th, 1828, to a tariff in which the system of protection was carried to its height. Its adversaries called the bill the "Bill of Abominations," many of which, however, were introduced by themselves, with the avowed intention of making the measure as odious and as short-lived as possible.^d

The tariff law was very obnoxious to the southern people. They denounced it as oppressive and unconstitutional, and it led to menaces of serious evils in 1831 and 1832. The presidential election took place in the autumn of 1828, when the public mind was highly excited. For a long time the opposing parties had been marshalling their forces for the contest. The candidates were John Quincy Adams and General Andrew Jackson. The result was the defeat of Mr. Adams, and the election of General Jackson. John C. Calhoun,¹ of South Carolina, was elected vice-president, and both had very large majorities. During the contest the people appeared to be on the verge of civil war, so violent was the party strife, and so malignant were the denunciations of the candidates. When it was over perfect tranquillity prevailed, and the people acquiesced in the result. President Adams retired from office on the 4th of March, 1829. He left to his successor a legacy of unexampled national prosperity, peaceful relations with all the world, a greatly diminished

¹ John C. Calhoun was born in South Carolina in 1782. He first appeared in congress in 1811, and was always distinguished for his consistency, especially in his support of the institution of slavery and the doctrine of state rights. He was a sound and incorruptible statesman, and commanded the thorough respect of the whole country. He died at Washington city, while a member of the United States senate, in March, 1850.

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national debt, and a surplus of more than \$5,000,000 in the public treasury. There were incidents of peculiar interest connected with the inauguration of Andrew Jackson,¹ the seventh president of the United States.^e

WOODROW WILSON ON THE NEW JACKSONIAN ERA²

Many circumstances combine to mark the year 1829 as a turning-point in the history of the United States. The revolution in politics which signalises the presidency of Andrew Jackson as a new epoch in the history of the country was the culmination of a process of material growth and institutional expansion. The new nation was now in the first flush of assured success. It had definitively succeeded in planting new homes and creating new states throughout the wide stretches of the continent which lay between the eastern mountains and the Mississippi.

The election of Andrew Jackson marked a point of significant change in American politics—a change in *personnel* and in spirit, in substance and in method. Colonial America, seeking to construct a union, had become national America, seeking to realise and develop her united strength, and to express her new life in a new course of politics. The states which had originally drawn together to form the Union now found themselves caught in a great national drift, the direction of their development determined by forces as pervasive and irresistible as they were singular and ominous. Almost immediately upon entering the period of Jackson's administrations, the student finds himself, as if by a sudden turn, in the great highway of legislative and executive policy which leads directly to the period of the civil war, and, beyond that, to the United States of our own day. More significant still, a new spirit and method appear in the contests of parties. The "spoils system" of appointment to office is introduced into national administration, and personal allegiance is made the discipline of national party organisation. All signs indicate the beginning of a new period.

The old school of politicians had been greatly thinned by death, and was soon to disappear altogether. The traditions of statesmanship which they had cherished were to lose neither dignity nor vigour in the speech and conduct of men like Webster and the better New England federalists; but they were to be constrained to adapt themselves to radically novel circumstances. Underneath the conservative initiative and policy of the earlier years of the government there had all along been working the potent leaven of democracy, slowly but radically changing conditions both social and political, foreshadowing a revolution in political method, presaging the overthrow of the

¹ Andrew Jackson was born in Mecklenburg county, North Carolina, in March, 1767. His parents were from the north of Ireland, and belonged to that Protestant community known as Scotch-Irish. In earliest infancy he was left to the care of an excellent mother, by the death of his father. He first saw the horrors of war and felt the wrongs of oppression when Colonel Buford's troops were massacred in his neighbourhood in 1780. He entered the army and suffered in the cause of freedom by imprisonment and the death of his mother while she was on an errand of mercy. He studied law, and became one of the most eminent men in the western district of Tennessee, as an advocate and a judge. He was ever a controlling spirit in that region. He assisted in framing a state constitution for Tennessee, and was the first representative of that state in the federal congress. He became United States senator in 1797, and was soon afterwards appointed judge of the supreme court of his state. He settled near Nashville, and for a long time was chief military commander in that region. When the War of 1812 broke out he took the field, and in the capacity of major-general he did good service in the southern country till its close. He was appointed the first governor of Florida in 1821, and in 1823 was again in the United States senate.

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"money-power" of the federalist mercantile classes, and antagonism towards all too conspicuous vested interests.

The federal government was not by intention a democratic government. In plan and structure it had been meant to check the sweep and power of popular majorities. The senate, it was believed, would be a stronghold of conservatism, if not of aristocracy and wealth. The president, it was expected, would be the choice of representative men acting in the electoral college, and not of the people. The federal judiciary was looked to, with its virtually permanent membership, to hold the entire structure of national politics in nice balance against all disturbing influences, whether of popular impulse or of official overbearance. Only in the house of representatives were the people to be accorded an immediate audience and a direct means of making their will effective in affairs. The government had, in fact, been originated and organised upon the initiative and primarily in the interest of the mercantile and wealthy classes.

Hamilton, not only the chief administrative architect of the government, but also the author of the graver and more lasting parts of its policy in the critical formative period of its infancy, had consciously and avowedly sought to commend it by its measures first of all and principally to the moneyed classes—to the men of the cities, to whom it must look for financial support. That such a policy was eminently wise there can of course be no question. But it was not eminently democratic. There can be a moneyed aristocracy, but there cannot be a moneyed democracy. There were ruling classes in that day, and it was imperatively necessary that their interest should be at once and thoroughly enlisted. But there was a majority also, and it was from that majority that the nation was to derive its real energy and character. During the administrations of Washington and John Adams the old federal hierarchy remained virtually intact; the conservative, cultivated, propertied classes of New England and the South practically held the government as their own. But with Jefferson there came the first assertion of the force which was to transform American politics—the force of democracy.

The old federalist party, the party of banks, of commercial treaties, of conservative tradition, was not destined to live in a country every day developing a larger "West," tending some day to be chiefly "West." For, as was to have been expected, the political example of the new states was altogether and unreservedly on the side of unrestricted popular privilege. In all of the original thirteen states there were at first important limitations upon the suffrage. In this point their constitutions were not copied by the new states; these from the first made their suffrage universal. And their example reacted powerfully upon the East. Constitutional revision soon began in the old states, and constitutional revision in every case meant, among other things, an extension of the suffrage. Parties in the East speedily felt the change. No longer protected by a property qualification, aristocracies like that of New England, where the clergy and the lawyers held respectable people together in ordered party array, went rapidly to pieces, and popular majorities began everywhere to make their weight tell in the conduct of affairs.

Monroe's terms of office served as a sort of intermediate season for parties—a period of disintegration and germination. Apparently it was a time of political unity, an "era of good feeling," when all men were of one party and of one mind. But this was only upon the surface.

By the presidential campaign of 1824 party politics were given a more definite form and direction. New England made it known that her candidate was John Quincy Adams; Clay was put forward by political friends in the

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legislatures of Kentucky, Louisiana, Missouri, Illinois, and Ohio; the legislators of Tennessee and many state conventions in other parts of the country put Andrew Jackson in nomination. The results of the election were not a little novel and startling. It had been a great innovation that a man like Andrew Jackson should be nominated at all. No other candidate had ever been put forward who had not served a long apprenticeship and won honourable reputation as a statesman in the public service. There had even been established a sort of succession to the presidency. Jefferson had been Washington's secretary of state; Madison, Jefferson's; Monroe, Madison's. In this line of succession John Quincy Adams was the only legitimate candidate, for he was secretary of state under Monroe. Jackson had never been anything of national importance except a successful soldier. It was absolutely startling that he should receive more electoral votes than any of the other candidates. And yet so it happened. Jackson received 99 votes, while only 84 were cast for Adams, 41 for Crawford, 37 for Clay. It was perhaps significant, too, that these votes came more directly from the people than ever before. No one of the candidates having received an absolute majority of the electoral vote, the election went into the house of representatives, where, with the aid of Clay's friends, Adams was chosen. It was then that the significance of the popular majority received its full emphasis. The friends of Jackson protested that the popular will had been disregarded, and their candidate shamefully, even corruptly, they believed, cheated of his rights. The dogma of popular sovereignty received a new and extraordinary application, fraught with important consequences. Jackson, it was argued, being the choice of the people, was "entitled" to the presidency. From a constitutional point of view the doctrine was nothing less than revolutionary. It marked the rise of a democratic theory very far advanced beyond that of Jefferson's party, and destined again and again to assert itself as against strict constitutional principle.

The supporters of Jackson did not for a moment accept the event of the election of 1825 as decisive. The "sovereignty of the people"—that is, of the vote cast for Jackson—should yet be vindicated. The new administration was hardly seven months old before the legislature of Tennessee renewed its nomination of Jackson for the presidency. The "campaign of 1828" may be said to have begun in 1825. For three whole years a contest, characterised by unprecedented virulence, and pushed in some quarters by novel and ominous methods, stirred the country into keen partisan excitement. A new discipline and principle of allegiance was introduced into national politics. In New York and Pennsylvania there had already sprung into existence that machinery of local committees, nominating caucuses, primaries, and conventions with which later times have made us so familiar; and then, as now, this was a machinery whose use and reason for existence were revealed in the distribution of offices as rewards for party service. The chief masters of its uses were "Jackson men," and the success of their party in 1828 resulted in the nationalisation of their methods./

JACKSON AND THE SPOILS SYSTEM

Jackson came into office to devote himself at first to those who had elected him. Never before had the nation been under so professedly a party rule. Its subjection was proved by the removals from office of such as had served under the previous administrations. In all the forty years that had elapsed

since the opening of the government, the successive presidents had removed just sixty-four public officers, and no more. Jackson turned out the servants of the government by the hundred. This imprinting a partisan character upon the administration was far from being unacceptable to the majority of the nation. It was but just, they argued, that the inferior officers should be of the same views as the superior; otherwise there could be no harmony. A great deal of stress, moreover, was laid upon the necessity of reforming the administration, the alleged extravagance of Adams' time having been sounded all over the land by the partisans of Jackson. The clamour of the opposition against either cause of removal can be conceived.

The great question between the power of the state and the power of the nation was still open. Jackson entered into it with concessions to the state. When the Creeks of Georgia were disposed of, there still remained the Cherokees of the same and the neighbouring states. This tribe, far from being inclined to leave its habitations, was so much inclined to settling where it was, as to adopt a formal constitution (1827). At this, Georgia lost patience, and asserted her jurisdiction over the Cherokees, at the same time dividing their territory, and annexing it in portions to the counties of the state (1828-1830). Much the same course was taken by Alabama and Mississippi in relation to the Indians within their borders (1829-1830). In these circumstances, the position of the general government was this: that it had always undertaken to treat with the Indians, to protect or to molest them, as the case might be, but in no event leaving them to the action of any separate part of the nation. Instead of maintaining this position in relation to the southern Indians, the president, supported by congress, yielded it altogether, upon the ground that the Cherokee constitution was the erection of a new state within the limits of Georgia and Alabama. It would have been well had Georgia contented herself with the Indians thus surrendered to her. But she must needs interfere with the whites, the very missionaries of the Indian territory, and imprison them in her penitentiary for not taking the oath of allegiance which she demanded (1831). Their case was carried before the United States supreme court, which decided against the course of Georgia with regard to both missionaries and Indians (1832). But the Indians obtained no redress; nor did the missionaries, until they abandoned their proceedings against the sovereign state (1833).

More serious points in relation to the question between the states and the general government had arisen. The first message of President Jackson (December, 1829) suggested a modification of the tariff adopted the year before. It was another concession, on his part, to the state claims. But it was not made without cause. The system of protection, once opposed and favoured by the North and by the South together, had come to be a favourite of the North, and an object of opposition to the South. But the result for the present, so far as the tariff was concerned, consisted in a few unimportant modifications (May, 1830).

THE WEBSTER-HAYNE DEBATE; NULLIFICATION IN SOUTH CAROLINA

At the same time a resolution before the senate was indefinitely postponed, after having elicited a remarkable debate upon the points at issue before the country. It had been brought forward by Senator Foot, of Connecticut, just at the close of the previous year (December 29th, 1829), with a view to some arrangement concerning the sale of the public lands. But the public

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lands were soon lost sight of in a discussion involving the relative powers of the states and the national government. Robert Y. Hayne, a senator from South Carolina, took the ground that a state possessed the right of nullifying any act of congress which it should consider unconstitutional, inasmuch as the government, whereof congress was a part, resulted from a compact amongst the states. The opposite theory, that the government was established by the people of the United States as a whole, and not by the states as separate members, was taken chiefly by Daniel Webster, some years before a representative of his native New Hampshire, at present a senator from his adopted Massachusetts. The great speech of Webster (January 26th-27th, 1830) was, without contradiction, the ablest plea that had ever been made for the national character as well as the national government. It decided the fact, so far as argument in the senate chamber could do, that the general government, in its proper functions, is independent of all local institutions. As a necessary consequence, the claim of a state to nullify an act of congress fell to the ground. "I trust," said Webster, near the beginning of the following year, "the crisis has in some measure passed by." It was not the last time, however, that he had to raise his powerful voice in the defence of the constitution.

A year or more elapsed before the subject of the tariff was called up again. It was then decided by congress and the president to revise the provisions against which the South was still contending. Without abandoning the protective system, which, on the contrary, was distinctly maintained, the duties upon many of the protected articles were reduced, in order to satisfy the opponents of protection (July, 1832). Far from diverting the storm, the action upon the tariff did but hasten its approach. The legislature of South Carolina summoned a convention of the state, which met at Columbia, under the presidency of Governor Hamilton (November 19th). A few days sufficed to pass an ordinance declaring:

That the several acts, and parts of acts, purporting to be laws for the imposing of duties on importation are unauthorised by the constitution of the United States, and violate the true intent and meaning thereof, and are null and void, and no law, nor binding upon the state of South Carolina, its officers and citizens; and that it shall be the duty of the legislature to adopt such measures and pass such acts as may be necessary to give full effect to this ordinance, and to prevent the enforcement and arrest the operation of the said acts, and parts of acts, of the congress of the United States within the limits of the state.

In all this there was nothing new to the nation. From the time when Kentucky and Virginia began upon a similar course, from the time when Massachusetts and Connecticut continued it, down to the more recent acts of Georgia and of South Carolina herself, nullification, in nominal if not in actual existence, had stalked throughout the land. A state that felt itself aggrieved by the general government was very apt to take to resolutions, often to positive statutes, against the laws or the measures of the Union. But South Carolina went further than any of her predecessors:

We, the people of South Carolina [concluded the ordinance of the convention] do further declare that we will not submit to the application of force, on the part of the federal government, to reduce this state to obedience, but that we will consider the passage by congress of any act to enforce the acts hereby declared to be null and void, otherwise than through the civil tribunals of the country, as inconsistent with the longer continuance of South Carolina in the Union; and that the people of this state will forthwith proceed to organize a separate government.

This was something more than nullification; it was secession. It has been very common to exclaim against the conduct of South Carolina. But with

the principles which she professed, supporting the claims of the state to be a sovereign member of a national confederacy, it is difficult to see how she could have acted otherwise. If we would censure anything, it must be the principles which led to nullification and to secession, rather than these, the mere and the inevitable results. In itself, as an instance of resolution against what was deemed injustice and oppression, the attitude of South Carolina is no object of indignation. On the contrary, there is something thrilling in the aspect of a people perilling their all to sustain their rights, even though they were mistaken as to what their rights really were. "The die has been at last cast," the governor informed the legislature, assembled a day or two after the adoption of the ordinance by the convention, "and South Carolina has at length appealed to her ulterior sovereignty as a member of this confederacy." The legislature unhesitatingly responded to the convention in a series of acts prohibiting the collection of duties, and providing for the employment of volunteers, or, if need were, of the entire militia, in the defence of the state.

If the state was resolute, the general government was no less so. The president was in his element. A crisis which he was eminently adapted to meet had arrived. It called forth all his independence, all his nationality. Other men—more than one of his predecessors—would have doubted the course to be pursued; they would have stayed to inquire into the powers of the constitution, or to count the resources of the government; nay, had they been consistent, they would have inclined to the support, rather than to the overthrow, of the South Carolina doctrine. Jackson did not waver an instant. He took his own counsel, as he was wont to do, and declared for the nation against the state; then ordered troops and a national vessel to the support of the government officers in South Carolina.

No act of violent opposition to the laws has yet been committed [thus the president declared in a proclamation]; but such a state of things is hourly apprehended; and it is the intent of this instrument to proclaim not only that the duty imposed on me by the constitution, to take care that the laws be faithfully executed, shall be performed, but to warn the citizens of South Carolina that the course they are urged to pursue is one of ruin and disgrace to the very state whose right they affect to support.

The appeal to the South Carolinians was the more forcible in coming from one of themselves, as it were; Jackson being a native of their state. Addressing congress in an elaborate message (January 16th, 1833), the president argued down both nullification and secession, maintaining that "the result of each is the same; since a state in which, by a usurpation of power, the constitutional authority of the federal government is openly defied and set aside, wants only the form to be independent of the Union." Congress responded, after some delay, by an enforcing act, the primary object of which was to secure the collection of the customs in the South Carolina ports. Thus united stood the government in sustaining itself against the state by which it was defied. Nor did it stand alone. One after another, the states, by legislative or by individual proceedings, came out in support of the national principle. The principle of state sovereignty, that might have found support but for the extremity to which it had been pushed, seemed to be abandoned. South Carolina was left to herself, even by her neighbours, usually prone to take the same side. Only Virginia came forward, appealing to the government as well as to South Carolina to be done with strife.

The tariff was openly condemned by North Carolina, Alabama, and Georgia; the last state proposing a southern convention, to take some measures of resistance to the continuance of a system so unconstitutional. It

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became plainer and plainer that if South Carolina was to be brought to terms by any other way than by force, or if her sister states of the South were to be kept from joining her sooner or later, it must be by some modification of the tariff. A bill was brought forward in the house, but without any immediate result. Henry Clay took the matter up in the senate. He had distinguished himself as the advocate of the Missouri Compromise. He was the author, in consultation with others, of the tariff compromise. This proposed that the duties on all imports exceeding twenty per cent. should be reduced to that rate by successive diminutions through the next ten years (till June 30th, 1842). "I wish," said Clay, "to see the tariff separated from the politics of the country, that business men may go to work in security, with some prospect of stability in our laws." Had there been no other motive for his course, this would have been enough to stamp it with wisdom. Others felt as he did. Unlike the Missouri question, the tariff question was disposed of without protracted struggles. The measure was supported by very general approval, not excepting the representatives of South Carolina, at the head of whom was Calhoun, lately surrendering the vice-presidency in order to represent his state in the senate. The compromise became a law (March 2nd), and South Carolina returned to her allegiance. "The lightning," as one of Clay's correspondents wrote to him, was "drawn out from the clouds which were lowering over the country."

Like all other compromises, the tariff compromise did not bring about an absolute decision of the points of controversy. To the opponents of protection it abated the amount of protection. To the champions of the protective system it secured the right of laying duties, but at the same time decided against the expediency, if not the right, of excessive duties. As for the subject that lay behind the tariff, not concealed, but overtopping it by an immensity of height, this, too, was decided in the same general way. The subordination of the state to the nation was not defined. But it was established on principles which no nullification could disturb, and no secession break asunder, except in national ruin.

JACKSON'S STRUGGLE WITH THE BANK AND THE FINANCIAL DISORDERS

Few matters are more important to a nation—especially to a money-making nation—than its finance. This being in a sound condition, the course of government and of the people is so far smoothed and secured. But if it is disturbed, either by those in authority or by those engaged in speculations of their own, the whole country suffers. Time and again had these things been proved in the United States; a fresh and a fearful proof was soon to occur. The administration of Jackson had but just begun (1829), when an attempt was made to interfere with the appointments in the United States Bank. The resistance of the bank is supposed to have excited the displeasure of the president, who, at all events, took occasion in his first message to throw out suggestions against the renewal of the bank charter, although this was not to expire for six or seven years to come. Congress, instead of complying with the presidential recommendation, showed a decided determination to sustain the bank. The next congress voted to renew the charter, but the president immediately interposed with a veto (July, 1832). Amidst many sound objections on his part was mingled much that must be set down as prejudice, not to say extravagance; he even went so far as to suppose the bank to be dangerous "to our liberty and independence."

Not content with opposing the rechartering of the bank, the president determined to humble it before its charter expired. To this, it must be confessed, he was in some degree goaded by the unsparing bitterness with which his veto had been assailed. On the other hand, the triumphant re-election of Jackson in 1832 by a large majority over Henry Clay, and with his right-hand man, Martin Van Buren, for vice-president, assured him of a support which would not fail him in any measures he might pursue. In his next message (December, 1832) he recommended the removal of the treasury deposits from the custody of the bank, but without obtaining the co-operation of congress. Things went on as they were until the early autumn of the following year, when (September, 1833) the president announced to his cabinet his resolution to remove the deposits on his own responsibility, assigning for his principal reasons the electioneering procedures against his administration, of which the bank was suspected, and the necessity of providing for some new method of managing the public revenue before the expiration of the charter incapacitated the bank from serving as it had hitherto done. The terms of the charter provided that the power of recalling the deposits lay with the secretary of the treasury. The secretary then in office, William J. Duane, declined to have anything to do with the removal. Two days afterwards he was displaced to make room for Roger B. Taney, then attorney-general, and subsequently chief-justice of the United States. The new secretary, not sharing the scruples of his predecessor, issued the proper order for the removal of the deposits at the time indicated by the president (October 1st).

Of the agitation attending these events it is difficult to conceive at this distance of time. If we account for the suspicions of the president against the bank, there still remain the accusations from the bank and from its friends against the president to be explained. Had Jackson declared himself the lord and master of the United States, there could scarcely have been a greater uproar. In the senate, at the instigation of Henry Clay, a resolve was adopted, "that the president, in the late executive proceeding in relation to the public revenue, has assumed upon himself authority and power not conferred by the constitution and laws, but in derogation of both" (March, 1834). The same day Daniel Webster remarked, "Let all who mean to die as they live, citizens of a free country, stand together for the supremacy of the laws." Against the sentence of the senate, passed upon him without a hearing, the president issued a protest, as a "substitute for that defence which," said he, "I have not been allowed to present in the ordinary form" (April). So one extreme led to another, until, near three years later, it was made a party measure to expunge from the records of the senate the resolution of censure (January, 1837).

As for the bank itself, it "waged war," said the president afterwards, "upon the people, in order to compel them to submit to its demands." It certainly appeared to do so; but the course taken by it was quite as much a defensive as an offensive one. The loss of the deposits involved a contraction of loans. These contractions affected other banks, which were obliged to curtail their own operations, until credit sank, capitalists failed, and labourers ceased to be employed. The sufferers turned against both sides—a part against the bank, which was represented as a monstrous despotism; a part against the president, who was represented as an equally monstrous despot. We seem to read of a nation gone wild, in reading of these things as they are told by their contemporaries.

While individuals were suffering, the government was in a state of depletion. Not only was the public debt entirely paid off (1835), but a large balance

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was left in the banks to which the public moneys had been transferred from the United States Bank. It was resolved by the administration to deposit, as the phrase went, all but a reserve of \$5,000,000 with the states, to be used according to their different circumstances (1836). A sum of \$28,000,000 was thus distributed, the states generally understanding that the share which each received was its own, not merely to be employed but to be retained (1837). Nothing was ever recalled by the government, great as its embarrassments soon became.

Into the old fissure between the North and the South a new wedge was driven during the present period. The action, hitherto confined to meetings and memorials, extended itself in publications, pamphlets, and newspapers, of which the movements were no longer occasional, but continuous and systematic (1832). This was abolitionism, so called from its demands that slavery should be abolished, and this immediately, without reference to the constitution or the institutions of the South, to the claims of the master or the fortunes of the slave. Whatever its motives, its course was professedly unscrupulous, sparing neither the interests against which it was directed nor those which it was intended to sustain. An immediate reaction arose in the North. Meetings were held, mobs were gathered against the places where the abolitionists met and the offices whence they issued their productions (1834). Then the tumult spread to the South. The mails thither were burdened with papers intended to excite a general insurrection, or at least a general alarm. As a natural consequence, the post-offices were broken into and the obnoxious publications destroyed (1835). That portion of the South which had begun of its own accord to move towards the abolition of slavery was at once arrested; while that other portion, always attached to slavery, began to talk of non-intercourse and of disunion. The matter was taken up by government, beginning with the president, who recommended a law to prohibit the use of the mail for the circulation of incendiary documents. So embittered did congress become as to refuse to receive memorials upon the subject of slavery, a subject often before provocative of angry passages, but never until now considered too delicate to be approached (1836). Abolitionism had resulted in conservatism, and that of a stamp as yet unknown to the most conservative.

Relations with the Indians were frequently disturbed. The process of removing them to the west of the Mississippi continued a cause of disorder and of strife. A war with the Sacs and Foxes, under Black Hawk, broke out on the northwest frontier, but was soon brought to an end by a vigorous campaign on the part of the United States troops and the militia, under Generals Scott and Atkinson (1832). Another war arose with the Seminoles, under their chief Osceola, in Florida. It was attended by serious losses from the beginning (1835). On the junction of the Creeks with the Seminoles, affairs grew still worse, the war extending into Georgia and Alabama (1836). The Creeks were subdued under the directions of General Jessup; but the Seminoles continued in arms amidst the thickets of Florida for many years.

Occasional disturbances occurred in foreign relations, especially respecting the indemnities still due on account of spoliation of American commerce. These were gradually arranged, Denmark (1830) and Naples (1834) meeting the claims of long standing against them; the more recent demands against Portugal and Spain being also satisfied, though not by immediate payments (1832, 1834).

The relations with France were more precarious. After twenty or thirty years' unavailing negotiation with the governments of Napoleon and his

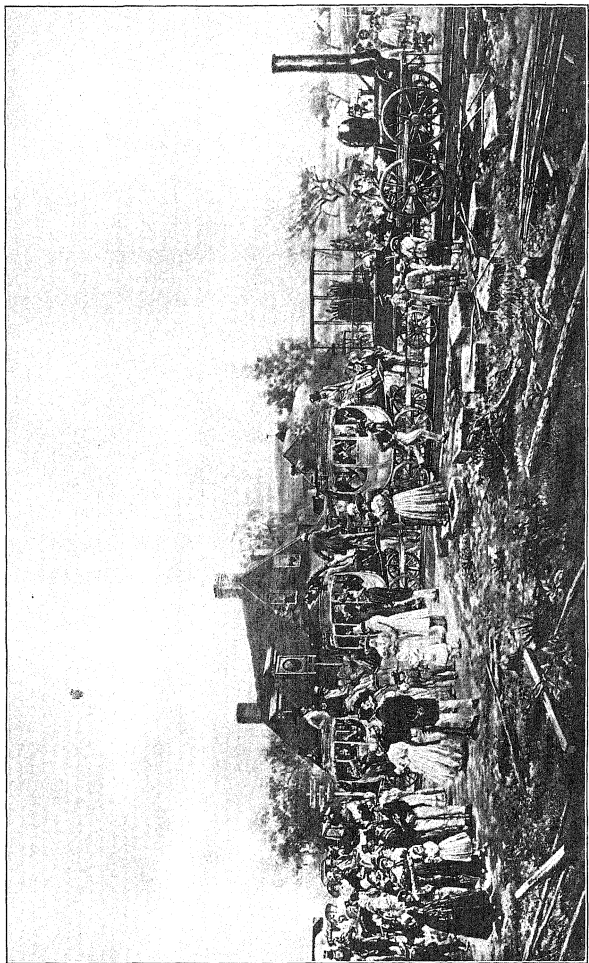
Bourbon successors, a treaty was concluded with the government of Louis Philippe, acknowledging the American claims to the amount of about \$5,000,000 (July, 1831). Three years afterwards the French chambers rejected the bill for the execution of the treaty (1834). Meantime the United States government had drawn a draft for the amount of the first instalment proposed to be paid by France, but only to have the draft protested. Thus doubly aggrieved, the administration proposed to congress the authorisation of reprisals upon French property, in case immediate provision for the fulfilment of the treaty should not be made by the French chambers (December, 1834). The mere proposal, though unsupported by any action of congress, was received as an affront in France, the French minister at Washington being recalled, and the American minister at Paris being tendered his passports. At this crisis Great Britain offered her mediation. It was accepted; but, without waiting for its exercise, the French government resolved to execute the treaty. The news came in May, 1836, that the \$5,000,000 were paid.^d

A treaty of reciprocity had been concluded with Russia and Belgium, and everywhere the American flag commanded the highest respect. Two new states (Arkansas and Michigan) had been added to the Union. The original thirteen had doubled, and great activity prevailed in every part of the republic. Satisfaction with the administration generally prevailed, and it was understood that Van Buren would continue the policy of his predecessor, if elected. He received a large majority; but the people, having failed to elect a vice-president, the senate chose Richard M. Johnson, of Kentucky, who had been a candidate with Van Buren, to fill that station.

Much excitement was produced and bitter feelings were engendered towards President Jackson by his last official act. A circular was issued from the treasury department on the 11th of July, 1836, requiring all collectors of the public revenue to receive nothing but gold and silver in payment. This was intended to check speculations in the public lands, but it also bore heavily upon every kind of business. The "specie circular" was denounced, and so loud was the clamour that towards the close of the session in 1837 both houses of congress adopted a partial repeal of it. Jackson refused to sign the bill, and by keeping it in his possession until after the adjournment of congress prevented it becoming a law. On the 4th of March, 1837, he retired from public life, to enjoy that repose which an exceedingly active career entitled him to. He was then seventy years of age.^e

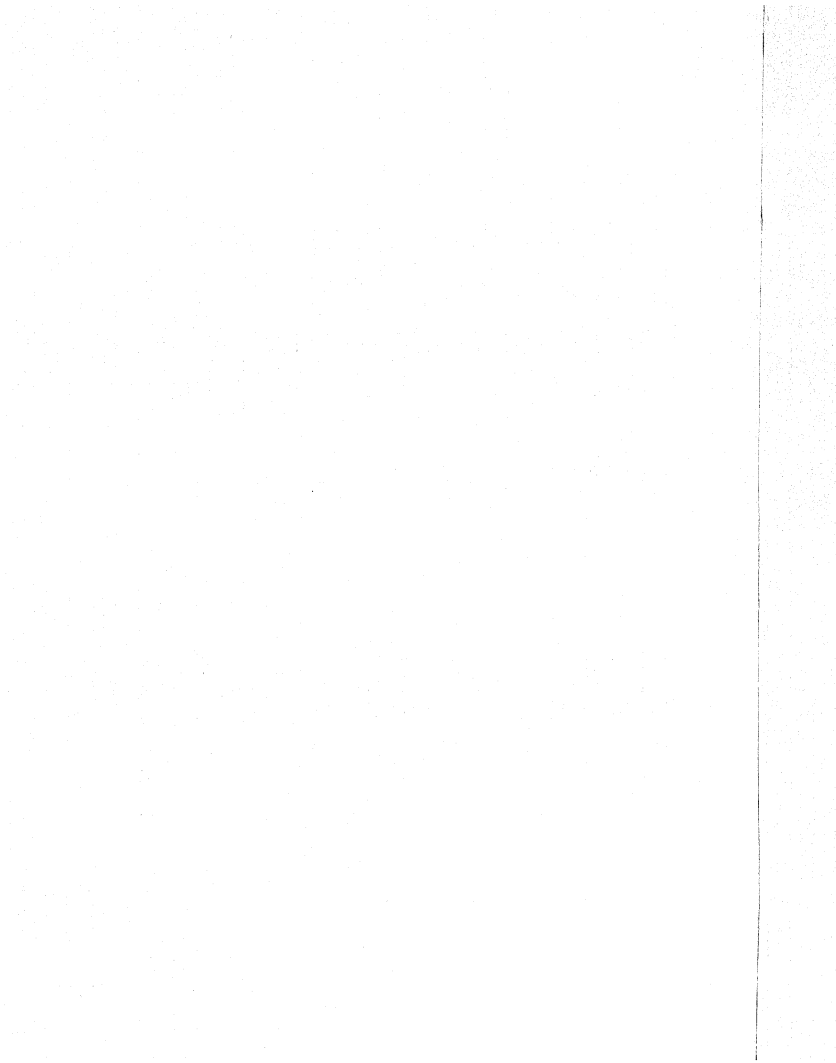
JAMES PARTON'S PORTRAIT OF ANDREW JACKSON

People may hold what opinions they will respecting the merits or importance of this man, but no one can deny that his invincible popularity is worthy of consideration; for what we lovingly admire, that, in some degree, we are. It is chiefly as the representative man of the Fourth-of-July, or combative-rebellious period of American history, that he is interesting to the student of human nature. And no man will ever be able quite to comprehend Andrew Jackson who has not personally known a Scotch-Irishman. More than he was anything else, he was a North-of-Irelander. His father, his forefathers, his relatives in Carolina, had all walked the lowlier paths of life, and aspired to no other. This poor, gaunt, and sickly orphan places himself at once upon the direct road to the higher spheres. He lived in an atmosphere of danger and became habituated to self-reliance. Always escaping, he learned to confide implicitly in his star.



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THE FIRST RAILWAY TRAIN IN AMERICA



[1837 A.D.]

General Jackson's appointment-and-removal policy I consider an evil so great and so difficult to remedy, that if all his other public acts had been perfectly wise and right, this single feature of his administration would suffice to render it deplorable rather than admirable. I must avow explicitly the belief that, notwithstanding the good done by General Jackson during his presidency, his elevation to power was a mistake on the part of the people of the United States. The good which he effected has not continued, while the evil which he began remains.

Men of books contemplate with mere wonder the fact that during a period when Webster, Clay, Calhoun, Wirt, and Preston were on the public stage, Andrew Jackson should have been so much the idol of the American people that all those eminent men united could not prevail against him in a single instance. Autocrat as he was, Andrew Jackson loved the people, the common people, the sons and daughters of toil, as truly as they loved him, and he believed in them as they believed in him. He was in accord with his generation. He had a clear perception that the toiling millions are not a class in the community. He knew and felt that government should exist only for the benefit of the governed; that the strong are strong only that they may aid the weak; that the rich are rightfully rich only that they may so combine and direct the labours of the poor as to make labour more profitable to the labourer. He did not comprehend these truths as they are demonstrated by Jefferson and Spencer, but he had an intuitive and instinctive perception of them. And in his most autocratic moments he really thought that he was fighting the battle of the people and doing their will while baffling the purposes of their representatives. If he had been a man of knowledge as well as force, he would have taken the part of the people more effectually, and left to his successors an increased power of doing good, instead of better facilities for doing harm. He appears always to have meant well. But his ignorance of law, history, politics, science, of everything which he who governs a country ought to know, was extreme. He was imprisoned in his ignorance, and sometimes raged round his little, dim inclosure like a tiger in his den.

The calamity of the United States has been this: the educated class have not been able to accept the truths of the democratic creed. They have followed the narrow, conservative, respectable Hamilton—not the large, liberal, progressive Jefferson. But the people have instinctively held fast to the Jeffersonian sentiments. Hence, in this country, until very recently, the men of books have had little influence upon public affairs. To this most lamentable divorce between the people and those who ought to have been worthy to lead them, and who would have led them if they had been worthy, we are to attribute the elevation to the presidency of a man whose ignorance, whose good intentions, and whose passions combined to render him, of all conceivable human beings, the most unfit for the office. But those who concur in the opinion that the administration of Andrew Jackson did more harm than good to the country—the harm being permanent, the good evanescent—should never for a moment forget that it was the people of the United States who elected him to the presidency.⁹

VAN BUREN'S ADMINISTRATION; THE PANICS OF 1837

Martin Van Buren, the eighth president of the United States, seemed to stand, at the time of his inauguration—on the 4th of March, 1837—at the opening of a new era. All of his predecessors in the high office of chief magis-

trate of the republic had been descended of Britons, and were engaged in the old struggle for independence. Van Buren was of Dutch descent, and was born after the great conflict had ended and the birth of the nation had occurred. But at the moment when Mr. Van Buren entered the presidential mansion as its occupant the business of the country was on the verge of a terrible convulsion and utter prostration. The distressing effects of the removal of the public funds from the United States Bank, in 1833 and 1834, and the operations of the "specie circular," had disappeared, in a measure, but as the remedies for the evil were superficial, the cure was only apparent. The chief remedy had been the free loaning of the public money to individuals by the state deposit banks; but a commercial disease was thus produced, more disastrous than the panic of 1833-1834. A sudden expansion of the paper currency was the result. The state banks which accepted these deposits supposed they would remain undisturbed until the government should need them for its use. Considering them as so much capital, they loaned their own funds freely. But in January, 1836, congress, as we have seen, had authorised the secretary of the treasury to distribute all the public funds, except \$5,000,000, among the several states, according to their representation. The funds were accordingly taken from the deposit banks, after the 1st of January, 1837, and these banks being obliged to curtail their loans, a serious pecuniary embarrassment was produced.

The immediate consequences of such multiplied facilities for obtaining bank loans were an immensely increased importation of foreign goods, inordinate stimulation of all industrial pursuits and internal improvements, and the operation of a spirit of speculation, especially in real estate, which assumed the features of a mania, in 1836. A hundred cities were founded and a thousand villages were "laid out" on broad sheets of paper, and made the basis of vast money transactions. Borrowed capital was thus diverted from its sober, legitimate uses to the fostering of schemes as unstable as water, and as unreal in their fancied results as dreams of fairy-land. Overtrading and speculation, which had relied for support upon continued bank loans, were suddenly checked by the necessary bank contractions, on account of the removal of the government funds from their custody; and during March and April, 1837, there were mercantile failures in the city of New York alone to the amount of more than \$100,000,000.¹ Fifteen months before [December, 1835], property to the amount of more than \$20,000,000 had been destroyed by fire in the city of New York, when 529 buildings were consumed. The effects of these failures and losses were felt to the remotest borders of the Union, and credit and confidence were destroyed.

Early in May, 1837, a deputation from the merchants and bankers of New York waited upon the president, and solicited him to defer the collection of duties on imported goods, rescind the "specie circular," and to call an extraordinary session of congress to adopt relief measures. The president declined to act on their petitions. When his determination was known, all the banks in New York suspended specie payments (May 10th, 1837), and their example was speedily followed throughout the country. On the 16th of May the legislature of New York passed an act authorising the suspension of specie payments for one year. The measure embarrassed the general government, and it was unable to obtain gold and silver to discharge its own obligations. The public good now demanded legislative relief, and an extraordinary session of congress was convened by the president on the

¹ In two days houses in New Orleans stopped payment, owing an aggregate of \$27,000,000; and in Boston 168 failures took place in six months.

[1837-1845 A.D.]

4th of September. During a session of forty-three days it did little for the general relief, except the passage of a bill authorising the issue of treasury notes, not to exceed in amount \$10,000,000.¹

REPUDIATION IN MISSISSIPPI

While the national finances were slowly recovering themselves, the state finances, with some exceptions, appeared to be on the brink of ruin. The states had run a race of extravagance and hazard unparalleled in American history. In the two years preceding the commercial crisis the issue of state stocks—that is, the amount of money borrowed by the states—was nearly \$100,000,000. The inevitable consequences followed. While such as had anything to support their credit were deeply bowed, those that had nothing—those that had borrowed not so much to develop their resources as to supply the want of resources—fell, collapsed and shattered. Some states—Maryland (January, 1842) and Pennsylvania (August, 1842)—paid the interest on their debts only by certificates, and by those only partially. Others—Indiana (July, 1841), Arkansas (July, 1841), and Illinois (January, 1842)—made no payment at all. Two—Michigan (January, 1842) and Louisiana (December, 1842)—ceased not merely to pay but in part to acknowledge their dues, alleging that the frauds or failures of their agents, from which they had unquestionably suffered, released them from at least a portion of their obligations.

But in this, as in every other respect, in extent as well as in priority of insolvency, Mississippi took the lead. As early as January, 1841, Governor McNutt suggested to the legislature the “repudiating the sale of five millions of the bonds of the year 1838, on account of fraud and illegality.” Even if the sale was a fraudulent one, which many in as well as out of Mississippi denied, the penalty attached not to the bondholders, who had paid their money in good faith that it would be returned to them, but to the bank commissioners by whom the bonds were sold, or to the bank itself, by which the commissioners had been appointed. At all events, Mississippi deliberately repudiated her debts (1842). Her example was imitated at the same time by the neighbouring territory of Florida.

Eight states and a territory were thus sunk into bankruptcy, some of them into what was worse than bankruptcy. It was not, of course, without dishonour or without injury to the Union of which they were members. When a national loan was attempted to be effected abroad, not a bidder could be found for it, or for any part of it, in all Europe (1842). This was but a trifle, however, amid the storm of reproach that swelled against the United States. “I do not wonder,” wrote the Boston clergyman William Ellery Channing, “that Europe raises a cry of indignation against this country; I wish it could come to us in thunder.” Nor did it seem undeserved by the nation, as a whole, when Florida, still repudiating its debt as a territory, was admitted as a state (1845). Against this sign of insensibility on the part of the nation there were happily to be set some proofs of returning honour on the part of the states, Pennsylvania taking the lead in wiping away her debts and her stains (1845).

¹ In his message to congress at this session the president proposed the establishment of an independent treasury for the safe-keeping of the public funds and their entire and total separation from banking institutions. This scheme met with vehement opposition. The bill passed the senate, but was lost in the house. It was debated at subsequent sessions, and finally became a law on the 4th of July, 1840. This is known as the Sub-Treasury Scheme.

TEXAS SECEDES FROM MEXICO

One of the later communications of President Jackson to congress had been upon the subject of Texas and its independence. He was decided in recommending caution, for reasons which will presently appear (December, 1836). But, congress declaring its recognition of the new state, Jackson assented in the last moments of his administration. A quarter of a century before, parties from the United States began to cross over to join in the Mexican struggle against Spain (1813). It was then uncertain whether Texas formed a part of Mexico or of Louisiana, the boundary being undetermined until the time of the treaty concerning Florida (1819-1821). At that time Texas was distinctly abandoned to Spain, from whose possession it immediately passed to that of her revolted province of Mexico. Soon after, on Mexican invitation, a number of colonists from the United States, under the lead of Stephen F. Austin, of Missouri, undertook to settle the still unoccupied territory (1821). It was no expedition to plunder or to destroy, but what it professed to be—to colonise. Notwithstanding the difficulties of the enterprise itself, as well as those created by the continual changes in the Mexican government, it prospered to such a degree that several thousand settlers were gathered in during the ten years ensuing.

Strong in their numbers, stronger still in their energies, the Texans aspired to a more definite organisation than they possessed. Without any purpose, at least professed, of revolution, they formed a constitution, and sent Austin to ask the admission of Texas, as a separate state, into the Mexican republic (1833). This was denied, and Austin thrown into prison. But no outbreak followed for more than two years. Then the Mexican government, resolving to reduce the Texans to entire submission, despatched a force to arrest the officers under the state constitution, and to disarm the people. The Texan Lexington was Gonzales, where the first resistance was made (September 28th, 1835). The Texan Philadelphia was a place called Washington, where a convention declared the independence of the state (March 2nd, 1836) and adopted a constitution (March 17th). The Texan Saratoga and Yorktown, two in one, was on the shores of the San Jacinto, where General Houston, commander-in-chief of the insurgents, gained a decisive victory over the Mexican president, Santa Anna (April 21st). Six months afterwards Houston was chosen president of the republic of Texas. In his inaugural speech he expressed the desire of the people to join the United States. Nothing could be more natural. With few exceptions, they were emigrants from the land to which they wished to be reunited. The cession of the Louisiana claims to Texas in the Florida treaty had been vehemently opposed by many who would therefore be earnest to recover the territory then surrendered. Again and again was the effort made by the United States to get back from Mexico what had been ceded to Spain (1825-1835). But the very fact that slavery existed in Texas was a strong reason with another considerable party in the North to oppose its admission to the Union. In their eyes, the Texans seemed a wild and lawless set, unfit to share in the established institutions of the United States. To these objections must be added one, very generally entertained, on account of the claim of Mexico to the Texan territory. Notwithstanding various complications, the independence of Texas was recognised by the United States, as has been mentioned, leaving the project of annexation to the future. When Texas, soon after the opening of Van Buren's administration, presented herself for admission to the Union, her offers were declined, and then withdrawn (1837).

[1837-1840 A.D.]

TROUBLES WITH CANADA

The attention of the country was turned in another direction. An insurrection in Canada was immediately supported by American parties, one of whom, in company with some Canadian refugees, after pillaging the New York arsenals, seized upon Navy Island, a British possession in the Niagara river. The steamer *Caroline*, engaged in bringing over men, arms, and stores to the island, was destroyed, though at the time on the American shore, by a British detachment (December, 1837). The deed was instantly avowed by the minister of Great Britain at Washington as an act of self-defence on the British side. Three years afterwards (November, 1840) one Alexander McLeod, sheriff of Niagara, in Canada, and as such a participator in the destruction of the *Caroline*, was arrested in New York on the charge of murder, an American having lost his life when the steamer was destroyed. The British government demanded his release, in doing which they were sustained by the United States administration, on the ground that McLeod was but an agent or soldier of Great Britain. But the authorities of New York held fast to their prisoner, and brought him to trial. Had harm come to him, his government stood pledged to declare war; but he was acquitted for want of proof (1841). Congress subsequently passed an act requiring that similar cases should be tried only before United States courts. The release of McLeod did not settle the affair of the *Caroline*; this still remained. There were, or there had been, other difficulties upon the Maine frontier, where the boundary line had never yet been run. Collisions took place, and others, between the Maine militia and the British troops, had been but just prevented.^a

HARRISON'S AND TYLER'S ADMINISTRATION

A national whig convention had been held at Harrisburg, in Pennsylvania, on the fourth of December (1839), when General William Henry Harrison, of Ohio, the popular leader in the northwest, in the War of 1812, was nominated for president, and John Tyler, of Virginia, for vice-president. Never before was the country so excited by an election, and never before was a presidential contest characterised by such demoralising proceedings.¹ The government, under Mr. Van Buren, being held responsible by the opposition for the business depression which yet brooded over the country, public speakers arrayed vast masses of the people against the president, and Harrison and Tyler were elected by overwhelming majorities. And now, at the close of the first fifty years of the republic, the population had increased from three and a half millions, of all colours, to seventeen millions. A magazine writer of the day, in the *Democratic Review*, in comparing several administrations, remarked that "the great events of Mr. Van Buren's administration, by which it will hereafter be known and designated, are the divorce of bank and state in the fiscal affairs of the federal government, and the return, after half a century of deviation, to the original design of the constitution."

¹ Because General Harrison lived in the West and his residence was associated with pioneer life, a log-cabin became the symbol of his party. These cabins were erected all over the country, in which meetings were held; and, as the hospitality of the old hero was symbolised by a barrel of cider, made free to all visitors or strangers, who "never found the latch-string of his log-cabin drawn in," that beverage was dealt out unsparingly to all who attended the meetings in the cabins. These meetings were scenes of carousal, deeply injurious to all who participated in them, and especially to the young. Thousands of drunkards in after years dated their departure from sobriety to the "hard-cider" campaign of 1840.

Harrison was then an old man, having passed almost a month beyond the age of sixty-eight years. Precisely one month after he uttered his oath of office the new president died, on the 4th day of April, 1841.

In accordance with the provisions of the constitution the vice-president became the official successor of the deceased president, and on the 6th of April the oath of office was administered to John Tyler. He retained the cabinet appointed by President Harrison until September following, when all but the secretary of state resigned.

The extraordinary session of congress called by President Harrison commenced its session on the appointed day (May 31st, 1841) and continued until the 13th of September following. The Sub-Treasury Act was repealed and a general Bankrupt Law was enacted. This humane law accomplished a material benefit. Thousands of honest and enterprising men had been crushed by the recent business revulsion, and were so laden with debt as to be hopelessly chained to a narrow sphere of action. The law relieved them; and while it bore heavily upon the creditor class, for a while, its operations were beneficent and useful. When dishonest men began to make it a pretence for cheating, it was repealed. But the chief object sought to be obtained during this session, namely, the chartering of a bank of the United States, was not achieved. Two separate bills for that purpose were vetoed by the president, who, like Jackson, thought he perceived great evils to be apprehended from the workings of such an institution. The course of the president was vehemently censured by the party in power, and the last veto led to the dissolution of his cabinet. Mr. Webster patriotically remained at his post, for great public interests would have suffered by his withdrawal at that time.

The year 1842 was distinguished by the return of the United States exploring expedition under Lieutenant Wilkes, the settlement of the northeastern boundary question by the Ashburton Treaty, essential modifications of the tariff, and domestic difficulties in Rhode Island.^c

The Treaty of Washington, [or Ashburton Treaty] ratified by the senate (August 20th), embraced almost every subject of dissension with Great Britain. It settled the northeastern boundary; it put down the claim to a right of visit, and in such a way as to lead to the denial of the claim by European powers who had previously admitted it. Such were the advantages gained by the United States on both these points, the leading ones of the treaty, that it was styled in England the Ashburton Capitulation. The treaty also provided for the mutual surrender of fugitives from justice; an object of great importance, considering the recent experiences on the Canada frontier. For the affair of the *Caroline*, an apology, or what amounted to one, was made by the British minister. Even the old quarrel about impressment was put to rest, not by the treaty, but by a letter from Webster to Ashburton, repeating the rule originally laid down by Jefferson that "the vessel being American shall be evidence that the seamen on board are such," adding, as the present and future principle of the American government, that "in every regularly documented American merchant vessel, the crew who navigate it will find their protection in the flag which is over them." In short, every difficulty with Great Britain was settled by the treaty, or by the accompanying negotiations, except one, the boundary of Oregon, on which no serious difference had as yet appeared.^d

Difficulties in Rhode Island originated in a movement to adopt a state constitution of government, and to abandon the old charter given by Charles II, in 1663, under which the people had been ruled for one hundred and eighty years. Disputes arose concerning the proper method to be pursued in making

[1842-1845 A.D.]

the change, and these assumed a serious aspect. Two parties were formed, known, respectively, as the "suffrage" or radical party, the other as the "law-and-order" or conservative party. Each formed a constitution, elected a governor and legislature, and finally armed (May and June, 1843) in defence of their respective claims. The "suffrage" party elected Thomas W. Dorr governor, and the "law-and-order" party chose Samuel W. King for chief magistrate. Dorr was finally arrested, tried for and convicted of treason, and sentenced to imprisonment for life. The excitement having passed away, in a measure, he was released in June, 1845, but was deprived of all the civil rights of a citizen. These disabilities were removed in the autumn of 1853. The state was on the verge of civil war, and the aid of federal troops had to be invoked to restore quiet and order. A free constitution, adopted by the "law-and-order" party in November, 1842, to go into operation on the first Tuesday in May, 1843, was sustained, and became the law of the land.^e

THE ANNEXATION OF TEXAS

Other states were organising themselves more peaceably. Arkansas, the first state admitted since Missouri (June 15th, 1836), was followed by Michigan (January 26th, 1837). Wisconsin, organised as a single territory (1836), was presently divided as Wisconsin and Iowa (1838). Then Iowa was admitted a state (March 3rd, 1845); again in 1846, but not actually entering until 1848. Florida also in 1845 became a member of the Union.

All the while Texas remained the object of desire and of debate. The administration continued its negotiations, now with Mexico, deprecating the continuance of hostilities with Texas, and then again with Texas itself, proposing new motives of alliance and new means of annexation with the United States. President Tyler was strongly in favour of consummating the annexation. But the North was growing more and more adverse to the plan.

The annexation of Texas was regarded as necessary to the interests of slavery, both in that country and in the United States. Not only was an immense market for slaves closed, but an immense refuge for slaves was opened, in case Texas should cease to be slaveholding. "Annexation," wrote John C. Calhoun, then secretary of state, "was forced on the government of the United States in self-defence" (April, 1844). Such, then, was the motive of the secretaries and the president, all southern men, and devotedly supported by the south, in striving for an addition to the slaveholding states in the shape of Texas. The more they strove on this ground, the more they were opposed in the free states. It was the Missouri battle over again. It was more than that: in that, said the North, we contended against the admission of one of our own territories, but in this contest we are fighting against the admission of a foreign state.

Like all the other great differences of the nation, this difference concerning Texas was susceptible of compromise. Both senate and house united in joint resolutions (March 1st, 1845). Texas assented to the terms of the resolutions (July 4th), and was soon after formally enrolled amongst the United States of America (December 29th). The democratic party, espousing the project of annexation before it was fulfilled, carried the election of James K. Polk as president and George M. Dallas as vice-president. They found the annexation of Texas accomplished. But the consequences were yet to be seen and borne.

WAR WITH MEXICO

Mexico had all along declared the annexation of Texas by the United States would be an act of hostility. As soon as congress resolved upon it, the Mexican minister at Washington demanded his passports (March 6th, 1845), and the Mexican government suspended intercourse with the envoy of the United States (April 2nd). The cause was the occupation of a state which they still claimed as a province of their own, notwithstanding it had been independent now for nine years, and as such recognised by several of the European powers in addition to the United States. With the United States, the preservation of Texas was not the only cause of war. Indeed, for the time, it was no cause at all, according to the administration. If there was any disposition to take up arms, it came from what the president styled "the system of insult and spoliation" under which Americans had long been suffering; merchants losing their property, and sailors their liberty, by seizures on Mexican waters and in Mexican ports. In spite of a treaty, now fourteen years old (1831), the wrongs complained of had continued.

In annexing Texas, the United States government understood the territory to extend as far as the Rio Grande. For considering this the boundary there were two reasons: one, that the Texans had proclaimed it such; and the other, that it was apparently implied to be such in the treaty ceding the country west of the Sabine to Spain, a quarter of a century before. Accordingly, American troops were moved to Corpus Christi (August, 1845), and, six months afterwards (March, 1846), to the Rio Grande, with orders "to repel any invasion of the Texan territory which might be attempted by the Mexican forces." On the other side, Mexico protested altogether against the line of the Rio Grande. The river Nueces, according to Mexican authority, was the boundary of Texas. Even supposing Texas surrendered by the Mexicans, which it was not, they still retained the territory between the Nueces and the Rio Grande—a territory containing but few settlements, and those not Texan, but purely Mexican. In support of this position, the Mexican general Arista was ordered to cross the Rio Grande and defend the country against the invader (April, 1846).

During these movements a mission was sent from the United States to Mexico (November, 1845). The minister went authorised to propose and to carry out an adjustment of all the difficulties between the two countries. But he was refused a hearing—the Mexican government, fresh from one of its revolutions, insisting that the question of Texas must be disposed of, and on Mexican terms, before entering upon any general negotiations. The bearer of the olive branch was obliged to return (March, 1846). As the American troops, some three thousand strong, under General Taylor, approached the Rio Grande, the inhabitants retired, at one place, Point Isabel, burning their dwellings. This certainly did not look much like being on American or on Texan ground. But Taylor, obedient to his orders, kept on, until he took post by the Rio Grande, opposite the Mexican town of Matamoras (March 28th, 1846). There, about a month later (April 24th), he was thus addressed by the Mexican general Arista: "Pressed and forced into war, we enter into a struggle which we cannot avoid without being unfaithful to what is most sacred to men." A Mexican force was simultaneously sent across the stream, to what the Americans considered their territory. A squadron of dragoons, sent by Taylor to reconnoitre the Mexicans, fell in with a much superior force, and, after a skirmish, surrendered. The next

[1846 A.D.]

day but one, Taylor, as previously authorised by his government, called upon the states of Texas and Louisiana for five thousand volunteers. As soon as the news reached Washington, the president informed congress that "war exists, and exists by the act of Mexico herself" (May 11th). Congress took the same ground, and gave the president authority to call fifty thousand volunteers into the field (May 13th). It was ten days later, but of course before any tidings of these proceedings could have been received, that Mexico made a formal declaration of war (May 23rd). The question as to which nation began hostilities must forever depend upon the question of the Texan boundary. If this was the river Nueces, the United States began war the summer before. If, on the contrary, it was the Rio Grande, the Mexicans, as President Polk asserted, were the aggressors. But there is no possible way of deciding which river it was that formed the actual boundary. The assertion of Mexico that it was the Nueces is as reasonable as the declaration of Texas, supported by the United States, that it was the Rio Grande.

The forces between which hostilities commenced were both small, the United States army being the smaller of the two. But this disparity was as nothing compared with that between the nations. The United States went to war with Mexico very much as they would have gone to war with one or more of their own number. Mexico, broken by revolutions, had neither government nor army to defend her; there were officials, there were soldiers, but there was no strength, no efficiency in either. Doubtless Mexico trusted to the divisions of her enemy, to the opposition which parties in the United States would make to the war. But the parties of the United States were one, in contrast with the parties of Mexico.

On another point the Mexicans could build up better founded hopes. At the very time that hostilities opened between the United States and Mexico there was serious danger of a rupture between the United States and Great Britain. It sprang from conflicting claims to the distant territory of Oregon. Those of the United States were based, first, upon American voyages to the Pacific coast, chiefly upon one made by Captain Gray, in the *Columbia*, from which the great river of the northwest took its name (1792); secondly, upon the acquisition of Louisiana with all the Spanish rights to the western shores (1803); and thirdly, upon an expedition under Captain Lewis and Lieutenant Clark, of the United States army, by whom the Missouri was traced towards its source, and the *Columbia* descended to the Pacific Ocean (1803-1806). Against these the British government asserted various claims of discovery and occupancy. Twice the two nations agreed to a joint possession of the country in dispute (1818, 1827); twice the United States proposed a dividing line, once under Monroe, and again under Tyler. The rejection of the latter proposal had led to a sort of war-cry,¹ during the presidential election then pending (1844), that Oregon must be held. President Polk renewed the offer, but on less favourable terms, and it was rejected (1845). Agreeably to his recommendation, a twelve-months' notice, preliminary to the termination of the existing arrangements concerning the occupation of Oregon, was formally given by the United States government (1846). Meanwhile emigration to Oregon had been proceeding on so large a scale during the few years previous that there were some thousands of Americans settled upon the territory. It was a grave juncture, therefore, that had arrived. But it was happily terminated on proposals, now emanating from Great Britain, by which the line of forty-nine degrees was constituted the boundary; the

[¹ "Fifty-four forty or fight," referring to the boundary claimed at 54° 40'.]

right of navigating the Columbia being secured to the British (June 15th, 1846). Thus vanished the prospect of a war with Great Britain, in addition to the war with Mexico. But its existence, if only for a time, explains a part at least of the confidence with which the Mexicans entered into the strife. It does away, on the other hand, with the apparent want of magnanimity in the Americans to measure themselves with antagonists so much their inferiors.

The Mexican general Arista commenced the bombardment of the American position, afterwards called Fort Brown from its gallant defender, Major Brown (May 3rd). General Taylor was then with the bulk of his troops at Point Isabel. Having made sure of that post, he marched back to the relief of Fort Brown, and on the way engaged with the enemy at Palo Alto (May 8th) and at Resaca de la Palma (May 9th). With a force so much inferior that the most serious apprehensions had been excited for its safety, the Americans came off victors in both actions. Such was the effect upon the Mexicans that they at once recrossed the Rio Grande, and even retreated to some distance on their side of the river. Taylor followed, carrying the war into the enemy's country, and occupying Matamoros (May 18th). A long pause ensued, to wait for reinforcements, and indeed for plans, the war being wholly unprepared for on the American side. But the news of the first victories aroused the whole nation. Even the opponents of the war yielded their principles so far as to give their sympathies to the brave men who had carried their arms farther from the limits of the United States than had ever before been done by an American army. Volunteers gathered from all quarters in numbers for which it was positively difficult to provide.

At length, with considerably augmented forces, Taylor set out again, supported by Generals Worth and Wool among many other eminent officers. Monterey, a very important place in this part of Mexico, was taken after a three days' resistance under General Ampudia (September 21st-23rd). An armistice of several weeks followed. Subsequently Taylor marched southward as far as Victoria; but on the recall of a portion of his troops to take part in other operations, he fell back into a defensive position in the north (January, 1847). There, at Buena Vista, he was attacked by a comparatively large army under Santa Anna, then generalissimo of Mexico, who, deeming himself secure of his prey, sent a summons of surrender, which Taylor instantly declined. The dispositions for the battle had been made in great part by General Wool, to whom, with many of the other officers, the victory achieved by the Americans deserves to be ascribed, as well as to the resolute commander. It was a bloody engagement, continuing for two successive days (February 22nd, 23rd). Taylor was never more truly the hero than when he wrote to Henry Clay, whose son had fallen in the fight, that, in remembering the dead, "I can say with truth that I feel no exultation in our success." Santa Anna, meanwhile, was in full retreat, leaving the Americans in secure possession of all the northeastern country. Six months later Taylor sent a large number of his remaining men to act elsewhere (August); then, leaving General Wool in command, he returned to the United States (November).

Soon after the fall of Monterey a force under General Wool was detached to penetrate into the northern province of Chihuahua. It did not go by any means so far. But at about the same time an expedition from the north, headed by Colonel Doniphan, marched down upon the province, taking possession first of El Paso (December 27th), and then, after a battle with the Mexicans, under Heredia, at the pass of Sacramento (February 28th, 1847),

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of Chihuahua, the capital (March 1st). Doniphan presently evacuated his conquest (April). Early in the following year Chihuahua became the object of a third expedition, under General Price, who, coming from the same direction as Doniphan, again occupied the town (March 7th, 1848), defeating the Mexicans at the neighbouring Santa Cruz de las Rosales (March 16th). The whole story of the Chihuahua expeditions is that of border forays rather than of regular campaigns.

THE CONQUEST OF NEW MEXICO AND CALIFORNIA

Both Doniphan and Price made their descents from New Mexico, which had been taken possession of by the Americans under General Kearny in the first months of the war (August, 1846). So scanty and so prostrate was the population as to offer no resistance, not even to the occupation of the capital, Santa Fé (August 18th). But some months after, when Kearny had proceeded to California, and Doniphan, after treating with the Navajo Indians, had gone against Chihuahua, an insurrection, partly of Mexicans and partly of Indians, broke out at a village fifty miles from Santa Fé. The American governor, Charles Bent, and many others, both Mexicans and Americans, were murdered; battles also were fought, before the insurgents were reduced, by Price (January, 1847).

Ere the tidings of the war reached the Pacific coast, a band of Americans, partly trappers and partly settlers, declared their independence of Mexico at Sonoma, a town of small importance not far from San Francisco (July 4th, 1846). The leader of the party was John C. Frémont, a captain in the United States engineers, who had recently received instructions from his government to secure a hold upon California. A few days after their declaration Frémont and his followers joined the American commodore Sloat, who, aware of the war, had taken Monterey (July 7th), and entered the bay of San Francisco (July 9th). Sloat was soon succeeded by Commodore Stockton; and he, in conjunction with Frémont, took possession of Ciudad de los Angeles, the capital of Upper California (August 13th). All this was done without opposition from the scattered Mexicans of the province, or from their feeble authorities. But some weeks later a few braver spirits collected, and, driving the Americans from the capital, succeeded likewise in recovering the greater part of California (September, October). On the approach of General Kearny from New Mexico, a month or two afterwards, he was met in battle at San Pasqual (December 6th), and so hemmed in by the enemy as to be in great danger, until relieved by a force despatched to his assistance by Commodore Stockton. The commodore and the general, joining forces, retook Ciudad de los Angeles, after two actions with its defenders (January 10th, 1847). A day or two later Frémont succeeded in bringing the main body of Mexicans in arms to a capitulation at Cowenga (January 13th).

California was again, and more decidedly than before, an American possession. Its conquerors, having no more Mexicans to contend with, turned against one another, and quarrelled for the precedence as vigorously as they had struggled for victory. Lower California was afterwards assailed, but under different commanders. La Paz and San José, both inconsiderable places, were occupied in the course of the year. On the opposite shore, Guaymas was taken by a naval force under Captain Lavalette (October), and Mazatlan by the fleet under Commodore Shubrick (November). From time to time the Mexicans rallied against the invaders, but without success.

It was all a series of skirmishes, fought in the midst of lonely mountains and on far-stretching shores, rather than of ordinary battles, that had reduced California beneath the American power.

THE CONQUEST OF MEXICO

And now to return to the eastern side. From the first, a blockade of the ports in the gulf of Mexico was but poorly maintained. Then the American fleet embarked upon various operations. Twice was Alvarado, a port to the south of Vera Cruz, attacked by Commodore Conner, and twice it was gallantly defended (August 7th, October 15th, 1846). Then Commodore Perry went against Tabasco, a little distance up a river on the southern coast; but, though he took some prizes and some hamlets, he did not gain the town (October 23rd-26th). The only really successful operation was the occupation of Tampico, which the Mexicans abandoned on the approach of their enemies (November 15th).

Early in the following spring the fleet and the army combined in an attack upon Vera Cruz. Anticipations of success, however high amongst the troops and their officers, were not very generally entertained even by their own countrymen, Vera Cruz, or its castle of San Juan de Ulúa, having been represented over and over again, in Europe and in America, as impregnable. Nevertheless, a bombardment of a few days obliged the garrison, under General Morales, to give up the town and the castle together (March 23rd-26th, 1847). Once masters there, the Americans beheld the road to the city of Mexico lying open before them; but here again their way was supposed to be beset by insurmountable difficulties. They pressed on, nine or ten thousand strong, General Scott at their head, supported by Generals Worth, Pillow, Quitman, and Twiggs, with many officers of tried and of untried reputation. However skilful the leaders, or however valiant the men, it was a daring enterprise to advance upon the capital. In other directions, along the northern boundary, the war had been carried into remote and comparatively unpeopled portions of the country. Here the march lay through a region provided with defenders and with defences, where men would fight for their homes, and where their homes, being close at hand, would give them aid as well as inspiration. The march upon Mexico was by all means the great performance of the war.

Its difficulties soon appeared. At Cerro Gordo, sixty miles from Vera Cruz, Santa Anna posted thirteen thousand of his Mexicans in a mountain pass, to whose natural strength he had added by fortification. It took two days to force a passage, the Americans losing about five hundred, but inflicting a far greater loss on their brave opponents (April 18th-19th). Here, however, they paused; a part of the force was soon to be discharged, and Scott decided that he would make his dismissals and wait for the empty places to be filled. He accordingly advanced slowly to Puebla, while the Mexicans kept in the background, or appeared only as guerillas (May 28th). The guerilla warfare had been prognosticated as the one insuperable obstacle to the progress of the American army; it proved harassing, but by no means fatal. During the delay ensuing on land, the fleet in the gulf, under Commodore Perry, took Tuspan and Tabasco, both being but slightly defended (April 18th-June 15th). At length, reinforcements having reached the army, making it not quite eleven thousand strong, it resumed its march, and entered the valley of Mexico (August 10th).

There the Mexicans stood, Santa Anna still at their head, thirty-five

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thousand in their ranks, regular troops and volunteers, old and young, rich and poor, men of the professions and men of the trades—all joined in the defence of their country, now threatened at its very heart. They wanted much, however, that was essential to success. Hope was faint, and even courage sank beneath the errors and the intrigues of the commanding officers, to whom, speaking generally, it was vain to look for example or for guidance. Behind the army was the government, endeavouring to unite itself, yet still rent and enfeebled to the last degree. Even the clergy, chafed by the seizure of church property to meet the exigencies of the state, were divided, if not incensed. It was a broken nation, and yet all the more worthy of respect for the last earnest resistance which it was making to the foe. Never had armies a more magnificent country to assail or to defend than that into which the Americans had penetrated. They fought in defiles or upon plains, vistas of lakes and fields before them, mountain heights above them, the majesty of nature everywhere mingling with the contention of man.

Fourteen miles from the city, battles began at Contreras, where a Mexican division under General Valencia was totally routed (August 19th-20th). The next engagement followed immediately at Churubusco, or Cherebusco, six miles from the capital, Santa Anna himself being there completely defeated (August 20th). An armistice suspended further movements for a fortnight, when an American division under Worth made a successful assault on a range of buildings called Molino del Rey, close to the city. This action, though the most sanguinary of the entire war—both Mexicans and Americans surpassing all their previous deeds—was without results (September 8th). A few days later the fourth and final engagement in the valley took place at Chapultepec, a fortress just above Molino del Rey. Within the lines was the Mexican Military College, and bravely did the students defend it, mere boys outrying veterans in feats of valour. In vain, nevertheless; the college and the fortress yielded together (September 12th-13th). The next day Scott, with sixty-five hundred men, the whole of his army remaining in the field, entered the city of Mexico (September 14th).

Santa Anna retired in the direction of Puebla, which he vainly attempted to take from Colonel Childs. The object of the Mexican general was to cut off the communication between Scott and the seaboard; but he did not succeed. A few last actions of an inferior character, a few skirmishes with bands of partisans, and the war was over in that part of the country. The American generals betook themselves to quarrels and arrests; Scott being some months afterwards superseded by General Butler (February, 1848).

Now that their exploits have been described, the United States armies are to be understood for what they were. It was no regular force, prepared by years of discipline to meet the foe, that followed Taylor, Scott, and the other leaders to the field. The few regiments of United States troops were lost, in respect to numbers, though not to deeds, amid the thousands of volunteers that came swarming from every part of the Union. To bring these irregular troops into any effective condition was more difficult than to meet the Mexicans. On the other hand, there was an animation about them, a personal feeling of emulation and of patriotism, which made the volunteers a far more valuable force than might have been supposed.¹ After all, however, it was to the officers, to the pupils of West Point, to the intelligent and, in many cases, devoted men, who left their occupations at home to

¹ The skill and daring of the officers and the discipline, endurance, and courage of the men during the war with Mexico were as noticeable as the absence of these qualities during the War of 1812.—J. R. SOLEY.^A]

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sustain what they deemed the honour of their country abroad, that the successes of the various campaigns are chiefly to be ascribed. The effect of the war was to give the nation a much more military character than it had hitherto sustained, even in its own eyes.

The war had not continued three months when the United States made an overture of peace (July, 1846). It was referred by the Mexican administration to the national congress, and there it rested. In announcing to the American congress the proposal which he had made, President Polk suggested the appropriation of a certain sum as an indemnity for any Mexican territory that might be retained at the conclusion of the war. In the debate which followed, an administration representative from Pennsylvania, David Wilmot, moved a proviso to the proposed appropriation: "That there shall be neither slavery nor involuntary servitude in any territory on the continent of America which shall hereafter be acquired by or annexed to the United States by virtue of this appropriation, or in any other manner whatsoever." The proviso was hastily adopted in the house, but it was too late to receive any action in the senate before the close of the session (August). In the following session the proviso again passed the house, but was abandoned by that body on being rejected by the senate.

The Mexicans were reluctant to yield any territory, even that beyond the Rio Grande which had been claimed as a part of Texas. It went especially against their inclinations to open it to slavery, the instructions of the commissioners being quite positive on the point that any treaty to be signed by them must prohibit slavery in the ceded country. "No president of the United States," replied Commissioner Trist, "would dare to present any such treaty to the senate."

The result of battles rather than of negotiations was a treaty signed at Guadalupe-Hidalgo, a suburb of the capital. By this instrument Mexico ceded the whole of Texas, New Mexico, and Upper California, while the United States agreed to surrender their other conquests, and to pay for those retained the sum of \$15,000,000, besides assuming the old claims of their own citizens against Mexico to the amount of more than \$3,000,000 (February 2nd, 1848). The treaty contained other provisions, some of which were modified at Washington, and altered accordingly at Queretaro, where the Mexican congress was called to ratify the peace. Ratifications were finally exchanged at Queretaro (May 30th), and peace proclaimed at Washington (July 4th). The Mexican territory—that is, the portion which remained—was rapidly evacuated. Thus ended a conflict of which the motives, the events, and the results have been very variously estimated. But this much may be historically said—that on the side of the United States the war had not merely a party but rather a sectional character. What sectional causes there were to bring about hostilities we have seen in relation to the annexation of Texas. What sectional issues there were to proceed from the treaty we have yet to see.^d



CHAPTER X

CIVIL DISCORD

[1848-1865 A.D.]

The Civil War, described by Mommson as "the mightiest struggle and most glorious victory as yet recorded in human annals," is one of those gigantic events whose causes, action, and sequences will be of perennial concern to him who seeks the wisdom underlying the march of history. — RHODES.^o

THE presidential campaign of 1848 was significant because of the very evident desire on the part of both parties to evade committing themselves upon the vital questions of the day. The democratic national convention met first at Baltimore, May 22nd, 1848. Lewis Cass of Michigan led from the start in the balloting, his two principal competitors being James Buchanan of Pennsylvania and Levi Woodbury of New Hampshire. President Polk received no support whatever. Cass, who was preferred by Southern delegates on account of his opposition to the Wilmot Proviso, was named on the fourth ballot, and General William O. Butler of Kentucky received the nomination for vice-president. A resolution declaring that non-intervention with slavery in either states or territories was "true republican doctrine" was overwhelmingly rejected, and was taken as an expression of the general desire of the party to evade the slavery question. The platform adopted was simply a reiteration of the principles declared for in 1840 and 1844.

The whig convention met at Philadelphia on June 7th. Their choice of a presidential candidate was significant of their desire to follow the example of their democratic competitors. Both Clay and Webster were passed over and General Zachary Taylor of Louisiana, a slave-holder, whose political beliefs were practically unknown, was selected. The second place on the ticket was given to Millard Fillmore, a former New York congressman with a fair record.

In June the faction of New York democrats known as Barnburners met with dissatisfied representatives from several other states and named ex-President Martin Van Buren for the presidency. The Barnburners,

mostly followers of Silas Wright, and including such able young leaders as John A. Dix, Preston King, and Samuel J. Tilden, were opposed to the extension of slavery to the territories. Their opponents within their own party in New York, known as Hunkers, were led by William L. Marcy. The Barnburners nomination of Van Buren was ratified in August by a convention held at Buffalo. There was born the Free-soil party, whose platform declared for "free soil for a free people," and against the extension of slavery to the territories. With them now united the remnants of the Liberty party of 1844.

The democratic defection in New York state determined the result of the election. Outside of New York the Free-soil movement drew from Taylor: in New York from Cass. As a result Taylor

carried New York and was elected; that state's thirty-six votes in the electoral college, where the vote stood 163 to 127, being exactly his plurality over Cass. Van Buren received in the nation 291,263 votes, sufficient to prevent either Cass or Taylor from obtaining a majority of the popular vote.



ZACHARY TAYLOR

(1784-1850)

Twelfth President of United States

SLAVERY AND THE TERRITORIES

Every day it was becoming more and more certain that some solution of the problem of slavery must be reached if the Union was not to be endangered. The campaign just closed had shown the serious disintegration of parties over the question. As the Free-soil spirit of the North rose, so did the pro-slavery aggressiveness of the South. The sectional lines of the contest were becoming daily more marked.

Calhoun had introduced in the senate in 1847 a set of resolutions declaring that congress had no constitutional power to exclude slavery from the territories. This ground the Southern members were now disposed to insist upon. "As yet," says Woodrow Wilson, "the real purposes of parties had not reached their radical stage. As yet the abolitionists with their bitter contempt for the compromises of the constitution, their ruthless programme of abolition whether with or without constitutional warrant, and their readiness for separation from the Southern States should abolition prove impossible, had won but scant sympathy from the masses of the people, or from any wise leaders of opinion. The Free-soilers were as widely separated from them as possible both in spirit and in opinion. They had no relish for revo-

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lution, no tolerance for revolutionary doctrine. The issue was not yet the existence of slavery within the states, but the admission of slavery into the territories. The object of the extreme Southern men was to gain territory for slavery; the object of the men now drawing together into new parties in the North was to exclude slavery altogether from the new national domain in the West."

The discovery of gold in California in January, 1848, tended to bring the question to a position where a decision could not be evaded. The unprecedented rush of immigration to the gold-fields gave a population of eighty thousand to the region by 1850. Before congress had decided under what conditions California should be organised as a territory she was already seeking to be admitted as a state. The emigrants were from all sections of the country, but Northern men and foreigners were largely in the majority.

President Taylor's policy favoured letting the new communities form their own constitutions, and decide for themselves what attitude they should take regarding slavery. In accordance with this policy he sent a confidential agent to California to urge the settlers to organise and apply at once for admission as a state. This plan was followed, and in the fall of 1849 a constitution prohibiting slavery was adopted. When congress met in December, 1849, President Taylor resolutely urged upon them the acceptance of his policy, confident that it was a safe solution of the perplexing problem. But congress, controlled by party leaders who lacked Taylor's clean-cut way of looking at the matter, hesitated.^a

CLAY'S COMPROMISE PROPOSALS¹

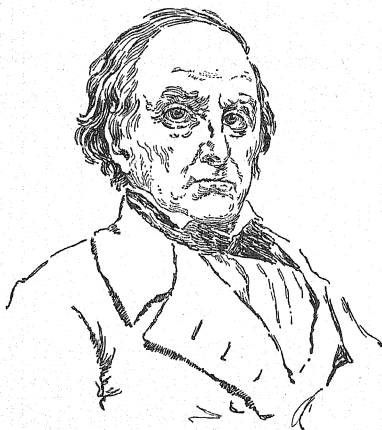
It was under these circumstances that Henry Clay came forward, with the dignity of age upon him, to urge measures of compromise. He proposed, January 29th, 1850, that congress should admit California with her free constitution; should organise the rest of the Mexican cession without any provision at all concerning slavery, leaving its establishment or exclusion to the course of events and the ultimate choice of the settlers; should purchase from Texas her claim upon a portion of New Mexico; should abolish the slave trade in the District of Columbia, but promise, for the rest, non-interference elsewhere with slavery or the interstate slave trade; and should concede to the South an effective fugitive slave law. The programme was too various to hold together. There were majorities, perhaps, for each of its proposals separately, but there was no possibility of making up a single majority for all of them taken in a body. After an ineffectual debate, which ran through two months, direct action upon Mr. Clay's resolutions was avoided by their reference to a select committee of thirteen, of which Mr. Clay was made chairman. On May 8th this committee reported a series of measures, which it proposed should be grouped in three distinct bills. The first of these—afterwards dubbed the Omnibus Bill, because of the number of things it was made to carry—proposed the admission of California as a state, and the organisation of Utah and New Mexico as territories, without any restriction as to slavery, the adjustment of the Texas boundary line, and the payment to Texas of \$10,000,000 by way of indemnity for her claims on a portion of New Mexico. The second measure was a stringent Fugitive Slave Law. The third prohibited the slave trade in the District of Columbia.

[¹ Reprinted from Woodrow Wilson's *Division and Reunion* (Epochs of American History), by permission of Longmans, Green, & Company. Copyright, 1893, by Longmans, Green, & Company.]

THE COMPROMISE DEBATED

This group of bills of course experienced the same difficulties of passage that had threatened Mr Clay's group of resolutions. The Omnibus Bill, when taken up, was so stripped by amendment in the senate that it was reduced, before its passage, to a few provisions for the organisation of the territory of Utah, with or without slavery, as events should determine; and Clay withdrew, disheartened, to the sea-shore to regain his strength and spirits. Both what was said in debate and what was done out of doors seemed for a time to make agreement hopeless.

Clay, although he abated nothing of his conviction that the federal government must be obeyed in its supremacy, although bolder and more courageous than ever, indeed, in his avowal of a determination to stand by the Union and the constitution in any event, nevertheless put away his old-time imperiousness, and pleaded as he had never pleaded before for mutual accommodation and agreement. Even Webster, slackened a little in his constitutional convictions by profound anxiety for the life of the constitution itself, urged compromise and concession.^b His position was clearly stated in his great "Seventh of March Speech," which proved a turning point in the action of congress, in popular sen-



DANIEL WEBSTER
(1782-1852)

timent, and in the history of the country. "The speech produced a wonderful sensation," says Rhodes^c, "none other in our annals produced an immediate effect so mighty and striking." Yet a careful examination of the speech scarcely discloses a reason for the harsh reception it received at the North. From 1846 to 1848 the prohibition of slavery in the territory to be acquired, or already acquired, from Mexico, seemed to the North of the most vital importance, for the latitude of the country gave reason to believe that its products would be those of the slave states, and that it would naturally gravitate toward them politically. By 1850, however, the situation had completely changed. California, receiving an extraordinary increase in its population through the discovery of gold, had organised a state government and adopted a constitution which prohibited slavery. New Mexico, then comprising parts of the later New Mexico, Arizona, Colorado, Utah, and Nevada, was by that time found to differ greatly from the Southern States as to climate and products, and to be economically much more closely connected with the North. Indeed, no longer than two months after Webster's speech

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was delivered, a state government was formed by the people of the territory which declared for the absolute prohibition of slavery. "It certainly is no lack of consistency in a public man," says Rhodes,^c "to change his action in accordance with the change in circumstances. To insist upon a rigid principle when it is no more applicable or necessary is not good politics; yet great blame has been attached to Webster because he did not (in this speech) insist on the Wilmot Proviso."^a

Calhoun, equally anxious to preserve the constitution, but convinced of the uselessness to the South of even the constitution itself, should the institutions of southern society be seriously jeopardized by the action of congress in the matter of the territories, put forth the programme of the Southern party with all that cold explicitness of which he was so consummate a master. The maintenance of the Union, he solemnly declared, depended upon the permanent preservation of a perfect equilibrium between the slave holding and the free states: that equilibrium could be maintained only by some policy which would render possible the creation of as many new slave states as free states; concessions of territory had already been made by the South, in the establishment of the Missouri compromise line, which rendered it extremely doubtful whether that equilibrium could be preserved; the equilibrium must be restored, or the Union must go to pieces; and the action of congress in the admission of California must determine which alternative was to be chosen. He privately advised that the fighting be forced now to a conclusive issue; because, he said, "we are stronger now than we shall be hereafter, politically and morally."



WILLIAM HENRY SEWARD
(1801-1872)

SEWARD AND CHASE : TAYLOR'S ATTITUDE ¹

Still more significant, if possible — for they spoke the aggressive purposes of a new party — were the speeches of Senator Seward of New York and Senator Chase of Ohio, spokesmen respectively of the Free-soil whigs and Free-soil democrats. Seward demanded the prompt admission of California, repudiated all compromise, and, denying the possibility of any equilibrium between the sections, declared the common domain of the country to be

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devoted to justice and liberty by the constitution not only, but also by "a higher law than the constitution." While deprecating violence or any illegal action, he avowed his conviction that slavery must give way "to the salutary instructions of economy and to the ripening influences of humanity"; that "all measures which fortify slavery or extend it tend to the consummation of violence—all that check its extension and abate its strength tend to its peaceful extirpation." Chase spoke with equal boldness to the same effect.

Seward was the president's confidential adviser. General Taylor had surrounded himself in his cabinet, not with the recognised masters of whig policy, but with men who would counsel instead of dictating to him. Several of these advisers were Seward's friends; and the president, like Seward, insisted that California be admitted without condition or counterbalancing compromise.

The Texan authorities, when they learned of the action of New Mexico in framing a constitution at the president's suggestion, prepared to assert their claims upon a portion of the New Mexican territory by military force; the governor of Mississippi promised assistance; and Southern members of congress who called upon the president expressed the fear that Southern officers in the federal army would decline to obey the orders, which he had promptly issued, to meet Texan force with the force of the general government. "Then," exclaimed Taylor, "I will command the army in person, and any man who is taken in treason against the Union I will hang as I did the deserters and spies at Monterey." The spirited old man had a soldier's instinctive regard for law, and unhesitating impulse to execute it. There was a ring as of Jackson in this utterance.^b

Despite the hostility of the extremists of both sections the idea of compromise eventually triumphed. A state convention in Mississippi in the previous year had issued an address to the people of the South proposing a convention of Southern delegates at Nashville in June. As the date set drew near, however, there was seen to be little interest in it, outside Mississippi and South Carolina. The fears of the union men throughout the nation were raised to a high pitch of excitement by the thought of what the assembly might do. But their fears proved unjustified. Delegates from nine states met on June 3rd. None of the border states were represented nor were North Carolina or Louisiana. And instead of adopting a fiery address threatening disunion, it expressed a confident hope for some sort of a compromise. It proved to be, as Rhodes^c says, "not a wave, but only a ripple of Southern sentiment."

DEATH OF TAYLOR . COMPROMISE EFFECTED

One very potent factor still remained in opposition to the measures of Clay's committee. And this was President Taylor himself. Neither the persuasion nor warnings of Clay could move him. All the influence of the administration was exerted against the compromise. But before there was any necessity or opportunity for an open rupture the president was removed by death. He had imprudently exposed himself to the sun on the 4th of July, illness developing into typhoid fever followed, and on the 9th he died. Throughout the North and in the border states the sorrow and regret at his death were felt by all irrespective of party. Never a partisan in any sense of the word, he had accepted the whig nomination with the declaration that "he would not be the president of a party, but the president of the whole people." He had tried courageously to live up to this ideal, and although

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he could not, any more than Clay or Webster, have stayed the hand of destiny, still had he lived to finish his work his measure of success might have been greater than theirs.

For the second time in its history the whig party had to face the situation presented by the accession of a vice-president who was not in accord with the late administration's policy. For Millard Fillmore, a whig of the Webster school, like the Massachusetts statesman, was an advocate of compromise. He had told President Taylor privately that in case it devolved upon him to give the casting vote on the Clay measures in the senate he should vote for them. The country at large did not know officially what his stand would be, but it was felt instinctively that there would be a reversal of policy. Clay saw new hope for the success of his schemes in the change in the executive. Seward, who knew his old rival in New York politics, lamented that "Providence had at last led the man of hesitation and double opinions to the crisis where decision and singleness are indispensable."

President Fillmore did not thwart his party as Tyler had done, but the immediate reconstruction of his cabinet with Webster as secretary of state left room for no doubt as to what his policy on compromise was to be. In rapid succession the committee's compromise measures were now pushed through senate and house, and at once received the approval of the president. The compromise of 1850 was at last complete.^a

The result was to leave the Missouri compromise line untouched—for the line still ran all of its original length across the Louisiana purchase of 1803—but to open the region of the Mexican cession of 1848 to slavery, should the course of events not prevent its introduction. The slave trade was abolished in the District of Columbia, but the North was exasperated by the Fugitive Slave Law, which devoted the whole executive power of the general government within the free states to the recapture of fugitive slaves. This part of the compromise made it certain that antagonisms would be hotly excited, not soothingly allayed. Habits of accommodation and the mercantile spirit, which dreaded any disturbance of the great prosperity which had already followed on the heels of the discovery of gold in California, had induced compromise; but other forces were to render it ineffectual against the coming crisis.^b

THE CLAYTON-BULWER TREATY

It was while the compromise measures were before congress, while the nation was absorbed in watching the outcome of the great domestic drama, that a treaty of great importance was signed (April 19th, 1850) at Washington by Sir Henry Lytton Bulwer, the British minister, and the secretary of state, John M. Clayton. The discovery of gold in California had been followed by an unprecedented rush of population to the Pacific Coast. One of the most frequented routes of travel lay across the Central American isthmus, and already both British and American companies were seeking from Nicaragua permission to dig a canal from ocean to ocean through her territory. The Clayton-Bulwer Treaty, as it was called, established a joint Anglo-American protectorate over any ship-canal that might be constructed across the isthmus, either by way of Nicaragua, Panama, or Tehuantepee. The treaty is regarded by so competent a critic as Rhodes^c as favouring an unrestricted commercial intercourse, and therefore as being in line with American traditional policy. He admits, however, that it gave rise to many disputed questions, since England and the United States very naturally viewed the matter from

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different standpoints. Even at home it was severely criticised in the senate. It is not strange, therefore, that it should soon after have become the subject of controversy with England."

NORTH AND SOUTH IN 1850

The abolitionists had never ceased to din the iniquity of slavery into the ears of the American people. Calhoun, Webster, and Clay, with nearly all the other political leaders of 1850, had united in deploring the wickedness of these fanatics, who were persistently stirring up a question which was steadily widening the distance between the sections. They mistook the symptom for the disease. Slavery itself had put the South out of harmony with its surroundings, and still more out of harmony with the inevitable lines of the country's development. Even in 1850, though they hardly yet knew it, the two sections had drifted so far apart that they were practically two different countries.

The case of the South was one of arrested development. The South remained very much as in 1790; while other parts of the country had developed, it had stood still. The remnants of colonial feeling, of class influence, which advancing democracy had wiped out elsewhere, retained all their force here, aggravated by the effects of an essentially aristocratic system of employment. The ruling class had to maintain a military control over the labouring class and a class influence over the poorer whites. It had even secured in the constitution provision for its political power in the representation given to three-fifths of the slaves. The twenty additional members of the house of representatives were not simply a gain to the South; they were still more a gain to the "black districts," where whites were few, and the slave-holder controlled the district. Slave-owners and slave-holders together, there were but 350,000 of them; but they had common interests, the intelligence to see them and the courage to contend for them. The first step of a rising man was to buy slaves; and this was enough to enroll him in the dominant class. From it were drawn the representatives and senators in congress, the governors, and all the holders of offices over which the "slave power," as it came to be called, had control. Not only was the South inert; its ruling class, its ablest and best men, were united in defence of tendencies which were alien and hostile to those of the rest of the country.

Immigration into the United States was not an important factor in its development until about 1847. In 1847 it rose to 235,000, in 1849 to 300,000, and in 1850 to 428,000; all told, more than two and a quarter million persons from abroad settled in the United States between 1847 and 1854. The wealth-increasing influence of such a stream of immigration may be calculated. Its political effects were even greater and were all in the same direction. Leaving out the dregs of the immigration, which settled down in the seaboard cities, its best part was a powerful nationalising force. It had not come to any particular state, but to the United States; it had none of the traditional prejudices in favour of a state, but a strong feeling for the whole country; and the new feelings which it brought in must have had their weight not only on the gross mass of the people, but on the views of former leaders. And all the influences of this enormous immigration were confined to the North and West, whose divergence from the South thus received a new impetus. The immigration avoided slave soil as if by instinct. And, as the sections began to differ further in aims and policy, the North began to gain heavily in ability to ensure its success.

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POLITICAL TENDENCIES TOWARD DISUNION

Texas was the last slave state ever admitted; and, as it refused to be divided, the South had no further increase of numbers in the senate. Until 1850 the admission of a free state had been so promptly balanced by the admission of a slave state that the senators of the two sections had remained about equal in number; in 1860 the free states had thirty-six senators and the slave states only thirty. As the representation in the house had changed from thirty-five free-state and thirty slave-state members in 1790 to one hundred and forty-seven free-state and ninety slave-state in 1860, and as the electors are the sum of the numbers of senators and representatives, it is evident that political power had passed away from the South in 1850. If at any time the free states should unite they could control the house of representatives and the senate, elect the president and vice-president, dictate the appointment of judges and other federal officers, and make the laws what they pleased. If pressed to it, they could even control the interpretation of the laws by the supreme court. No federal judge could be removed except by impeachment, but an act of congress could at any time increase the number of judges to any extent, and the appointment of the additional judges could reverse the opinion of the court. All the interests of the South depended on the one question whether the free states would unite or not.

In circumstances so critical a cautious quiescence and avoidance of public attention was the only safe course for the "slave power," but that course had become impossible. The numbers interested had become too large to be subject to complete discipline; all could not be held in cautious reserve; and, when an advanced proposal came from any quarter of the slave-holding lines, the whole army was shortly forced up to the advanced position. Every movement of the mass was necessarily aggressive; and aggression meant final collision. If collision came, it must be on some question of the rights of the states; and on such a question the whole South would move as one man. Everything thus tended to disunion.

The Protestant churches of the United States had reflected in their organisation the spirit of the political institutions under which they lived. Acting as purely voluntary associations, they had been organised into governments by delegates, much like the "conventions" which had been evolved in the political parties. The omnipresent slavery question intruded into these bodies and split them. The Baptist church was thus divided into a Northern and a Southern branch in 1845, and the equally powerful Methodist church met the same fate the following year. Two of the four great Protestant bodies were thus no longer national; it was only by careful management that the integrity of the Presbyterian church was maintained until 1861.

The political parties showed the same tendency. Each began to shrivel up in one section or the other. The notion of "squatter sovereignty," attractive at first to the Western democracy, and not repudiated by the South, enabled the democratic party to pass the crisis of 1850 without losing much of its Northern vote, while Southern whigs began to drift in, making the party continually more pro-slavery. This could not continue long without beginning to decrease its Northern vote, but this effect did not become plainly visible until after 1852. The efforts of the whig party to ignore the great question alienated its anti-slavery members in the North while they did not satisfy its Southern members. The whig losses were not at first heavy, but they were enough to defeat the party almost everywhere in the presidential election of 1852.^e

WEBSTER'S DIPLOMATIC CORRESPONDENCE

Webster's tenure of the office of secretary of state was marked by two diplomatic episodes of something more than ordinary interest. The first, which occurred in the fall of 1850, culminated in his famous Hülsemann letter, one of the most striking of all his state papers. During the previous year President Taylor had despatched a special agent to Europe to watch and report upon the progress of events in Hungary, where the revolution under Louis Kossuth was then in progress. This action had angered the Austrian government and a diplomatic correspondence ensued. Hülsemann, the Austrian *chargé d'affaires*, sent a haughty, dictatorial letter to Webster, who jumped at the opportunity it gave him, and replied in a letter which terminated the controversy. In this reply which, as Rhodes^c aptly says, was little more than "a stump-speech in disguise," Webster asserted the right of the United States, compared with which "all the possessions of the house of Hapsburg were but as a patch on the earth's surface," to "watch" revolutions wherever they occurred, declared the sympathy of America for any people "struggling for a constitution like our own," and assured the Austrian representative that the nation had no thought now of departing from its traditional policy of keeping out of European embroilments. The letter was received with enthusiasm by all parties, and possibly accomplished for the moment the purpose for which Webster said he had written it—namely, "to touch the national pride, and make a man feel sheepish and look silly who should speak of disunion."

The other diplomatic question with which Webster was engaged was of a very different sort. It grew directly out of the Lopez expedition to Cuba in the summer of 1851. Lopez led an army of Americans and adventurers into the island but was taken and garroted. The capture and execution of some of his American followers led to a riot in New Orleans in which the house of the Spanish consul was sacked and the Spanish flag torn in tatters. Spain at once protested, but Webster conducted the affair to a happy conclusion, with a promise of a military salute for the Spanish flag, and a cash indemnity, subsequently voted by congress.

UNCLE TOM'S CABIN

During the summer of 1852 appeared a subtle but powerful influence which was to play a more important part in arousing and creating anti-slavery sentiment in the North than any amount of abolition pamphlets or political tirades. This was Harriet Beecher Stowe's moving and pathetic novel of slavery, *Uncle Tom's Cabin*. Unquestionably overdrawn, in that it related as of ordinary occurrence incidents that were probably exceptional, its powerful and vivid portrayal of the horrors and wrongs of slavery stirred the sympathetic hearts of the North to their profoundest depths. Perhaps never has a work of fiction exerted such a wide and lasting influence. Within the year over three hundred thousand copies were sold. Strangely enough its popularity was not confined to the North alone; its sales in the South indicated that even in the land of slavery it was widely read. The book was at once dramatised and produced on the stage with unprecedented success.

The slave-holders were not long, however, in awaking to the realisation that it was an increasingly dangerous menace to their cherished institution, and scores of publications of varying merit were rushed through the press in

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the attempt to discredit or deny the truth of Mrs. Stowe's story. That the essential features of her picture were correct has now been generally accepted. It is the ground held by Rhodes,^c one of the fairest and most impartial of American historians, who says: "If we bear in mind that the novelist, from the very nature of the art, deals in characteristics and not with average persons, the conclusion is resistless that Mrs. Stowe realised her ideal." Channing^d pithily suggests the book's tremendous influence with the remark that "the Northern boys who read Uncle Tom's Cabin in 1852-1858 were the voters of 1860 and the soldiers of 1861-1865."^a

THE FUGITIVE SLAVE LAW¹

For a short time after the passage of the compromise measures the country was tranquil. But the quiet was not a healthful quiet: it was simply the lethargy of reaction. There was on all hands an anxious determination to be satisfied — to keep still, and not arouse again the terrible forces of disruption which had so startled the country in the recent legislative struggle; but nobody was really satisfied. That the leaders who had made themselves responsible for the compromise were still profoundly uneasy was soon made abundantly evident to everyone. Mr. Webster went about anxiously reprov-ing agitation. These measures of accommodation between the two sections, he insisted, were a new compact, a new stay and support for the constitution; and no one who loved the constitution and the union ought to dare to touch them. Mr. Clay took similar ground. Good resolutions were everywhere devoted to keeping down agitation. Party magnates sought to allay excitement by declaring that there was none.

But the Fugitive Slave Law steadily defeated these purposes of peace. The same section of the constitution which commanded the rendering up by the states to each other of fugitives from justice had provided also that persons "held to service or labour in one state under the laws thereof, escaping into another," should be delivered up on the claim of the party to whom such service might be due; and so early as 1793 congress had passed a law intended to secure the execution of this section with regard to both classes of fugitives. Apparently it had been meant to lay the duty of returning both fugitives from justice and fugitives from service upon the state authorities; but while considerations of mutual advantage had made it easy to secure the interstate rendition of criminals, there had been a growing slackness in the matter of rendering up fugitive slaves. The supreme court of the United States, moreover, had somewhat complicated the matter by deciding, in the case of *Prigg versus Pennsylvania* (1842), that the federal government could not impose upon state officials the duty of executing a law of the United States, as it had sought to do in the legislation of 1793. Local magistrates, therefore, might decline to issue warrants for the arrest or removal of fugitive slaves. In view of the increasing unwillingness of the free states to take any part in the process, the Southern members of congress insisted that the federal government should itself make more effective provision for the execution of the constitution in this particular; and it was part of the compromise accommodation of 1850 that this demand should be complied with.

Doubtless it would have been impossible to frame any law which would have been palatable to the people of the free states. But the Fugitive Slave Act of 1850 seemed to embrace as many irritating provisions as possible. In

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order to meet the views of the supreme court the whole duty of enforcing the act was put upon officers of the United States. Warrant for the arrest or removal of a fugitive slave was to proceed in every case from a judge or commissioner of the United States; this warrant was to be executed by a marshal of the United States, who could not decline to execute it under a penalty of \$1,000, and who would be held responsible under his official bond for the full value of any slave who should escape from his custody; all good citizens were required to assist in the execution of the law when called upon to do so, and a heavy fine besides civil damages to the owner of the slave was to be added to six months' imprisonment for any assistance given the fugitive or any attempt to effect his rescue; the simple affidavit of the person who claimed the negro was to be sufficient evidence of ownership, sufficient basis for the certificate of the court or commissioner; and this certificate was to be conclusive as against the operation of the writ of *habeas corpus*.

RESISTANCE AND MISUNDERSTANDING

The law, moreover, was energetically and immediately put into operation by slave owners. In some cases negroes who had long since escaped into the Northern states, and who had settled and married there, were seized upon the affidavit of their former owners, and by force of the federal government carried away into slavery again. Riots and rescues became frequent in connection with the execution of process under the law. One of the most notable cases occurred in Boston, where, in February, 1851, a negro named Shadrach was rescued from the United States marshal by a mob composed for the most part of negroes and enabled to escape into Canada.

It was impossible to quiet feeling and establish the compromise measures in the esteem of the people while such a law, a part of that compromise, was being pressed to execution in such a way. Neither section, moreover, understood or esteemed the purpose or spirit of the other. "Many of the slaveholding states," Clay warned his fellow whigs in the North, when they showed signs of restlessness under the operation of the Fugitive Slave Law, "and many public meetings of the people in them, have deliberately declared that their adherence to the Union depends upon the preservation of that law, and that its abandonment would be the signal of the dissolution of the Union." But most Northern men thought that the South had threatened chiefly for effect, and would not venture to carry out half her professed purpose, should she be defeated. Southern men, on their part, esteemed very slightly the fighting spirit of the North. They regarded it disdainfully as a section given over to a self-seeking struggle for wealth, and they knew commercial wealth to be pusillanimous to a degree when it came to meeting threats of war and disastrous disturbances of trade.^b

THE CAMPAIGN OF 1852

Such were the conditions under which the presidential campaign of 1852 took place. The democratic convention met at Baltimore on June 1st. The principal candidates for the presidential nomination were General Lewis Cass of Michigan, Senator Stephen A. Douglas of Illinois, James Buchanan of Pennsylvania, who had been Polk's secretary of state, and former gov-

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ernor William L. Marcy of New York. The two-thirds rule, however, rendered the choice of any one of these candidates impossible, and on the fifth day Virginia pointed the way to a solution of the problem by giving her votes to Franklin Pierce of New Hampshire, a man who had scarcely been mentioned before the convention. He gained steadily until the forty-eighth ballot, when a stampede gave him the nomination. Pierce was a handsome man in the prime of life, who had represented his state in both houses of congress and had served as a brigadier-general under General Scott in the Mexican War. But, as a recent historian well says, in none of these positions had he won distinction for anything so much as for a certain grace and candour of bearing. Nathaniel Hawthorne, a college mate and boyhood friend, has left a pleasant picture of Pierce in the campaign life which he loyally wrote in his support; but the novelist's epitome of the candidate's qualifications for the presidency gave little promise of any ability to cope with the problems he would be called upon to solve if elected. William R. King of Alabama was named for vice-president.

The whig convention which met two weeks later in the same place was divided in its support of President Fillmore, Webster, his secretary of state, and General Winfield Scott, whose sole claim to the nomination was his successful campaign in the Mexican War. After balloting for three days the Southern delegates, who had at first almost unanimously voted for Fillmore, threw their support to Scott, who was nominated by a majority vote on the fifty-third ballot. The nomination for vice-president went to William A. Graham of North Carolina.

The platforms put forward by the two parties were significant of the peculiar political situation, for in addition to their ordinary declarations of principles both added a strong assertion of their complete acceptance of the compromise measures of 1850, and their determination to take them as a final settlement of the question of slavery extension. The democratic platform went even further and declared for a faithful adherence to the principles laid down in the Kentucky and Virginia Resolutions of 1798 and 1799 as one of the main foundations of its political creed.

The Free-soil party, in its convention held at Pittsburg in August, boldly denounced the shrinking cowardice of the two great parties in refusing to consider the question of slavery extension a vital one, and announced their programme as "No more slave states, no more slave territories, no nationalised slavery, and no national legislation for the extradition of slaves." John P. Hale of New Hampshire was named as their candidate for the presidency and George W. Julian of Indiana for the vice-presidency.

The campaign was not a spirited one. After the first glow of enthusiasm it was characterised by apathy. Thousands of whigs, repelled by both their party's platform and candidates, but still not ready to unite with a third party, showed little interest in the election. The democrats, feeling themselves again united, were confident of victory. The Free-soil party did not muster its full strength. People felt that it was not so much a contest for principles as for spoils. Before election day the two great champions of compromise had passed away. Henry Clay died on June 29th, and Webster, broken-spirited over what he felt to be a final end of all his ambitions, on October 23rd. Democratic confidence proved not to be misplaced. Pierce, although his popular majority was small, carried every state except four, and received two hundred and fifty-four electoral votes to forty-two for Scott. At the same time the democratic majorities were increased in both houses of congress. The defeat was the death knell of the whig party. Its

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vacillating, wavering policy; its failure to take up boldly the cause of liberty; its inability to cope with national problems when it had the opportunity, had lost it the confidence and faith of its supporters. Before another four years had passed it had been supplanted as one of the great national parties by a party not then born—the republican.

THE FIRST YEAR OF THE PIERCE ADMINISTRATION

Franklin Pierce was inaugurated March 4th, 1853, the youngest man up to that time to assume the office of president. In his inaugural address he made a vigorous appeal for the Union; he assured the country of his unequivocal adherence to the principles of the compromise of 1850, and declared that its provisions should be “unhesitatingly carried into effect.” As the only portion of the compromise that called for executive action was the Fugitive Slave Act it was well understood that although it was not mentioned by name this phrase applied to that law. His assertion that “the acquisition of certain possessions not within our jurisdiction” was “eminently important for our protection,” and that his administration would not be controlled “by any timid forebodings of evil from expansion,” was taken to point clearly to the possible annexation of Cuba, which the pro-slavery men favoured in order to offset the formation of new free states in the northwest.

The new president's cabinet and diplomatic appointments demonstrated even more certainly than his inaugural address what influences guided him. The state portfolio was first offered to John A. Dix of New York, but his association with the Free-soil movement in 1848 made him an object of distrust to the Southern democrats, and William L. Marcy finally received the appointment. The appointment as secretary of war of Jefferson Davis, the most extreme of the Southern state-rights leaders and one of the bitterest foes of the compromise, was received with a shock by Union men of all sections. Nor did the selection of the shifty Caleb Cushing of Massachusetts bring assurance to New England and the North. The diplomatic appointments pointed plainly toward the acquisition of Cuba. Buchanan was sent to England, where it was thought he might be able to overcome that country's known jealousy of American designs on the island. The assignment of the Madrid mission to Pierre Soulé of Louisiana, who had gone on record as a believer that Cuba might be and ought to be obtained by other means than purchase, was a source of annoyance to the Spanish court, and was commonly commented upon as a gratuitous insult to a friendly power.

A noteworthy diplomatic event of the first year of Pierce's administration was Secretary Marcy's vigorous assertion of the protecting power of American citizenship in foreign lands in relation to the case of Martin Koszta. Koszta was a Hungarian revolutionist of 1848, who had escaped to the United States, where he had taken out his first citizenship papers. Returning to Smyrna on a business trip, he was there kidnapped and carried on board an Austrian brig-of-war, whose captain placed him in irons. Captain Ingraham of the American sloop-of-war *Saint Louis*, demanded his release as an American citizen, and as a compromise he was delivered, pending a settlement, into the custody of the French consul-general. The Austrian government demanded reparation for what it termed an outrage. Secretary Marcy, with his eye on the democratic presidential nomination, set out to write a reply that would strike the public chord as Webster's famous Hülse-mann letter had done. His judicious exposition of the American theory of citizenship, and his declaration of the right of the United States to afford

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protection to those who had become "clothed with the national character," as Koszta had, was received with great favour by Americans of both parties, and has been sustained and followed by his successors in the state department.

It was admitted before the year was far gone by the best friends of the administration that the president needed all the glory a vigorous foreign policy could bring him. For the promise of his inaugural had not been fulfilled. His complete lack of executive ability, his deficiency in initiative power, his fatal indecision of character, were daily proving his unfitness to cope with the great problems of the nation. "No one," says Rhodes,^c "could deny that he had grown less by his elevation, like a little statue on a great pedestal." Still to the outward eye the democratic party seemed to be more solidly entrenched in power than almost any party since the foundation of the Union, the state elections of 1853 increased its hold on the nation, and there appeared to be no cloud on the horizon that could threaten its continued supremacy for a long period of time. But forces were already actively at work which were soon to bring it to a rude awakening.

THE KANSAS-NEBRASKA BILL (1854 A.D.)

Congress met on December 3rd, 1853. The message which President Pierce addressed to that body congratulated the country that anti-slavery agitation had ceased, and that both parties had agreed to uphold the compromises of 1820 and 1850 by which the status of slavery appeared to be definitely settled on every inch of American territory. A bill for the organisation of Nebraska Territory, which was to comprise what was then known as the "Platte country"—Kansas, Nebraska, the Dakotas, and Montana, and parts of Colorado and Wyoming—had passed the house at the previous session and had been reported to the senate. This same bill, in which there was no reference whatever to slavery, was now (December, 1853) reintroduced in the senate and referred to the committee on territories, of which the chairman was Stephen A. Douglas. On January 4th, 1854, Senator Douglas reported the bill to the senate in a new form, which must be considered nothing more nor less than a personal bid for Southern democratic support in the coming presidential campaign. In its new form the bill expressly provided that any states subsequently made up out of the Nebraska territory should decide for themselves whether they should be slave or free states in entire disregard of the prohibition contained in the Missouri Compromise (1820). After recommitment the measure known to history as the Kansas-Nebraska Bill was reported. It provided for two territories instead of one, the southern lying between 37° and 40° to be known as Kansas, the northern section to be called Nebraska. The bill proposed further that in extending the federal laws to these territories an exception should be made of that section (the 8th) of the act by which Missouri was admitted, "which being inconsistent with the principles of non-intervention by congress with slavery in the states and territories, as recognised by the legislation of 1850, commonly called the compromise measures, is hereby declared inoperative and void." Thus was the Missouri Compromise, which the anti-slavery men had long considered an immovable bulwark in the path of the aggressions of the "slave power," to be summarily repealed. And in its place was to be adopted the principles of "squatter or popular sovereignty" first advanced by Cass during the discussion of the Oregon question in 1846-1847. A final clause provided for the extension of the Fugitive Slave Law to the new territories.^a

FUTILE OPPOSITION: EFFECTS OF THE ACTS

No bolder or more extraordinary measure had ever been proposed in congress; and it came upon the country like a thief in the night, without warning or expectation, when parties were trying to sleep off the excitement of former debates about the extension of slavery. Southern members had never dreamed of demanding a measure like this, expressly repealing the Missouri Compromise, and opening all the territories to slavery; and no one but Douglas would have dared to offer it to them — Douglas, with his strong, coarse-grained, unsensitive nature, his western audacity, his love of leading, and leading boldly, in the direction whither, as it seemed to him, there lay party strength. Mr. Pierce, it seems, had been consulted about the measure beforehand, and had given it his approbation, saying that he deemed it founded "upon a sound principle, which the compromise of 1820 infringed upon," and to which such a bill would enable the country to return.^b

Seward, Chase, Sumner, and Wade bravely led a band of anti-slavery senators in opposition. But their efforts were of no avail. Northern democrats carried away with the idea that the new principle of "squatter sovereignty" could be made to weld the democrats of all sections together into an irresistible political force that would sweep the whig party from the arena of national politics, gave their united support to Douglas' bill. The opposition could muster hardly more than a dozen votes, and the measure passed the senate by thirty-four to fourteen. In the house it was carried through by a narrower margin, forty-four Northern democrats refusing to support it, but was eventually passed by a vote of 113 to 100. President Pierce signed the bill on May 30th and it became a law. "This," says Alexander Johnston,^c "was the greatest political blunder in American history." For the Kansas-Nebraska Act took a vast region, the character of which for over a generation had been considered as finally fixed as far as slavery was concerned, "and threw it into the arena as a prize for which the sections were to struggle; and the struggle always tended to force as the only arbiter." Rhodes^c calls it the most momentous measure that had ever passed congress, and his summary of its effects well bears out this judgment. He considers that it sealed the doom of the whig party, and led directly to the formation of a new party pledged to the principle of no extension of slavery. It had a share also in rousing Lincoln and giving definiteness to his political ambitions. To some extent, also, it gained over the Germans to the republican point of view, and unified the party spirit of New England. In the North-west it was instrumental in advancing the ideas of the new republican party.

FOREIGN RELATIONS : THE OSTEND MANIFESTO

The foreign relations of the United States during the Pierce administration were marked by two events that had a more or less direct bearing on the domestic struggle for slavery extension. On June 30th, 1854, Mexico and the United States exchanged ratifications of a treaty by which the southwestern boundary was finally fixed, and the United States, upon payment of the sum of \$10,000,000, gained the Mesilla valley, a district comprising about twenty million acres of land in the southern part of what is now Arizona and New Mexico. The district, known as the Gadsden Purchase, from James Gadsden, the American minister to Mexico who negotiated the settlement, was scarcely fit for cultivation. But at the North the acquisition was generally accepted as an indication of the steadily growing force

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of the idea of territorial aggrandisement, particularly in the direction where the regions acquired would be likely to be slave rather than free territory.

The next incident showed the tendency even more clearly marked. Pierre Soulé, who had been sent as minister to Spain, had achieved considerable notoriety at Madrid by fighting a duel with the marquis de Turgot, the French ambassador, in which the latter was crippled for life. In communications with the Spanish government over the seizure by Cuban authorities of the American ship *Black Warrior* he had, by overstepping his instructions, come dangerously near to bringing about a break in diplomatic relations between Spain and the United States. However inadequately the American minister represented the American nation, he certainly was a fit representative of the growing desire of the South to add new slave territory to the United States. In the spring and summer of 1854, however, new developments hurried the two countries to the verge of hostilities. These were the indiscreet filibustering schemes of the radical pro-slavery leaders of whom Governor Quitman of Mississippi was chief, which aimed at wresting Cuba from Spanish rule, and its annexation as a slave state or states. The strong feeling aroused at the north by the Kansas-Nebraska Act probably alone prevented the leaders of the Southern propaganda from forcing the president and congress into war. But the counsels of Secretary Marcy and other Northern democrats prevailed in the end, and the president issued a proclamation (June 1st) warning the filibusterers that infractions of the neutrality laws would be punished. The arrest of Quitman who was placed under bonds to keep the peace, actually followed and gave assurance that the administration was in earnest.

A palace revolution in Spain, the chief result of which was a change in ministry, held out hopes to the friends of Cuban annexation in the United States, and pressure was brought to bear on the president with the result that Buchanan, Mason, and Soulé, the American ministers to England, France, and Spain respectively, were directed to meet and discuss the Cuban question. They came together at Ostend, Belgium, and there, October 18th, 1854, they drew up the report known as the Ostend Manifesto.

The joint decision of the diplomats was that an earnest effort should at once be made for the purchase of Cuba, for which they thought the sum of \$120,000,000 would be a liberal payment. The purchase, they declared, would not only be advantageous to the United States; but, in their belief, the Union would "never enjoy repose nor possess public security as long as Cuba is not embraced within its boundaries." Therefore, they argued, if Spain should refuse to sell the island, the United States, proceeding on the "great law" that "self preservation is the first law of nature with states as well as with individuals," would be fully justified in wresting it by force of arms from Spanish control.

The real purport of the manifesto was perhaps not absolutely clear at the moment. Rhodes^a declares that the anti-Nebraska men regarded it as the recommendation of an offer to Spain of \$120,000,000 to give up the agitation for emancipation of slaves in Cuba. They also thought it implied the overt intention to add two or three slave states to the Union; virtually giving notice that if peaceful purchase would not effect the extension of slavery, other and more violent measures must be resorted to. The policy set forth in the manifesto was indeed promptly disavowed by Secretary Marcy and his sharp reply was followed by the immediate resignation of Soulé. But the action of the democratic party in subsequently nominating for president

the first signer of the document caused it to be labelled in the public mind as one of the cardinal sins of the Pierce administration.

THE STRUGGLE IN KANSAS

"The Kansas-Nebraska Act," remarks Woodrow Wilson, "sowed the wind; the whirlwind was not long in coming." The storm broke first in the very region the act had opened to slavery. Seldom had there been a case in the history of the nation where the charge of broken faith and violated guarantees could be with so much justice brought forward. In a few short months the political situation was entirely changed, and the anti-slavery men of the north were drawn nearer together than they ever had been before. Greeley declared that Pierce and Douglas had made more abolitionists in three months than Garrison and Wendell Phillips could have made in half a century. And it was a characteristic of this newly created anti-slavery power that it cast aside the timidity that had hitherto paralysed the northern politicians of both great parties; and eagerly sought an opportunity to measure strength with its southern adversaries. The ambiguity of the act gave the opportunity and the trial of strength took place on the plains of Kansas with very little delay.

The ambiguity of the law lay in the fact that no provision was made as to when or how the "squatter sovereigns" of the new territories should make their choice as to whether they would accept or prohibit slavery. But North and South saw at once that under the circumstances the first on the field would have a decided advantage, and both sections prepared to occupy the disputed land. The slave-holders were earliest on hand, for they had only to cross the Missouri, and in bands of a hundred or more they poured across the border, armed and equipped as though for a military expedition. Hard on their heels came crowds of settlers from the free states sent out by the emigrant aid societies that had sprung up in every northern state from Maine to Iowa almost as soon as congress had passed the act. In the diverse character of these two streams of settlers lay the secret of the ultimate triumph of the free-state idea. The slave-holders, or very much the greater part of them, were not bona fide settlers at all. In entering Kansas they had no idea of giving up their residence in Missouri, or Arkansas, or Mississippi, from which states most of them came. Their only idea was to organise the state and secure its admission as a slave state. They never intended to make it their home. The free-state settlers, on the other hand—or by far the majority of them—carried their families and household goods with them, and looked forward to building homes for themselves in the new commonwealth. They were more energetic, more intelligent than their adversaries. And the greater mobility of the northern industrial population aided materially in the result. Finally, the spirit that led them on was higher and the ties that bound them to their new homes were necessarily stronger. In the long run they were sure to win.

The initial advantage, however, as might have been expected, was with the pro-slavery men. The law was scarcely in force ere most of the best land along the west shore of the Missouri had been staked out by slave-holders from Missouri. The first party of New England settlers was sent out by the Emigrant-Aid Society in July. For the most part the North had taken up the challenge which the act contained. They intended to accept the new principle of popular sovereignty without more ado and, by sending

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more settlers into the territory than their adversaries, thereby win the state for the cause of freedom.

The first territorial governor sent out by President Pierce was Andrew H. Reeder, a Pennsylvania democrat with Southern leanings, and a firm believer in "popular sovereignty." The election of a territorial delegate in November, 1854, was scarcely contested by the free-state men, and resulted in a pro-slave triumph with the aid of seventeen hundred Missourians, members of the organisations known as "Blue Lodges," who crossed the river for the purpose of voting.

Five thousand armed Missourians, imported for election day, easily carried the election for members of the territorial legislature for the pro-slavery cause in March, 1855. Seven months' contact with the lawless methods of the Southern party had revolutionised Governor Reeder's opinions, and made him an ardent free-state man. The new legislature unseated the few free-state men who had been elected and proceeded to adopt a code of laws, utterly out of tune, as Rhodes^c points out, with republican government in the nineteenth century. The protests of Jefferson Davis and other ultra-southern leaders prevailed with the president, and Reeder was superseded as governor by Wilson Shannon. Meanwhile the free-state men, largely reinforced by new settlers, proceeded to organise an effective opposition. In October, 1855, Reeder was chosen unanimously as their delegate to congress, and through their convention at Topeka they formed themselves into a state, and framed and adopted a constitution which prohibited slavery. In January, 1856, Charles S. Robinson was elected governor under the Topeka constitution. There were thus two state governments directly opposed to each other. Then followed what is known as the "Wakarusa War," in which an armed attack on the free-state capital, Lawrence, was only prevented by the prudence of the free-state men and the politic counsels of the pro-slavery leader, David R. Atchison.

THE REPUBLICAN PARTY

The first great result of the passage of the Kansas-Nebraska Act was to throw political parties into an unprecedented confusion. And at the very first succeeding national election the majority which had put the act through the house was overturned. As by a common impulse, all "anti-Nebraska" men of all parties drew away from their old associates and began to search for a common ground where they could act in unison. The largest single element in this new category were whigs who naturally hesitated to affiliate at once with their former Free-soil adversaries. Their first step, therefore, was to identify themselves with the Know-Nothings, who now, as a recent historian has aptly said, "volunteered with reference to the slavery question to be Do-Nothings." The American party, or Know-Nothings, as they were called because of their evasive replies to all questions concerning their membership and purposes, was a secret, oath-bound organisation pledged to oppose the nomination for office of foreign-born citizens, and to combat the influences of the Catholic church. It had been successful in some municipal elections in the east, and had made a fair showing of strength in several state elections. Its ambition now was to become a national party and take the place in the political world formerly occupied by the whigs. Every inducement was therefore held out to whigs to join the organisation.^a

A desperate attempt was made to create a diversion, and by sheer dint of will to forget the slavery question altogether. Southern whigs for a time

retained their party name, and tried to maintain also their party organisation; but even in the South the Know-Nothings were numerously joined, and for a brief space it looked as if they were about to become in fact a national party. In the elections of 1854 they succeeded in electing, not only a considerable number of congressmen, but also their candidates for the governorship in Massachusetts and Delaware. Before the new house met in December, 1855, the Know-Nothings had carried New Hampshire, Massachusetts, Rhode Island, Connecticut, New York, Kentucky, and California, and had polled handsome votes which fell very little short of being majorities in six of the Southern States.^b

Already in 1854, however, the foundations had been laid of a new party that was to offer a far better opportunity for political action to anti-Nebraska men than could be offered by any oath-bound society, whose character, despite its cry of "America for the Americans," was in its very essence undemocratic and un-American. In February and March, while the Kansas-Nebraska Bill was still before congress, two meetings of whigs, democrats, and Free-soilers took place at Ripon, Wisconsin, at the second of which preliminary measures were taken for the formation of a new coalition party, the keystone of which should be opposition to the aggressions of the slave power. The name "Republican" was suggested as an appropriate one for the new party. Other similar meetings soon followed in other parts of the North, entirely disassociated with the Wisconsin movement. The most notable of the subsequent meetings was that held at Jackson, Michigan, on July 6th, 1854. It was the first state convention held in the interest of the new anti-slavery party. A full state ticket was nominated, and the name Republican, proposed by Jacob M. Howard, was adopted as the official name of the organisation. In Ohio, Indiana, Wisconsin, and Vermont, state conventions of the "Anti-Nebraska" men were held on July 13th, the anniversary of the enactment of the Ordinance of 1787. In the two last named states, Michigan's lead in adopting the name Republican for the new party was followed.^a

Within the first year of its existence it obtained popular majorities in fifteen states, elected, or won over to itself, one hundred and seventeen members of the house of representatives, and secured eleven adherents in the senate. Representatives of all the older parties came together in its ranks, in novel agreement, their purposes mastered and brought into imperative concert by the signal crisis which had been precipitated upon the country by the repeal of the Missouri Compromise. It got its programme from the Free-soilers, whom it bodily absorbed; its radical and aggressive spirit from the Abolitionists, whom it received without liking; its liberal views upon constitutional questions from the whigs, who constituted both in numbers and in influence its commanding element; and its popular impulses from the democrats, who did not leave behind them, when they joined it, their faith in their old party ideals.^b

THE ASSAULT ON SUMNER

Meanwhile the affairs of Kansas had occupied a large proportion of the time of congress. Feeling ran high on both sides, and the debates were characterised by an intense bitterness. On May 19th Senator Sumner began his great speech on *The Crime against Kansas*. It was a forcible arraignment of the administration and the pro-slavery leaders, but it was marred by intemperate language and stinging characterisations of certain democratic leaders, particularly Douglas and Senator Butler of South Carolina, whom he

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likened to Don Quixote and Sancho Panza. Although the speech produced a great sensation, it is doubtful, had it not been for its almost tragic sequel, whether it would have had as much weight or influence as the really masterful arguments of Seward, Hale, Wade, and Collamer who preceded him. "The whole speech," says Channing,^d "shows to what depth a scholar can descend when thoroughly aroused." The sequel showed some of the effects produced by slavery on civilisation."

Two days after Sumner's speech was delivered the senator, while sitting in his seat in the senate chamber during a recess, was set upon by Preston Brooks, a South Carolina congressman and a nephew of Senator Butler, and before he could rise to defend himself was hammered into insensibility by the crushing blows from the vengeful South Carolinian's heavy cane. Sumner's iron constitution alone prevented fatal results, but it was found that he had sustained a severe injury to his spinal column. For three years and a half his seat remained vacant as a mute protest against the barbarous methods of the extreme Southern party.

At once throughout the North Sumner was looked upon as a martyr to the cause of human liberty. Five hundred thousand copies of *The Crime against Kansas* were printed and distributed. The assault of Brooks was condemned as a dastardly and cowardly act by the press, the pulpit, and in the very halls of congress. In the South, on the other hand, Brooks was universally heralded as the champion of Southern rights and liberties; he was lauded as the chivalrous defender of his state's honour. He became the recipient of numerous testimonials, mostly in the shape of gold-headed canes, appropriately inscribed. An investigating committee of the house reported in favour of his expulsion, but the pro-slavery majority would go no further than a vote of censure. Brooks thereupon resigned his seat and was at once re-elected by his constituents almost unanimously. Remarks in the senate led to Brooks challenging Senator Henry Wilson and Representative Anson Burlingame to duels. The senator refused, but Burlingame, probably to the surprise of Brooks and most Southern members, accepted. The duel was never fought, however, for when the Canadian side of the Niagara was suggested as the meeting place, Brooks took the opportunity to withdraw on the ground that he could not, in the existing state of public feeling, safely cross the Northern States to Canada.

Perhaps the greatest importance of this unhappy affair lay in its influence on politics; for, as Senator Wilson / points out, "it entered largely into the presidential campaign that soon commenced and became one of the battle-cries of freedom and of the new party that then appealed for the first time for the suffrages of the nation."

"BLEEDING KANSAS"

While congress was busy debating the Kansas situation in the spring of 1856, the problem was taking on a more serious aspect in Kansas itself. Both sides realized that open civil war was imminent and prepared accordingly. Among the new free-state immigrants came a colony from New Haven, armed with Sharpe's rifles, supplied them largely through the energies of Henry Ward Beecher, whence these fire-arms become known by the name of Beecher's Bibles. From the South came Colonel Buford with a well-trained band of fighting men who looked upon service in Kansas as a crusade. At the suggestion of Lecompte, the pro-slavery chief justice of the territory, the grand jury found indictments for treason against ex-Governor Reeder, Governor

Robinson of the free-state government, and Colonel James Lane. Robinson was arbitrarily arrested at Lexington, Missouri, on his way east. Reeder escaped in disguise.

On May 21st — the day before Brooks' attack on Sumner — the United States marshal, Donaldson, with the bands of Atchison, Buford, and Stringfellow, which he had enrolled as a posse to carry out his commands, swooped down upon Lawrence, confiscated cannon, arms, and ammunition of the free-state settlers and destroyed printing offices, hotels, and private residences. The coincidence of this attack with the assault on Sumner aroused the spirit of the North as nothing else had done, and the determination to make Kansas a free state was greatly strengthened. In Kansas the feeling of dismay among free-state men that followed the sack of their capital gave way to a renewed determination to win, in which, with many, the idea of retaliation or revenge was not wanting. Principal among those who were moved to action by the events at Lawrence was John Brown, "a zealot of the Covenanting or Cromwellian stamp" Goldwin Smith^g calls him, who had settled at Ossawatimie with his two sons. Brown was an ascetic and fanatic of an extreme type. He had long brooded over the wrongs of slavery. Drawing his inspiration from the Old Testament, he took as his favourite text the declaration that "without the shedding of blood there is no remission of sin." Imbued with the determination of killing a number of pro-slavery adherents, equal to the number — five as he counted it — who had already lost their lives in the free-state cause, he organised a secret retaliatory expedition which he led into the Pottawottomie valley, and there carried out his purpose by a series of brutal murders, that goes by the name of the "Pottawottomie massacre." Without attempting to justify these atrocities Rhodes^c points out that "we should hesitate before measuring the same condemnation to the doer and the deed. John Brown's God was the God of Joshua and Gideon. To him, as to them, seemed to come the word to go out and slay the enemies of his cause."

The outrage was denounced by both parties, and the free-state men were quick to disavow any connection or sympathy with its perpetrators. But the fires already kindled could not be stayed, and at once Kansas was in all the horrors of a bloody civil war. The whole territory armed for the fray. Guerilla bands of both parties wandered over the country, laying waste the settlements and fighting whenever they met. The free-state legislature which met at Topeka on July 4th was dispersed by Colonel E. V. Sumner with a body of federal troops.

Four days earlier the majority of the special congressional committee sent to investigate the situation in the territory reported that the pro-slavery elections had been carried by fraud, recommended that neither party's delegates should be seated, and declaring it as their opinion that the Topeka constitution embodied the will of a majority of the people. Throughout the summer of 1856 the civil war continued unabated. Governor Shannon, despairing of ever bringing order out of the chaos and disgusted at the attitude of the pro-slavery party whom he had sought to aid, resigned. Late in August his place was filled by the appointment of John W. Geary, a Pennsylvania democrat, with a record for gallantry in the Mexican War. Governor Geary was by far the ablest executive yet sent to the territory. He at once set himself to the task of establishing order; he dealt harshly with all breakers of law irrespective of party. By the end of September he was able to report to Washington, "Peace now reigns in Kansas."

But an impartial administration was the last thing in the world the pro-slavery men in Kansas wanted, and before another month had passed they

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were denouncing him on every side, some going to the length of threatening assassination. The clamour for his removal extended over the entire South. Finally, when Geary had come to the conclusion that he was not being supported by the administration, he resigned in disgust.

PRESIDENTIAL CAMPAIGN OF 1856

The presidential campaign which opened while the bloody struggle in Kansas was at its height was a four-cornered contest. The first party to place a presidential ticket in the field was the American, or "Know-Nothing," the national convention of which assembled at Philadelphia, February 22nd, 1856. Ex-President Fillmore was named for president and Andrew J. Donelson of Tennessee, an adopted son of Andrew Jackson, for vice-president. A platform already prepared by the national council of the organisation was presented to the convention. In this an attempt was made to divert attention from the slavery question, and by the simple process of ignoring it confine the issues to the organisation's favourite theme of the exclusion of foreign and un-American influences. A minority of Northern delegates, after attempting to secure a positive declaration on slavery refused to take part in the nominations and withdrew.

On the same day met the first national convention of the new republican party. Delegates from twenty-three states, pursuant to a call of several state organisations, assembled at Pittsburgh, and after adopting a ringing address written by Henry J. Raymond, declaring for a free Kansas, and the exclusion of slavery from all the territories, issued a call for a nominating convention to meet at Philadelphia, on June 17th following.

The democratic convention met at Cincinnati on June 2nd. Availability, rather than personal preferences, decided the nominations. Southern delegates largely favoured the renomination of Pierce, or the selection of Douglas, but the assault on Sumner and the attack on Lawrence had aroused the distrust of many Northern democrats, and there was an evident disinclination to go before the country with either of the two men who were generally held to be directly responsible for these outrages. A strong Northern sentiment favoured the nomination of Buchanan who had been out of the country as minister to England and was supposed to be uncommitted to any particular course in Kansas. The additional advantage of his hailing from a doubtful state which it was of the highest importance to carry, cast the balance in his favour and, after the Douglas men had declared for him, he was nominated on the seventeenth ballot. John C. Breckinridge of Kentucky, as the representative of the slave-power, was named for vice-president. The platform adopted contained a strong declaration of the party's devotion to and acceptance of the principles contained in the compromise of 1850 and the Kansas-Nebraska Act. Finally, after insisting that there were "questions connected with the foreign policy of this country which are inferior to no domestic questions whatever," a hope was expressed that the influence of the United States might be made paramount in the gulf of Mexico, and the declaration made that this country ought to control the routes of inter-oceanic travel across Central America.

The republican convention came together at Philadelphia on June 17th. Delegates were present from all the Northern states and from Delaware, Maryland, and Kentucky. In spite of an unusual unanimity in political beliefs the effort to secure a fit presidential candidate proved a far from easy task. William H. Seward, who was probably the best representative of the

principles for which the party stood was not as yet in thorough accord with the party organisation and hesitated to lead what he considered, as at best, a very forlorn hope. Salmon P. Chase, who next to Seward would have been the most acceptable candidate, was passed over on account of his Free-soil record, which it was feared would repel old whig voters. Before the convention met a strong movement had been started in favour of the nomination of John C. Frémont, a son-in-law of Senator Benton of Missouri, who had won distinction as an explorer and, after playing an active part in the conquest of California, had represented that state for a few months in the United States senate. The fact that he had already been nominated by the seceding Know-Nothings was urged in his behalf. With Seward and Chase practically eliminated, his nomination was now easily accomplished. William L. Dayton of New Jersey was named for vice-president. In a brief but emphatic platform the party declared that it denied "the authority of congress, of a territorial legislature, of any individual or association of individuals to give legal existence to slavery in any territory of the United States, while the present constitution shall be maintained." The administration policy in Kansas was denounced and the demand made that the territory be immediately admitted as a free state. The Ostend Manifesto embodying "the highwayman's plea that might makes right," was characterised as a shame and dishonour to American diplomacy. A transcontinental railroad and river and harbour improvements were urged.

The last convention to meet was that of the remnants of the old whig party, which assembled at Baltimore, September 17th, and endorsed the nominations of Fillmore and Donelson. Stanwood^a declares that the canvass which followed was an extraordinary one. It was, however, sluggish enough in the South, where Buchanan and Fillmore were the only candidates; the former having the support of all slave-holders and of all persons of allied interests. That implies virtually a solid South; for the system of slavery was so interwoven with all interests in this portion of the union, that there could be no opportunity for open opposition. In the North, however, the republicans conducted a campaign which rivalled the campaign of 1840 in enthusiasm, but which had a deeper-seated motive, and hence a more sincere and lasting impetus. Never, indeed, in the entire history of the Union had there been such a stirring of the hearts of the masses. The tumultuous enthusiasm that seems to foreigners to be one of the characteristics of the American people was given free vent. Immense public meetings were held, and the stump-speakers practised their arts with probably more than wonted conviction. Nevertheless, the enthusiasts were destined to disappointment, for the election in the autumn went against them. In Vermont, to be sure, the republicans polled more than three-quarters of the votes, and in Maine the same party had a majority of almost eighteen thousand. The October election in Ohio also gave a majority; on the other hand, the returns were unfavourable in Indiana and Pennsylvania. The republicans got such satisfaction as they could out of the claim that the Quakers had failed to vote; but this at best was cold comfort."

Buchanan and Breckinridge received 174 electoral votes, as against 114 for Frémont and 8 (Delaware) for Fillmore. But although defeated the surprising strength shown by the republicans with an acknowledgedly weak candidate was startling, and boded ill for continued democratic success, when once the movement was full grown. Frémont's popular vote was 1,341,264, while Buchanan's was only 1,838,169 and Fillmore's 874,534. But from a sectional point of view the result was most significant, for the republicans carried every Northern state but New Jersey, Pennsylvania,

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Indiana, and Illinois, and their vote in these states was large enough to cause them to be considered doubtful in any future contest. The campaign marked the final disappearance of the whig and "Know-Nothing" parties. Henceforth the real struggle was to be between the democratic and republican parties, which grew every day less national and more sectionalised in character.^a

THE DRED-SCOTT DECISION (1857 A.D.)¹

A brief struggle brought the business of the country out of the financial difficulties which prevailed for some months in 1857; but the strain of politics was not so soon removed, and a decision of the supreme court now hurried the country forward towards the infinitely greater crisis of civil war. Dred Scott was the negro slave of an army surgeon. His master had taken him, in the regular course of military service, from Missouri, his home, first into the state of Illinois, and then, in May, 1836, to Fort Snelling, on the west side of the Mississippi, in what is now Minnesota; after which, in 1838, he had returned with him to Missouri. Slavery was prohibited by state law in Illinois, and by the Missouri Compromise Act of 1820 in the territory west of the Mississippi; and after returning to Missouri the negro endeavoured to obtain his liberty by an appeal to the courts, on the ground that his residence in a free state had operated to destroy his master's rights over him. In course of appeal the case reached the supreme court of the United States. The chief, if not the only, question at issue was a question of jurisdiction. Was Dred Scott a citizen within the meaning of the constitution; had he had any rightful standing in the lower courts? To this question the court returned a decided negative. The temporary residence of the negro's master in Illinois and Minnesota, in the course of his official duty and without any intention to change his domicile, could not affect the status of the slave, at any rate, after his return to Missouri. He was not a citizen of Missouri in the constitutional sense, and could have therefore no standing in the federal courts. But, this question decided, the majority of the judges did not think it *obiter dicta* to go further, and argue as to the merits of the case regarding the status of slaves and the authority of congress over slavery in the territories. They were of the opinion that, notwithstanding the fact that the constitution spoke of slaves as "persons held to service and labour," men of the African race, in view of the fact of their bondage from the first in this country, were not regarded as persons, but only as property, by the constitution of the United States; that, as property, they were protected from hostile legislation on the part of congress by the express guarantees of the constitution itself; and that congress could no more legislate this form of property out of the territories than it could exclude property of any other kind, but must guarantee to every citizen the right to carry this, as he might carry all other forms of property, where he would within the territory subject to congress. The legislation, therefore, known as the Missouri Compromise was, in their judgment, unconstitutional and void.

The opinion of the court sustained the whole Southern claim. Not even the exercise of squatter sovereignty could have the countenance of law; congress must protect every citizen of the country in carrying with him into the territories property of whatever kind, until such time as the territory in which he settled should become a state, and pass beyond the direct jurisdic-

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tion of the federal government. Those who were seeking to prevent the extension of slavery into the territories were thus stigmatised as seeking an illegal object and acting in despite of the constitution.⁶

From the opinion of the majority justices Curtis and McLean dissented, the former in an opinion of great power declaring that he did not consider it "to be within the scope of the judicial power of the majority of the court to pass upon any question respecting the plaintiff's citizenship in Missouri, save that raised by the plea to the jurisdiction."

The immediate effect of the extraordinary decision was political rather than judicial. The South, seeing in it an endorsement, by the highest judicial tribunal in the land, of the theories long before advanced by Calhoun that it was the duty of congress to protect slavery in the territories, assumed a bolder and more truculent attitude than ever. The North, stunned at first by the blow, gradually came to realise that it really helped to clarify and simplify the great issue before the people. "By this presentation of the iniquity (of slavery) naked and in its most repulsive form, Taney [chief justice] did no small harm to the party which he intended to aid," writes Goldwin Smith,⁷ who further characterises the judgment as "a gratuitous aggression and an insult to humanity." More radical opinion declared that by this decision the supreme court had abdicated its functions and sullied its ermine by descending into the political arena. Lincoln voiced republican opinion when he declared: "We know the court that made it has often overruled its own decisions, and we shall do what we can to have it overrule this. We offer no resistance to it." Douglas found satisfaction in the fact that the Missouri Compromise, which his Kansas-Nebraska Act repealed, was now held to be unconstitutional, and he and his Northern democratic supporters generally accepted the judgment with a satisfaction that blinded itself to the fact that it also rendered their favourite theory of "squatter sovereignty" a dead letter.

THE LECOMPTON CONSTITUTION

The character of the advisers with whom President Buchanan surrounded himself was rightly taken at the North to indicate that the new administration would be dominated by and run in the interests of the pro-slavery party. General Cass, who accepted the state portfolio, was understood to be but a figurehead, as Buchanan would direct his own foreign policy. As was expected Howell Cobb, appointed secretary of the treasury, became the master-spirit of the administration.

The Kansas question was still a pressing one. Governor Geary had resigned on the very day of Buchanan's inauguration. The president at once appointed as governor his life-long friend, Robert J. Walker of Mississippi, who had been secretary of the treasury in Polk's cabinet. Walker was himself a slave-holder and his appointment was hailed with delight by the South. With the president's promise to uphold him in dealing justly with both parties he began his administration full of hope. Before he had been in the territory a month he realised that three-fourths of the population were of the free-state party and his high sense of honour made him at once determine to refuse to be an instrument in subverting or nullifying the popular will. The free-state party refused to take part in the election of delegates to a constitutional convention held on June 15th, 1857, and as a result only pro-slavery delegates were chosen. This convention, assembling at Lecompton in September, made short work of framing the notorious instrument known as the Lecompton Constitution, with provisions for the establishment and safeguarding of slavery.

[1858 A.D.]

Governor Walker had promised, relying on the word of Buchanan, that any constitution framed should be submitted to a vote of the people, and therefore declared himself against a movement presently set under way by the ultra-Southern leaders to admit Kansas at once under the pro-slavery Lecompton Constitution. His subsequent action in refusing to sanction flagrant frauds in the October elections gave the free-state party for the first time control of the legislature, and aroused the fury of the pro-slavery men who now began to exert at Washington the same influence that had already undermined the authority of governors Reeder and Geary and made of them earnest free-state advocates.

In order to make a pretence of fair play the Lecompton convention now reassembled and made the preposterous proposal to submit to the people not the constitution they had framed but merely the question of its adoption "with slavery" or "without slavery." This was done. Again the free-state voters refused to go to the polls, and the constitution was adopted "with slavery" by a large majority. Thereupon the territorial legislature with its free-state majority, submitted the entire constitution to the people who rejected it by a large majority, the pro-slavery men this time refraining from voting.

Finally, on February 2nd, 1858, President Buchanan, who had by this time fallen under the spell of the pro-slavery leaders as completely as Pierce had done, sent the Lecompton Constitution to congress with a special message urging that Kansas be admitted under it. The president's action gave an opportunity to Stephen A. Douglas which he, greatly to the credit of his reputation as a consistent statesman rather than a truckling politician, accepted boldly. Four years before, in the hope of winning Southern support to help him to the presidency, he had sacrificed his reputation for sincerity and independence. It had all gone for naught. Now he stood out boldly, and true to his principles of popular sovereignty, refused to consent to force any sort of a constitution upon the people of Kansas. The stand of Douglas made it forever impossible for him to secure a nomination at Southern hands, but it won for him again the undisputed position of leader of the Northern democracy. The Lecompton Constitution, though approved by the senate in spite of Douglas, was defeated in the house through the combination of his followers, now known as the "anti-Lecompton" democrats, with the republicans. Attempts at compromise failed and after the Lecompton Constitution, in accordance with the terms of the English bill, had again been rejected by the voters of Kansas at the polls (August 2nd, 1858), the South at length reluctantly abandoned the attempt to make Kansas a slave state.^a

THE LINCOLN-DOUGLAS DEBATE (1858) ¹

The elections of 1858 showed a formidable gain in strength by the republicans, and bore an ominous warning for the democrats. Everywhere the republicans gained ground; even Pennsylvania, the president's own state, went against the administration by a heavy vote. The number of republicans in the senate was increased from twenty to twenty-five, from ninety-two to a hundred and nine in the house; and in the latter chamber they were to be able to play the leading part, since there were still twenty-two "Know-Nothings" in the house, and thirteen "anti-Lecompton" democrats, the followers

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of Senator Douglas. Douglas himself was returned with difficulty to his seat in the senate, and his canvas for re-election had arrested the attention of the whole country. The republicans of Illinois had formally announced that their candidate for the senate would be Abraham Lincoln, a man whose extraordinary native sagacity, insight, and capacity for debate had slowly won for him great prominence in the state, first as a whig, afterwards as an anti-Nebraska man and republican. Lincoln and Douglas "took the stump" together, and the great debates between them which ensued both won for Lincoln a national reputation and defined the issues of the party struggle as perhaps nothing less dramatic could have defined them. In Lincoln's mind those issues were clear-cut enough. "A house divided against itself," he declared, "cannot stand. I believe this government cannot endure half slave and half free. I do not expect the house to fall, but I expect it will cease to be divided. It will become all one thing or all the other." He forced Douglas upon the dilemma created for him by the Dred-Scott decision. What became of the doctrine of popular sovereignty if the people of the territories could not interfere with slavery until they came to frame a state constitution? Slavery could not exist, replied Douglas, without local legislation to sustain it; unfriendly legislation would hamper and kill it almost as effectually as positive prohibition. An inferior legislature certainly cannot do what it is not within the power of congress to accomplish, was Lincoln's rejoinder. The state elections went for the democrats, and Mr. Douglas was returned to the senate; but Lincoln had made him an impossible presidential candidate for the Southern democrats in 1860 by forcing him to deny to the South the full benefits of the Dred-Scott decision.^b

JOHN BROWN'S RAID

The news flashed over the wires from Virginia on the morning of October 17th, 1859, caused a cry of horror to go up from every section of the union. A small army of abolitionists and free negroes, the report said, had raised the standard of revolt in the Old Dominion and seized the federal arsenal at Harper's Ferry. The slaves of Virginia, according to the report, were rising against their masters and flocking to the standard of freedom. At the North the news created the most intense excitement. Throughout the South the awful thought that a slave insurrection, so long feared and so fearfully dreaded, had at length come, produced a panic. Excited imaginations pictured the devastation of property and homes, the nameless horrors to which the women and children would be subjected, the destruction indeed of the whole structure of Southern society. The early reports proved to be greatly exaggerated. John Brown, known already for his bloody exploits in the free-state cause in Kansas, had entered the village of Harper's Ferry on the night of October 16th with a score of followers, including four of his own sons; had there seized the United States arsenal, and had made prisoners of the guards and several citizens who had fallen into his hands. The slaves, even in the immediate neighbourhood were apparently ignorant of his intentions, and remained quietly on their plantations. At daybreak the country people and villagers had risen and compelled him to shut himself and his companions up in the armory. In the desultory firing several had been killed on either side. The arrival of a militia company from Charlestown, and a detachment of United States marines under Colonel Robert E. Lee, rendered the retreat of Brown impossible, and he retired to the engine-house in the armory yard, where he prepared to sell his life dearly. The next morning Lee's marines battered



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JOHN BROWN GOING TO EXECUTION

(From the painting by Thomas Hovenden, in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York)

[1860 A.D.]

down the door of the engine-house with a ladder and after a severe struggle succeeded in capturing Brown and his five remaining followers.

Brown was given a fair but hasty trial at Charlestown, and was found guilty of treason, of conspiring and advising slaves to rebel, and of murder in the first degree. He was sentenced to be hanged, and the sentence was carried out on December 2nd following. Brown's manliness, his unquestionable sincerity and belief in the righteousness of his cause, and the Christian fortitude with which he met his end aroused the admiration even of his enemies. At the North widespread sympathy for the doer was tempered somewhat by agreement as to the lawlessness of the deed. In the light of subsequent events, however, Brown's act was magnified to heroic proportions; he came to be looked upon as the protomartyr of the cause of negro freedom, and "his soul marching on" became an inspiration.^a

SCHOULER'S ESTIMATE OF JOHN BROWN ¹

John Brown was no Cæsar, no Cromwell, but a plain citizen of a free republic, whom distressing events drove into a fanaticism to execute purposes for which he was incompetent. He detested slavery, and that detestation led him to take up arms not only against slavery but against that public opinion which was slowly formulating how best to eradicate it. Woe to the conquered. The North made no appeals for that clemency which slaveholders had alone to consider. Brown had not been lenient to masters, nor were masters bound to be lenient to him. And yet Brown was an enthusiast, and not a felon; the essence of his crime was unselfish. Like the French country maiden who went to Paris to plunge her dagger into a bloody ruler's heart, he meant to rescue good morals from the usurpation of human laws. Corday fulfilled her solitary plan because it was reasonable; John Brown failed in his plan because it was unreasonable: but both, as actors and martyrs, flashing upon the world's attention like new meteors, left examples of self-sacrifice, the one upon the guillotine and the other upon the gallows, which a people could not refrain from exalting. The virgin damsel of grace and beauty, and the grim old man of sixty, stern and sanguinary, who led on his sons, take equal hold of posterity's imagination; of each one it has been said by acute observers that the immediate effect of their deeds was injurious to politics; and yet society in the long centuries is stronger for being thus taught that despotism over fellow men is not safely hedged in by authority. Brown's stalwart, unique, and spectral figure led on, grotesque but terribly in earnest, the next time Virginia's soil was invaded — not, however, for executing any such unfeasible scheme of making the slaves their own avengers, but to apply the war powers of the nation against disloyal masters.ⁱ

THE NOMINATING CONVENTIONS OF 1860

The divergence of North and South in population, wealth, and resources was growing greater every year. The political preponderance of the North was also increasing. Since Buchanan's election two new free states had been admitted to the union, Minnesota in 1858 and Oregon in 1859. As the time for naming presidential candidates drew near everyone recognised that more than ever before the coming campaign was to be a battle of the sections.

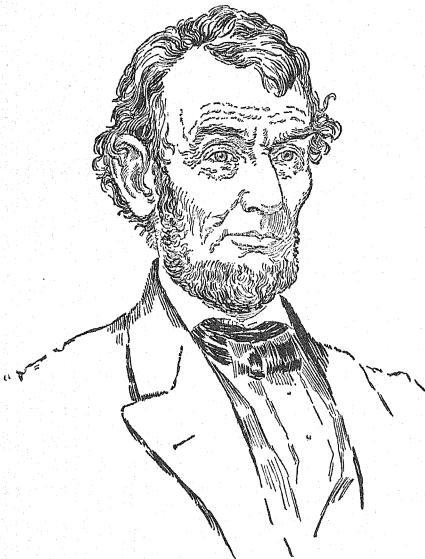
The convention of the democratic party assembled at Charleston, South

[ⁱ Reprinted by permission of Dodd, Mead & Company. Copyright, 1894, by James Schouler.]

[1860 A.D.]

Carolina, April 23rd, 1860, the delegates realising fully that they might be called upon to decide questions momentous alike to their party and to the nation. The bold stand taken by Douglas against the cherished policy of the pro-slavery party in Kansas, and the subsequent death of one of his principal supporters, Senator David C. Broderick of California, in a duel with a pro-slavery politician, had aroused the courage and spirit of Northern democrats as never before. They were prepared, for almost the first time

in their history, to assert their rights and refuse longer to be made the tools of the slave power. Eight days were spent in wrangling over a platform. The Southern delegates insisted on pronouncing for the pro-slavery theories advanced in the Dred-Scott decision. The Northern men, however, refused to do more than acquiesce in the Southern demand for Cuban annexation and for the repeal of legislation in the North intended to hinder the execution of the Fugitive Slave Law. After an acrimonious debate a platform embodying declarations favouring the last two points was approved by the Northern majority. The majority of the Southern delegates at once withdrew and after an ineffectual attempt to secure a two-thirds majority



ABRAHAM LINCOLN

(1809-1865)

Sixteenth President of United States

for any candidate, the remaining members adjourned to meet again in Baltimore, June 18th.

Meanwhile the seceding Southern delegations met together in another hall in Charleston and adopted the radical pro-slavery platform rejected by the regular convention. When the latter re-convened in Baltimore on the day set, the tendency of the Douglas delegates to carry things with a high hand resulted in a still further secession of delegates, largely from Southern and border states. The regular convention thereupon proceeded to nominate Douglas for the presidency and Benjamin Fitzpatrick of Alabama for the vice-presidency. Herschel V. Johnson of Georgia was subsequently named

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by the national committee to take the place of Fitzpatrick, who refused to run. The second group of seceders joined by some of the original seceders named John C. Breckinridge of Kentucky and Joseph Lane of Oregon, which nominations were soon after endorsed by the remnants of the first seceders at Charleston. Thus, after the bitterest struggle in its history, the democratic party had at last been torn asunder. It presented the spectacle of two avowedly sectional party groups appealing to the suffrage, not of the nation but of a section.

Before this, however, both the republicans and a new party which took the name of Constitutional Union had made their nominations. The latter party — which was made up largely of former Know-Nothings and Northern whigs who could not as yet bring themselves to join the republican party — met at Baltimore, May 9th. They adopted, instead of a regular platform, a single resolution declaring for the preservation of the union under the constitution, and named John Bell of Tennessee and Edward Everett of Massachusetts for president and vice-president respectively.

All eyes were now turned to the republican party, which met in convention at Chicago on May 16th. The platform contained a strong appeal for the maintenance of the principles embodied in the Declaration of Independence and a declaration that the federal constitution, the rights of the states, and the union of the states must be preserved. While disavowing any intention to interfere with the established institutions of any state, it denounced the "new dogma" promulgated in the Dred-Scott decision as political heresy, asserting that the normal condition of all federal territories was that of freedom, and that it was the duty of the national government to maintain that condition by law. The immediate admission of Kansas as a free state was demanded, and a protective tariff, internal improvements, and a Pacific railway favoured.

William H. Seward of New York was now, as in 1856, the leading candidate for the presidential nomination and led all others on the first ballot. But, as Woodrow Wilson ^b says, he "was regarded as a sort of philosophical radical, whom careful men might distrust as a practical guide." Salmon P. Chase of Ohio was also a candidate, but his past political affiliations still counted against him. A solution seemed to point to the selection of a less well-known candidate, and on Abraham Lincoln of Illinois, whose political principles had been so unmistakably set forth in his debate with Douglas, a majority of the delegates finally united on the third ballot. Hannibal Hamlin of Maine, a former democrat, was nominated for vice-president.

THE ELECTION OF LINCOLN

With the subsequent nominations of the two democratic factions already noted, the various presidential tickets were complete. The vital principles upon which the four parties based their appeals to the voter have been thus tersely summed up by Alexander Johnston ^c: "The Bell party wished to have no discussion of slavery; the Douglas democrats rested on squatter sovereignty and the compromise of 1850, but would accept the decision of the supreme court; the republicans demanded that congress should legislate for the prohibition of slavery in the territories; and the Southern democrats demanded that congress should legislate for the protection of slavery in the territories."

With the issue thus clearly drawn, and four candidates to choose from, the republicans had an immense initial advantage. Indeed, it may probably be said that the outcome of the campaign that ensued was scarcely in doubt

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from the first. The hopeless breach in the democratic ranks made it out of the question that either faction should carry the national election. The Constitutional Unionists were not well organised, and their appeal was at best a negative one. Indeed, the republicans alone were both confident and united. The only possible danger in the way of their success was in the possibility that the election might be thrown into the house of representatives.

Nevertheless the ensuing canvass was hotly contested. The republicans adopted the tactics of the Harrison campaign of 1840 and throughout the North enthusiasm was aroused by torch-light processions and enormous mass meetings. At the South were heard on every side mutterings of secession and war. The September and October state elections foreshadowed the election of Lincoln, which the results in November more than justified. The republicans carried every Northern state except New Jersey and elected four out of the seven electors even in that state. Douglas received only the votes of Missouri and three from New Jersey. Bell carried the three border states of Kentucky, Tennessee, and Virginia. Breckinridge carried the entire South. However, while Lincoln and Hamlin received 180 electoral votes to 103 for all other candidates, they received only a minority of the popular votes. The figures for the latter showed the following results: Lincoln and Hamlin, 1,866,452; Douglas and Johnson, 1,376,957; Breckinridge and Lane, 849,781, and Bell and Everett, 588,879.

SECESSION

"There could be no mistake," says Goldwin Smith,⁹ "about the significance of the election by Northern votes of a president who looked forward to seeing slavery 'put where the people would be satisfied that it was in course of ultimate extinction.'" Among the more radical Southerners there is no question but that the result was really welcomed. Conditions in the cotton states were such that their policy no matter how extreme would undoubtedly dominate the section and overcome whatever conservative opposition there was. These extremists made it a point to misrepresent the intentions and principles of the republican party, and their arguments convinced the majority of their people that in dealing with slavery Lincoln and his advisers would not scruple to disregard constitutional guarantees. As proof of this assertion they pointed to the legislation enacted in almost every Northern state which commonly went by the name of "personal liberty laws," the intent of which was plainly to nullify the operation of the Fugitive Slave Law, and secure for fugitive slaves legal privileges which the federal statutes denied. Pro-slavery agitators made no distinction between the republican party and the detested abolitionists; yet, as Woodrow Wilson,^b a Southern writer, points out, "the vast majority of its adherents were almost as much repelled by the violent temper of the abolitionists as were the Southern leaders themselves." It was this extreme view of the Southern radicals that now became the view of the greater part of the South. When this stage was reached it was manifestly impossible longer to preserve the Union.

South Carolina was the only state in which presidential electors were still chosen by the legislature. After casting their votes for Breckinridge electors on November 6th, the legislators remained in session to await the result in the nation. The governors of the cotton states had taken counsel together regarding the course to be pursued in the event of Lincoln's election, and it had been practically agreed that should one state feel called upon to secede from the Union she would receive the support of the others. Upon this

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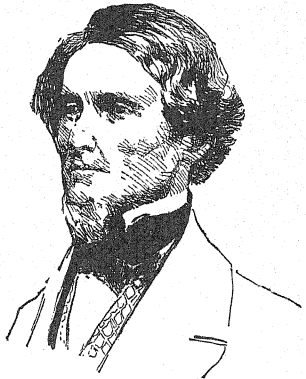
assurance the South Carolina legislature now acted. Provision was made for the purchase of arms and ammunition, and a convention was called which met in Charleston, December 20th. This body at once proceeded to repeal the action taken by a previous South Carolina convention, May 23rd, 1788, whereby the federal constitution had been ratified, and declared the dissolution of the union "subsisting between South Carolina and other states under the name of the United States of America." South Carolina had spoken, and there were few who did not accept her voice as the voice of the South.

THE CONFEDERATE STATES

Within a month after South Carolina had passed her ordinance of secession, four other states — Mississippi, Florida, Alabama, and Georgia — in the order named, had left the Union. In each state there was a strong minority which opposed the movement not so much from a disbelief in the right of secession as from a conviction of its inexpediency. But in each case the delegates elected to the special state conventions showed a clear majority for secession. Throughout the South the convention, as Alexander Johnston^e has pointed out, "was looked upon as the incarnation of the sovereignty of the state." The action of these secession conventions was therefore generally accepted as final without any attempted ratification by the people.

On February 4th, 1861, the very day that the Peace Convention met at Washington, representatives from six "cotton states" met at Montgomery, Alabama, to organise a provisional government. The states represented were those above mentioned and Louisiana, which had seceded January 26th. Texas had passed an ordinance of secession, despite the sorrowful protests of Sam Houston, but it had been submitted to the people and not yet ratified. The Montgomery convention adopted a provisional constitution and chose as provisional president and vice-president Jefferson Davis of Mississippi and Alexander H. Stephens of Georgia. The name Confederate States of America was adopted. The constitution was made permanent by the vote of the convention (or congress as it now called itself) on March 11th, and under it Davis and Stephens were chosen for a six years' term in the succeeding November without opposition.

Under what claim of constitutional right the Montgomery convention acted, says Alexander Johnston, "passes comprehension." Even granting the right of secession, he continues, that a state convention summoned to decide that question "should go on without any further popular authority or mandate to send delegates to meet those of other states and form a new



JEFFERSON DAVIS

(1808-1889)

national government, which could only exist by warring on the United States, was a novel feature in American constitutional law."

In none of the border states was there at this time a strong popular feeling in favour of secession. But in most of them the belief in state sovereignty and the abstract right of secession was a powerful force to be considered, and the inclination to take up arms to resist any attempt of the federal government to coerce a seceding state was strong. The course of events soon forced upon the border states a decision on this very point, and four of them—Virginia, North Carolina, Tennessee, and Arkansas—eventually, in the course of the spring of 1861, threw in their fortunes with the cotton states. With their addition the Confederacy reached its final number—eleven.^a

*The Theory of Secession*¹

The legal theory upon which this startling and extraordinary series of steps was taken was one which would hardly have been questioned in the early years of the government whatever resistance might then have been offered to its practical execution. It was for long found difficult to deny that a state could withdraw from the federal arrangement as she might have declined to enter it. But constitutions are not mere legal documents; they are the skeleton frame of a living organism; and in this case the course of events had nationalised the government once deemed confederate. Twenty states had been added to the original thirteen since the formation of the government and almost all of these were actual creations of the federal government first as territories then as states. Their populations had no corporate individuality such as had been possessed by the people of each of the colonies. They came from all parts of the Union and had formed communities which were arbitrary geographical units rather than natural political units. Not only that, but north of the Missouri compromise line the population of these new states had been swelled by immigration from abroad; and there had played upon the whole northern and northwestern section those great forces of material development which made steadily for the unification of interests and purposes. The West was the great make-weight. It was the region into which the whole national force had been projected, stretched out and energised—a region, not a section; divided into states by reason of a form of government, but homogeneous, and proceeding forth from the Union.

These are not lawyer's facts; they are historian's facts. There had been nothing but a dim realisation of them until the war came and awoke the national spirit into full consciousness. They have no bearing upon the legal intent of the constitution as a document, to be interpreted by the intention of its framers; but they have everything to do with the constitution as a vehicle of life. The South had not changed her ideas from the first because she had not changed her condition. She had not experienced, except in a very slight degree, the economic forces which had created the great Northwest and nationalised the rest of the country; for they had been shut out from her life by slavery. The South withdrew from the Union because, she said, power had been given to a geographical, a sectional party, ruthlessly hostile to her interests; but Doctor von Holst² is certainly right when he says: "The Union was not broken up because sectional parties had been formed, but sectional parties were formed because the Union had actually become sec-

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tionalised." There had been nothing active on the part of the South in this process. She had stood still while the rest of the country had undergone profound changes; and, standing still, she retained the old principles which had once been universal. Both she and her principles, it turned out, had been caught at last in the great national drift, and were to be overwhelmed. Her slender economic resources were no match for the mighty strength of the nation with which she had fallen out of sympathy.

*The Constitution of the Confederacy*¹

The constitution framed by the Montgomery convention, although in most respects a reproduction of the constitution of the United States, was made very explicit upon all points of controversy under the older instrument. The Southern leaders were not dissatisfied with the constitution of the United States as they understood it; they were dissatisfied only with the meanings which they conceived to have been read into it by a too loose and radical interpretation. In the new constitution which they framed for themselves it was explicitly stated that in the adoption of the instrument each state acted "in its sovereign and independent character." Protective tariffs were specifically prohibited, as well as all internal improvements at the general charge. It embodied the principle of the recognition and protection of slavery in all the territories of the new government. It added to the separate weight of the individual states by providing that in the senate, when the question was the admission of a new state, the vote should be taken by a poll of the states; and by according to each of the several state legislatures the right to impeach confederate officials whose duties were confined to their own territory. The demand of three states was made sufficient to secure the calling of a convention for the amendment of the constitution. The states were denied, on the other hand, the privilege which they had enjoyed under the federal constitution, of granting the franchise to persons not citizens under the general law of naturalisation.

Such other changes of the federal constitution as were introduced were changes, for the most part, only of detail, meant to improve the older instrument where experience was thought to have shown it susceptible of alteration for the better. The presidential term was lengthened to six years, and the president was made ineligible for re-election. The president was given the right to veto individual items of appropriation bills, and congress was forbidden to make any appropriations not asked for and estimated by the heads of the executive departments, except by a two-thirds vote, unless such appropriations were for the legitimate expenses of congress itself or for the payment of just claims, judicially determined, upon the government. Congress was given the right to bring itself into closer co-operative relations with the executive by granting seats, with the privileges of debate, to the heads of the executive departments; and it was granted a partial oversight of the president's relations with his subordinates by the provision that, except in the cases of the chief executive and diplomatic agents of the government, no official should be removed except for cause explicitly stated to the senate. The power to emit bills of credit was withheld from congress. The slave trade was prohibited, and congress was empowered to prevent even the introduction of slaves from the states of the Union.

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Much as there was among these changes that was thoroughly worth trying, it was of course impossible to test anything fairly amidst the furious storms of civil war. One of the most interesting of them—the permission to introduce the heads of the executive departments into congress—had actually been practised under the provisional government of 1861; but under the formal constitution the houses, as was to have been expected, never took any steps towards putting it into practice.

The congress was inclined from time to time to utter some very stinging criticisms upon the executive conduct of affairs. It could have uttered them with more dignity and effect in the presence of the officers concerned, who were in direct contact with the difficulties of administration. It might then, perhaps, have hoped in some sort to assist in the guidance of administration. As it was, it could only criticise, and then yield without being satisfied.^b

LAST MONTHS OF BUCHANAN'S ADMINISTRATION

The position of President Buchanan in the months intervening between Lincoln's election and inauguration was a difficult and delicate one. The situation demanded tact, decision of character, statesmanship of the highest order. And none of these did Buchanan possess. Although honest at heart and desirous of preserving the Union, his sympathies were and always had been strongly with the South. To this sentiment he gave expression in his message to congress in December, 1860. This message gave hope to the Southern leaders: for although he deprecated and advised against secession as not being called for by Lincoln's election, he at the same time denied the power of either president or congress to prevent secession. This the South justly took to be an intimation that they would be allowed to withdraw unmolested as far as Buchanan was concerned. By the North the message was received with mingled anger and astonishment. General Cass, the secretary of state, at once resigned his portfolio and was succeeded by Jeremiah S. Black of Pennsylvania, then attorney-general, a man of greater ability and decision of character. The secession of South Carolina brought out the strong points in Black's character, and he took at once a determined stand for the Union, in which he was ably seconded by Edwin M. Stanton, who now became attorney-general, and Jos ph Holt, who supplanted Floyd as secretary of war. Their influence led Buchanan to refuse to receive the commissioners sent by South Carolina to treat with the federal authorities concerning the surrender of the forts in Charleston harbour. The pro-Union members of the cabinet received a powerful addition to their strength in January by the appointment of John A. Dix of New York to the secretaryship of the treasury; and his ringing despatch to the revenue officers at New Orleans, "If any man attempts to haul down the American flag shoot him on the spot," aroused the greatest enthusiasm at the North. The new influences at work on Buchanan showed themselves in his special message of January 8th, in which he declared it the duty of the president to use force if necessary to collect the public revenues or protect the national property.

Meanwhile in congress and out of it measures were undertaken looking toward compromise. As early as December 18th John J. Crittenden of Kentucky had introduced into the senate the measure which goes by the name of the Crittenden Compromise. This was considered by a committee including Seward, Wade, Douglas, Jefferson Davis, and Toombs. The compromise consisted of a proposed constitutional amendment restoring the old line of 36° 30' as a limit south of which congress should have no power to interfere

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with slavery in any state or territory. But the Northern republican senators refused to accept it and the amendment was lost. In the house a series of resolutions embodying a similar plan of compromise failed of passage.

The failure of the compromise measures was followed, as state after state seceded, by the withdrawal of the senators and representatives from those states, thus leaving the republicans strongly intrenched in both houses. Several conciliatory measures were now passed by the majority in futile and even cringing endeavour to avert the crisis. One provided for a constitutional amendment forever forbidding congress to meddle with slavery in any state where it already existed, without the consent of that state. Other measures organised the territories of Colorado, Nevada, and Dakota without a word about the prohibition of slavery. But all such overtures were too late.

Already the seceding states had given evidence of their intention to cut every tie that bound them to the Union, by seizing the government property, consisting of custom houses, forts, and arsenals, within their borders. Before the close of Buchanan's administration every fort, navy yard, or federal building within the seven seceding states had been seized, with the exception of Fort Sumter in Charleston harbour, Fort Pickens, Key West, and the Dry Tortugas. The eyes of the nation were centred on Charleston harbour, where Major Robert Anderson had removed his handful of troops from Fort Moultrie on the mainland to the stronger position of Fort Sumter. The move was an intimation that the fort was not to be given up without a struggle. The determination of both parties was further emphasised when on January 9th the steamship *Star of the West*, which Buchanan had at length been prevailed upon to send to relieve the fort with supplies, was fired upon by the South Carolina shore batteries, and compelled to return with its mission unaccomplished. The first shot of the Civil War had been fired.

THE INAUGURATION OF LINCOLN; FORT SUMTER

Never was a presidential inauguration awaited with such intense interest as that of Abraham Lincoln, March 4th, 1861. Seven states had left the Union and set up a government of their own. Would the new president, the country asked, attempt compromise where congress had failed, or would he proceed vigorously to assert the rights and enforce the laws of the Union with the almost certain result of driving several border states to join their Southern neighbours.

Lincoln's inaugural address was moderate, even conciliatory. He declared that he had neither the intention nor the right of interfering with slavery where it existed. He even expressed his willingness to accept the Fugitive Slave Law. Not a word was said as to the restriction of slavery extension. But with the question of the preservation of the Union he was more explicit. "No state upon its own mere motion," he declared, "can lawfully get out of the Union." Any ordinance that attempted to bring about such a dissolution was, he held, null and void. He would, he declared unequivocally, execute the laws of the Union and defend and maintain its authority in every state. To such an expression of his purposes there could be but one meaning—civil war. And the president's choice of advisers, including such men as Seward for secretary of state and Chase for secretary of the treasury, was taken to mean that the North stood behind him.

The immediate attention of the country remained centred in Charleston

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harbour, where Major Anderson still held Fort Sumter. His provisions were running low, and unless relieved he must soon surrender. South Carolina sent a new set of commissioners to Washington to attempt an adjustment of the difficulties. The cabinet hesitated and tried to dissuade the president from acting. At last, however, a decision was reached and notice was sent both to Major Anderson and to Governor Pickens of South Carolina (April 8th) that a vessel was under way to carry provisions to the fort. President Davis called his cabinet together to decide what should be done. Despite the impassioned opposition of Toombs, the Confederate secretary of state, who declared that the first shot fired by the South would "strike a hornet's nest" from which legions would swarm out and sting them to death, General Beauregard was authorised to demand the fort's surrender, and in case of refusal to reduce it.^a

THE FALL OF SUMTER; UPRISING OF THE NORTH ¹

With telegrams from the Davis government directing him to proceed, Beauregard at two in the afternoon of April 11th demanded the surrender of Fort Sumter, and after some vain parleying with Major Anderson, which lasted through the night, opened his cannonade by early dawn of the 12th. Startling was the spectacle for this continent, and in scope and consequences unparalleled in the world's history. Throngs of Southern soldiers and civilians poured into Charleston on every train, and the wharves and housetops swarmed with eager gazers. But surrounding the fight in imaginary presence were the millions of anxious inhabitants, North and South, dilating with various emotions, as the telegraph and bulletins of the daily press spread details of the combat through the amphitheatre of a nation. As the ensign of the Union on that slender staff waved its folds, more in reproof than defiance, from the brick ramparts of the little island midway down this harbour, the target of disloyal batteries from three different directions, hearts hardened towards one another with each fratricidal shot. And through the thickening smoke, as the roar of artillery went on, might be dimly discerned now and then a vessel of the provisioning fleet, defining the coast horizon with its spectral hull, watching, but unable to succour. The result of such an unequal duel was not long doubtful. Anderson's brave little garrison, a mere handful for such a contest, and a force barely sufficient to keep a few of the answering guns active, had already exhausted their rations of bread. On the morning of the 13th the barracks of the fort caught fire, and while officers and men were engaged for hours in getting the flames under control so as to save the powder magazine from exploding, the flagstaff fell, struck for the tenth time by hostile shot. Senator Louis T. Wigfall, who was now serving on Beauregard's staff, crossed over in a boat and volunteered honourable terms of surrender, which Beauregard confirmed after Anderson had accepted them. On Sunday, the 14th, Anderson and his command marched out with their property and all the honours of war, saluting the flag they had so gallantly defended; after which they were transferred to the *Baltic* (one of the vessels of the relief squadron), which waited outside, to sail for New York. The captured fort passed simultaneously into the formal custody of a Confederate garrison.

The curtain dropped upon this lurid drama, and sickened hearts at the North knew what next must follow. The same Monday morning's paper on

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the 15th of April, which described Sumter's last tableau, published the president's proclamation, bearing that date, but made and signed Sunday, which called at once into service seventy-five thousand militia for three months, and summoned congress to convene in extra session on the coming July 4th. The phraseology of that proclamation scrupulously observed requirements of the old and imperfect act of 1795, which afforded the only legislative warrant for this new emergency. There was no heart certainly at the North to cavil or criticise when that sober appeal, following the Sumter spectacle, made men at last realise that the loved Union was in danger, and that nothing but heroic sacrifice, as in the days of old, could save it from destruction. This was eloquence enough; and the document inspired pen and tongue like a Pentecost wherever through the rich and populous North the news travelled that Fort Sumter had fallen.

At once the great Union party of the nation sprang to its feet; not, indeed, with all the border allies hoped for, but, throughout the vast and populous region of free states, rallying the loyal in every city, town, and hamlet, and mustering tens and hundreds of thousands among the inhabitants, where thousands alone had been looked for. Party presses, some of them but lately protesting against coercion of the South, vied with one another in eagerness to sustain the president's summons, while the few that hung back were silenced by an indignant community or made to recant. The steamer that bore Anderson and his men into New York harbour, on the 18th of April, brought the flags of Moultrie and Sumter, and enthusiasm was wild to welcome those gallant defenders. All hearts at the free North beat in patriotic unison. Honest democrats and conservatives forgot their old antipathies and fraternised with republicans of every stripe for the old union of states, "one and inseparable." The inspiring utterances of Jackson and Daniel Webster were a thousand times repeated. The surviving ex-presidents of the North, Buchanan among them, gave encouragement. Among Northern statesmen once recreant to freedom, Cass, from his final retirement in Michigan, sent God-speed; while Douglas, for the few brief weeks left to him, threw aside his late sophistries, and, whole-souled in the new cause of upholding the Union, died illustrious. Everett, whose palmy years of eloquence had been given to maintaining, were it possible, a Union of compromise and smothered animosities, now flamed into a pillar of guiding strength by his splendid example.

The strong, sanguine enthusiasm of this first genuine uprising gave token that the republic would not, should not, perish. In public halls, on the village green, or wherever else a united gathering might impress its strongest force, citizens met in mass to be stirred to fervency as at some religious revival. Spokesmen of varying political antecedents occupied the platform together to bear their testimony as honest patriots. Boston rocked thus in old Faneuil Hall; at New York City was held an immense mass-meeting in Union Square, on the 20th of April, under the shadow of Washington's monument, and the ablest leaders of parties hitherto opposing addressed the crowd from three several stands. At a Chicago gathering, where the speaker raised his hand to take the oath of allegiance, the whole audience solemnly rose and repeated the words with him. There were flag-raising, moreover, at which the national colours, red, white, and blue, were hoisted. One deep-rooted sentiment pervaded old and young throughout these free states—to serve, to sacrifice, but never to surrender. Only two sides of the question were possible at such a crisis—for the Union or against it; only two classes of citizens—patriots or traitors. "Fort Sumter is lost,"

said the New York *Tribune* "but freedom is saved." If there were a few men doubtful or disposed to palliate, they were swallowed into the resistless torrent of sympathy with the administration.]

John Codman Ropes,^k in his remarkable study of the Civil War, unhappily left unfinished, has expressed perhaps better than any other writer the underlying elements of strength and weakness in the North and South. We are fortunate in being able to quote the following:^a

THE OPPOSING PARTIES ¹

Thus the lines were finally drawn. Twenty-two states remained united. These states were preparing to assert their sovereignty by force of arms over the whole length and breadth of the land. Opposed to them stood the eleven states which had seceded, now constituting the Confederate States of America, equally resolute to maintain by the sword their claim to independence.

Population and Material Resources

The parties to this conflict were in many respects unequally matched. The populations of the twenty-two states which adhered to the Union aggregated upwards of twenty-two millions, of whom less than half a million were slaves. The populations of the eleven states which had left the Union numbered together but little over nine millions, of whom about three millions and a half were slaves. There were thus about four times as many free white people on the Union side as there were on the Confederate side. The slaves, however, instead of being a source of anxiety and apprehension, as many in the North confidently predicted would be the case, proved perfectly subordinate. They were trusted to take care of the families where the able-bodied white men had gone to the war, and they never betrayed their trust. They were largely employed in building fortifications. They raised the crops on which the entire South subsisted during the whole war.

In material prosperity the North was far in advance of the South. In accumulated capital there was no comparison between the two sections. The immigration from Europe had kept the labour market of the North well stocked, while no immigrants from Ireland or Germany were willing to enter into a competition with negro slaves. The North was full of manufactories of all kinds; the South had very few of any kind. The railroad systems of the North were far more perfect and extensive, and the roads were much better supplied with rolling-stock and all needed apparatus. The North was infinitely richer than the South in the production of grain and of meat, and the boasted value of the South's great staple, cotton, sank out of sight when the blockade closed the Southern ports to all commerce.

Accompanying these greater material resources there existed in the North a much larger measure of business capacity than was to be found in the South. This was of course to be expected, for the life of the plantation was not calculated to familiarise one with business methods, or to create an aptitude for dealing with affairs on a large scale. The great merchants and managers of large railroads and other similar enterprises in the North were able to render valuable assistance to the men who administered the state and national governments, and their aid was most generously given.

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Army and Navy

The command of the sea naturally fell at once into the hands of the North. With the exception of the losses caused by the unnecessary destruction of the vessels of war in the Gosport Navy Yard, the whole fleet of the United States, all the permanent establishments except the navy yard at Pensacola, and the entire personnel of the navy with the exception of a comparatively few officers remained under the control of the government. There were by no means so many resignations from the regular navy as from the regular army. To the naval officer, whether at sea or in a foreign port, the United States must always have appeared as one nation. The flag under which he sailed was contrasted with the flags of the nations of Europe. He could not but feel—as a rule, that is—that his country was the country which the Stars and Stripes represented, and not the state of his origin. Hence there were comparatively few instances of naval officers who resigned their commissions and tendered their services to their states. Yet there were some instances of this; Buchanan, Tattnall, Semmes, and Hollins were perhaps the most conspicuous of these. On the other hand, Farragut, who rose to be the head of the navy during the war, came from a state which seceded, Tennessee. Moreover, the mercantile marine of the United States, which, in 1861, was second only to that of Great Britain, was almost wholly owned in the North. It was chiefly in the New England States that the ships were built. The sailors, so far as they were Americans, and the greater part of them were Americans, were all Northerners. The owners were nearly all merchants in the Northern Atlantic cities. Hence the government had no difficulty in recruiting the navy to any extent, both in officers and men, from a large class thoroughly familiar with the sea.

The regular army suffered to a marked extent by the resignation of officers belonging in the states which had seceded. The privates and non-commissioned officers with hardly an exception remained faithful to the flag, and continued loyally to serve the government. Not a few officers also belonging in the seceding states, of whom the most distinguished were General Winfield Scott and General George H. Thomas, recognised the United States as their country and cheerfully remained in the army and served throughout the war.

It may be remarked that both sides had to depend to a considerable extent on Europe for supplies of arms and ammunition. This was, of course, much more true of the South than of the North, for the principal arsenals and manufactories of arms were situated in the Northern states. But, so far as importations were needed, it was obviously a perfectly simple matter for the North to procure them, while the vessels containing these precious cargoes for the South were always compelled to run the blockade, and were often captured in the attempt.

The financial situation of the North was, as has been intimated above, vastly superior to that of the South. Had the Confederate government promptly seized all the cotton in the country, paying for it at the market price in Confederate money, and sent it to England before the blockade had become fully established, and there stored it to be sold from time to time as occasion might require, available funds would have been forthcoming sufficient to meet the largest requirements. But this course, though suggested, was not carried out, and finances of the Southern Confederacy fell into the most deplorable condition long before the end of the war.

Difficulties of an Invasion

Superior as the North was in numbers and in resources of every kind, and important as was her command of the sea, it was nevertheless by no means certain that she would succeed in the task which she had laid out for herself. The conquest of the eleven states was in truth a gigantic undertaking. The attempt was certain to be resisted by practically the entire population. This resistance would be made under the direction of generals of high attainments, of acknowledged ability, and of some experience in war. It would be made by upwards of five millions of people of pure American stock, who would be certain to fight with all the fierceness and determination of men fighting in defence of their country against invasion and conquest. There would be on the side of the South no hesitations, no dissensions, no thoughts of surrender. Whatever would be gained would have to be won by hard fighting. It was not possible that the North should make her numerical superiority count to its full extent on a battle-field in the South. All that invading power, even if greatly superior in population, can effect is to preserve a certain superiority in numbers in the theatre of war; how great that superiority shall be must depend on the means of transportation and subsistence and on the number of men required to hold the lines of communication and supply. The number which can be ranged in line of battle on any particular field cannot, therefore, be decided beforehand unless the most careful study has been given to the question by the military authorities. It should also be remembered that while in an invasion every step taken in advance necessarily carries the active army farther from its base of supplies and from its reinforcements, the enemy are by the same causes impelled towards a concentration of their available forces, so that, whatever disparity of strength may have existed at the outset, it is quite possible that at the moment of the decisive collision the forces may be practically equal.

Military Aptitude of the North and South

Finally, if we would estimate correctly the relative power of the parties to this conflict, we must take account of their respective aptitudes for war. The South undoubtedly possessed a more military population than the North, and we do not find that one part of the South excelled another—to any marked degree, at any rate—in the possession of military instincts and aptitudes. Several of the Southern states—Virginia, South Carolina, and Louisiana among others—possessed excellent military academies. The population, almost wholly occupied in agricultural pursuits, was necessarily accustomed to life in the open air, to horses, to hunting and fishing, to exposure, to unusual physical exertion from time to time. Such conditions of life naturally foster a martial spirit. Then the aristocratic régime which prevailed in the slave-holding states was conducive to that preference of military over civil pursuits which has so generally been characteristic of aristocracies. The young men of the better classes eagerly embraced the profession of arms, as offering by far the noblest opportunities for the exercise of the higher virtues and for attaining the greatest distinction in the state. They made excellent officers, while those below them in the social scale, sharing as they did largely in the same feelings and possessed by the same ideas of life and duty, made admirable private soldiers and warrant

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officers. Endowed with a marvellous capacity of endurance, whether of physical exertion or of lack of food, uncomplaining, ever ready for a fight, the soldiers of the South were first-rate material in the hands of the able officers who so generally commanded them. Their want of strict discipline was, it is true, notorious, but it was chiefly noticeable on the march, where straggling, to an extent unknown in the Federal armies, was a not infrequent feature. They loved fighting for its own sake, and no more willing troops ever responded to the call of their leaders. Their knowledge of woodcraft, gained by lives spent on the plantation or the farm, was always of great service, and often gave them a decided advantage over the numerous town-bred soldiers of the Federal armies.

In the North, on the other hand, there was very little of this enthusiastic sentiment about a military life. One may fairly say that it was rarely to be seen in the Eastern and Middle States; and although it is true that the young men of the West responded with more unanimity and probably with more alacrity to the often repeated summonses to leave peaceful pursuits and take the field, yet this was rather due to the comparative newness of the civilisation in the West than to any specific martial quality in the population. The truth is that the Northern people, whether in the East or the West, were busy, pre-occupied, full of schemes for the development of the country, and for the acquisition of private fortunes; happy and contented in their manifold industries, they detested equally the wastefulness and cruel sacrifices inseparable from fighting. The poetry of war hardly entered into the mind of the Northern volunteer; most certainly the *gaudium certaminis* did not influence his decision to enlist. His course was determined wholly by a sense of duty; for he looked upon the war as a grievous interruption to the course of his own life as well as to the normal development of his country's history. He regarded the Southerners as wholly to blame; and he determined to put them down, cost what it might. His devotion to his country was as deep and strong and unreserved as was that of his Southern opponent; he was as brave, as patient, as unflinching, as persistent; but he did not take so much interest in the game; he went into camp, he drilled, he marched, he fought, without a thought of saving himself either labour or danger; but it was all weary work to him—distasteful; in his judgment the whole thing was unbecfitting a country as far advanced in civilisation as the United States was—it was a sort of anachronism. Hence it cannot be doubted that the Southern volunteers frequently scored successes over their Northern adversaries for the simple and sole reason that to them the game of war was not only a perfectly legitimate pursuit, but one of the noblest, if not the noblest, that could claim the devotion of brave and free men. They went into it *con amore*; they gave to its duties their most zealous attention; and they reaped a full measure of the success which those who throw themselves with all their hearts into any career deserve and generally attain.

Taking all these things together, then, it was plain enough that the task of subjugating the South was certain to be one of great difficulty, even though the resources of the North were so much superior to those of the South. It was also unlikely that the resources of the North would be employed with any great amount of skill and judgment, at any rate at first. The president of the United States was known to be a man of no military training or experience. He was hardly likely to find, at the outset, generals who could plan and carry out the campaigns of invasion which the scheme of conquest required for its accomplishment. The Southern president, on the other hand, was a military man by education and experience; he had been graduated

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from West Point; he had distinguished himself at Monterey and Buena Vista; he had been secretary of war. His army-list was certain to be made out intelligently, and it was known that he had a choice of excellent officers from among whom to select his ranking generals.

When we add to the considerations above presented that the South was about to fight for her own defence against invasion, to struggle for her independence against armies which were undertaking to conquer her, it was easy to see that all her energies would be aroused, and that it might safely be predicted that the advantage would not always be on the side of the heaviest battalions.^k

PREPARING FOR THE CONFLICT

The president's call to arms was responded to with unprecedented enthusiasm. The quota of every Northern state was filled many times over. At the South, too, enthusiasm was unbounded. Within the week Virginia had seceded and her militia had seized the Federal arsenal at Harper's Ferry and the Gosport Navy Yard, which was fired before it was abandoned by the Union officers. North Carolina, Tennessee, and Arkansas followed the lead of the "Old Dominion." On April 19th occurred the first bloodshed of the war. The 6th Massachusetts regiment, passing through Baltimore on its way to Washington, was attacked by a mob in the streets, shots were exchanged, and four soldiers and a dozen or more of their assailants were killed.

The struggle between the opposing parties in the remaining border states was bitter. In spite of the active efforts of governors Jackson of Missouri and Magoffin of Kentucky, the people of these states after some hesitation declared for the Union. The forty western counties of Virginia refused to abide by Virginia's determination to secede. They now sent delegates to Wheeling, where a state government was organised. Subsequently this government applied to Washington for a division of the state, and congress, adopting the fiction that this was the only constituted government of the state and therefore could consent to a division, admitted the western counties under the name of West Virginia (1863).

Meanwhile the opposing forces were drawing together, and by the end of May an army of sixty thousand was collected in and around Washington. President Davis had issued a call for one hundred thousand volunteers, and the Confederate capital had been re-established in Richmond. Around these two hostile capitals the struggle was soon sure to be begun.

Governor Francis H. Pierpont, provisional governor of the western counties of Virginia, called on President Lincoln for aid in preserving the region for the Union. In response a force was sent under Gen. George B. McClellan and the first real fighting in the Civil War ensued. McClellan, in a short but vigorous campaign, succeeded in clearing western Virginia of Confederates, and re-establishing railway connections between Washington and the West. This early success brought McClellan into the prominence that resulted soon after in his advancement to more important commands.

CONGRESS AND THE WAR (1861-1862)

Congress, in response to a call of President Lincoln, convened in special session at Washington on July 4th, 1861. The problems that confronted it

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were greater and more numerous than any body of American legislators had ever before been called upon to solve. Armies were to be enlisted and organised, a navy to be built, the civil service to be reconstructed. For all these purposes funds were needed, and the national treasury was almost empty. President Lincoln's message was a remarkably clear statement of the steps he had already taken to preserve the Union and of the immediate measures required. The legislators responded enthusiastically and loyally. In a little over a month's time measures were passed providing for large increases in the regular army and navy; authorising the president to call for five hundred thousand volunteers for three years or during the war; authorising the secretary of the treasury to borrow \$250,000,000 by issuing bonds or treasury notes; increasing the import duties, and providing for an income tax of 3 per cent. on all incomes of over \$800 per year. On August 6th, the last day of the session, all the acts of the president taken before the meeting of congress, including the suspension of the writ of habeas corpus, were ratified, and he was broadly authorised to confiscate any property used or intended to be used in furtherance of the Confederate cause.

During its next regular session (December, 1861-July, 1862) congress continued its policy of strengthening the finances of the government, and employing every resource to crush the rebellion. The policy was adopted and unhesitatingly persisted in until the end of the war of stimulating industries by high protective tariffs and then utilising their resources by an elaborate system of direct taxation. Specie payment had been suspended by agreement between the government and the banks in December, 1861, and to meet the new conditions, congress, in February, 1862, passed the Legal Tender Act. By this act treasury notes, familiarly known as "greenbacks," were issued to the amount of \$150,000,000, subsequently reaching \$450,000,000, and were made legal tender for every purpose except payment of import duties and interest on the public debt. Supplementary to this the National Bank Act (February 15th, 1863), by which the present national banking system was established, was passed a year later. In May, 1862, the Homestead Act was passed, and in July a bill providing for a Pacific Railway. In the latter month, too, the Morrill Tariff Act became a law.

THE OPENING CAMPAIGN IN MISSOURI

The disunionist activities of Governor Jackson in Missouri and his endeavours to carry that state into the Confederacy hastened the opposing parties into hostilities west of the Mississippi. Jackson, on the pretense of maintaining the state's neutrality, had issued a call for fifty thousand volunteers to defend it against its northern invaders. General Nathaniel Lyon, taking counsel with General Frank P. Blair, had thereupon taken possession of the state capital, Jefferson City, in June. In the following month he established his base at Springfield, where he was joined by a force under Colonel Franz Sigel, bringing his total command up to six thousand men. Against him early in August marched a Confederate force of ten thousand under generals Sterling Price and Ben McCulloch. On the banks of Wilson's Creek, ten miles from Springfield, a fierce battle was fought August 9th, in which the gallant Lyon, after being twice wounded, was killed while leading his troops. The Federal forces, outnumbered almost two to one, fought on stubbornly for an hour longer, and then retired to Rolla, whither the Confederates, their own army sadly depleted by the struggle, made no attempt to follow them. Any possible advantage the result of the battle might have given them was

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thrown away largely through the bickerings of Price and McCulloch. The appointment of Earl Van Dorn to the chief command followed. For six months there were no military operations of importance west of the Mississippi.

In the Federal army the greatest dissatisfaction was soon expressed with General John C. Frémont, who had been appointed to the command in Missouri. Complaints of incompetency and misuse of authority were followed by more serious charges of corruption in granting army contracts. While these charges were being investigated he drew popular attention to himself by issuing an order confiscating the property and setting free the slaves of all persons who had taken up arms against the Federal government in Missouri. This order, known as "Frémont's Emancipation Proclamation," was recognised by Lincoln and his advisers to be premature and impolitic to say the least, and it was seen that it might have an adverse effect on the Union cause in Kentucky. The revocation of the order, and the subsequent removal of Frémont as a result of the charges against him brought upon Lincoln a storm of reproach and disapproval from Sumner and the more radical anti-slavery republicans.

THE BLOCKADE : OPERATIONS ALONG THE COAST

On April 19th, 1861, President Lincoln issued a proclamation declaring a blockade of all the ports of the seceded states. Steps were at once taken to make the blockade effective. It was a tremendous task, for there was a coast-line of over three thousand miles to be watched. The navy at the time consisted of only forty-two wooden vessels, more than half of which were on foreign stations. But they were hurried home for service, and extraordinary measures at once adopted for converting merchant vessels into ships of war. Northern shipyards were kept busy night and day.

The necessity for the hurry was evident. The vast cotton crop of the South was valueless unless it could be marketed. If the Confederacy could ship its staple crop to foreign markets it could buy with the funds thus obtained guns, ammunition, and munitions of war which might enable it to prolong the contest indefinitely. This was perfectly well recognised by President Lincoln and his secretary of the navy, Gideon Welles. Little by little the embargo was made effective along the whole stretch of coast. But throughout the long contest the dire necessity of the South induced the Confederate naval authorities to take every advantage of its laxity to aid swift sailing merchant vessels to run the blockade. The risks were great, but the reward was greater. In another direction the Confederate naval authorities were active. Their privateers, built at home and abroad, and carrying commissions from the Confederate government, preyed upon the commerce of the North with such disastrous results that despite every effort the American merchant marine, which in 1861 had been, next to England's, the greatest in the world, was by 1865 practically annihilated.

Many of the earliest operations conducted by the Federal government were undertaken for the purpose of establishing naval and military bases along the coast to strengthen the blockade, and from which the navy might more effectively operate against the privateers. One of the earliest of these was that which Gen. B. F. Butler led to Hatteras Inlet on the coast of North Carolina in August, 1861. Of more importance was the expedition in November, 1861, of General Thomas W. Sherman and Commodore Dupont, which successfully reduced forts Walker and Beauregard and captured Port

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Royal on the South Carolina coast. Early in January, 1862, a fleet under Commodore Goldsborough, conveying an army of twelve thousand men under Gen. A. E. Burnside, set sail for Pamlico and Albemarle sounds on the coast of North Carolina. The Confederate fortifications on Roanoke Island were carried by assault, and later New Berne was occupied. By April, 1862, Fort Macon and Fort Pulaski had fallen, the reduction of the latter completely cutting off Savannah from the outside world. These successes rendered effective the blockade from Virginia to Florida and served to establish bases from which important operations could in the future be conducted into the interior.

BULL RUN AND AFTER

While the campaign in western Virginia was still in progress events in the eastern part of the state pointed to an early meeting of the hostile armies in much larger numbers. Public opinion at the North had taken up the cry of "On to Richmond." From the South came back a no less certain cry of "On to Washington!" Finally, in response to the increasing demand for action. President Lincoln and his advisers determined upon a general advance into Virginia. On July 16th, 1861, General Irvin McDowell moved with his army of thirty thousand men in the direction of Manassas, about thirty miles southwest of Washington, where General Beauregard, the Confederate commander, had established his base with a somewhat inferior force. By the morning of Sunday, July 21st, when the two armies at length came together, the Confederates had been reinforced by the command of Gen. J. E. Johnston, which had been hastily ordered up from Winchester and had evaded the Union force of General Patterson set to watch it, so that the two armies were of almost exactly the same strength. The Confederates, however, had the advantage of being better posted and being on the defensive. McDowell advanced to the attack early on the morning of the 21st, his army being divided into three columns under generals Tyler, Hunter, and Heintzelman. Hunter on the right, after hard fighting, drove the Confederates before him until stopped on the slope of a hill by the brigade of Gen. Thomas J. Jackson. Jackson's stubborn resistance, which won for him the sobriquet of "Stonewall," checked the Federal assault until the arrival (about three o'clock in the afternoon) of a fresh contingent of Johnston's command under Gen. Kirby Smith. Beauregard had been on the point of ordering a retreat, but the tide of battle now began to turn against McDowell. Eight thousand fresh troops were hurled upon the flank and rear of the Federal army, which was gradually forced from the field. McDowell vainly tried to stop the retreat, and finding that impossible, attempted to withdraw his forces in order. But confusion prevailed, and his army streamed toward Washington in utter demoralisation. Beauregard and Johnston retained the field, but their forces were too badly disorganised to attempt a pursuit. The losses showed hard fighting. The Federal loss in killed and wounded was about fifteen hundred, the Confederates' nineteen hundred, but over thirteen hundred Federals were reported missing.

The news of the defeat at Bull Run caused the greatest consternation in the North; in the South the enthusiasm was unbounded. The ultimate result was probably more to the advantage of the North, for it was awakened at last to a realising sense of the vastness of the undertaking which the suppression of the secession movement meant. The South, on the other hand, suffered from the result of over-confidence. One of the first results of the battle at the North was the superseding of McDowell by McClellan. No

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further movements of importance were undertaken by either of the main hostile armies in the east until October, the only operations worthy of note being a continuance of the campaigns in the mountains of western Virginia in which General Rosecrans was somewhat more successful than his Confederate opponent, Gen. Robert E. Lee.

THE "TRENT" AFFAIR

Before the war had been in progress many months occurred an international incident which had a significant bearing upon the relations of both North and South with neutral European powers. This was the forcible seizure, on November 8th, by Captain Charles Wilkes and the United States sloop-of-war *San Jacinto* of James M. Mason and John Slidell, the Confederate commissioners to England and France respectively, en route to England from Havana on the English steamship *Trent*. At the outbreak of the war the South had hoped and expected that England's commercial interest in keeping her cotton-mills running would lead her to look with sympathy on the Confederate cause, if not to render more important aid in money or munitions of war. In some degree their expectations were realised, for the sympathies of the higher classes in England were, at the beginning of the war, undoubtedly almost wholly with the South. The hasty action of the British government in recognising the Confederates as belligerents on May 14th, 1861, which was soon after followed by similar action on the part of France, was looked upon as being evidence of the unfriendly attitude of the Palmerston ministry. But the tactful diplomacy of Charles Francis Adams, whom President Lincoln sent as American representative to the Court of St. James, and the powerful advocacy of the Northern cause by John Bright, Richard Cobden, and other Englishmen of influence, had apparently stemmed the tide of hostile feeling, when it was aroused anew by the seizure of the Confederate commissioners.

Mason and Slidell had escaped from Charleston on a blockade-runner and had re-embarked at Havana on November 7th on the British steamer *Trent*. On the next day the *Trent* was overhauled by the *San Jacinto* and the commissioners were seized and carried to Boston, where they were treated as prisoners of war. The news of the capture was at first received at the North with great joy. Wilkes was lauded as a national hero and received ovations at Boston and New York. Congress tendered him a vote of thanks. In England the seizure aroused a universal feeling of anger that was as unreasonable and extreme as were the Americans' demonstrations of joy. The British government at once demanded reparation, and in order to be prepared for a refusal dispatched thirty thousand troops to Halifax. Secretary Seward was rather disposed to assert American rights, believing that he had behind him the great public opinion of the North. But Lincoln, who declared that "we fought Great Britain for insisting by theory and practice on the right to do precisely what Captain Wilkes has done," counselled moderation. In this he was upheld by several members of his cabinet and by the more conservative sentiment at the North. Secretary Seward therefore informed Great Britain that the American government disavowed the act of Wilkes, and the commissioners were released and proceeded to England. The better opinion in England was anxious to defend itself from any charge of sympathy for the Confederate cause arising from this affair, and the London *Times* voiced this sentiment when it declared, "We should have done just as much to rescue two of their own negroes."

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FORTS HENRY AND DONELSON

It was early evident that the attempt to maintain Kentucky in a position of neutrality could not be successful. The geographical location of the state, if nothing more, rendered such an attitude impossible. Its occupation would naturally be one of the earliest steps in the Federal programme of securing control of the Mississippi river. Nor could it be expected that either side would neglect to attempt control of the Tennessee and Cumberland rivers, two of the most important military thoroughfares into the heart of the Confederacy. The Confederate seizure of Columbus on the Mississippi was followed by General Grant's occupation of Paducah at the mouth of the Tennessee. The state was thus forced into the struggle, and on September 20th, 1861, its legislature called for troops to support the Union cause.

The campaigns that followed developed into a struggle for the control of the waterways. The Confederates fortified Columbus, New Madrid, and Island Number 10 on the Mississippi, and erected Fort Henry on the Tennessee and Fort Donelson on the Cumberland. Along this line of defence, with Bowling Green in Kentucky as an outpost and Nashville as a centre, General Albert Sidney Johnston distributed his forces. Against these were pitted Federal forces under General Don Carlos Buell at Louisville and General Ulysses S. Grant at Cairo, all being at the time under the supreme command of General Halleck. The first Federal attack on this line came on November 7th when Grant, moving down from Cairo in transports, routed the Confederates under General Pillow at Belmont, opposite Columbus, but was compelled to abandon the place on the reinforcement of Pillow by General Leonidas Polk, who commanded at Columbus. No more fighting of importance occurred until January, 1862, when the Federal forces moved forward all along the line. General James A. Garfield conducted a short but sharp campaign in eastern Kentucky, culminating in the defeat of the Confederates under Gen. Humphrey Marshall at Prestonburg (January 10th). On January 19th General George H. Thomas won a decisive victory over the combined Confederate forces of generals Crittenden and Zollicoffer at Mill Springs. General Zollicoffer was killed; and this, the first substantial Union victory in the West, gave great encouragement to the Federal armies. By these victories eastern Kentucky was freed from Confederate occupation.

Halleck now determined to break the centre of the Confederate line of defence, and for that purpose despatched General Grant with seventeen thousand troops and Commodore Foote with a flotilla of river gun-boats up the Tennessee river to Fort Henry. General Tilghman, the Confederate commander, realised the futility of resistance, and sending the bulk of his forces to reinforce Fort Donelson, surrendered after a mock defence.

Leaving a strong garrison at Fort Henry, Grant at once prepared to advance with fifteen thousand men upon Fort Donelson, where he was destined to win his first laurels as a fighter. Johnston had thought Fort Donelson almost impregnable, and had placed in it a force larger by six thousand than Grant's attacking army, under the command of Gen. John B. Floyd, late secretary of war in Buchanan's cabinet. On February 12th Grant, marching across country from Fort Henry, invested the Confederate fortifications. On the following day he attacked and was repulsed. That night arrived Foote with his gun-boats and General Lew Wallace with his division of infantry. On the 14th Foote attacked with his flotilla, but the fierce fire from the Confederate guns compelled him to retire down the stream with two of his gun-boats disabled. He himself was severely wounded.

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That night Floyd, realising that Grant's reinforced troops now outnumbered his, after consulting with his two subordinates, Pillow and Buckner, determined to cut his way out to Nashville. Early the next morning this attempt was made. Ten thousand men were hurled upon the division commanded by General McClernand, which after a gallant defence, was forced by lack of ammunition to retire. If the Confederates had followed up this advantage they might indeed have obtained what they sought—a clear road to Nashville. But General Pillow, who commanded the assault, with almost incredible lack of foresight, withdrew into the fort. Grant at once saw his advantage and gave orders to his troops to retake their former position. At the same time he ordered General C. F. Smith, a brave and experienced soldier, to assault the works in his front. Smith, though a division commander, gallantly led the charge in person. Over rough ground and in the face of a withering fire the Union forces rushed upon the works, and with fixed bayonets carried an important position which practically commanded the entire fort. This position he was able to hold. At the same time Wallace and McClernand had advanced their lines to their former positions so that the fort was more closely invested than ever.

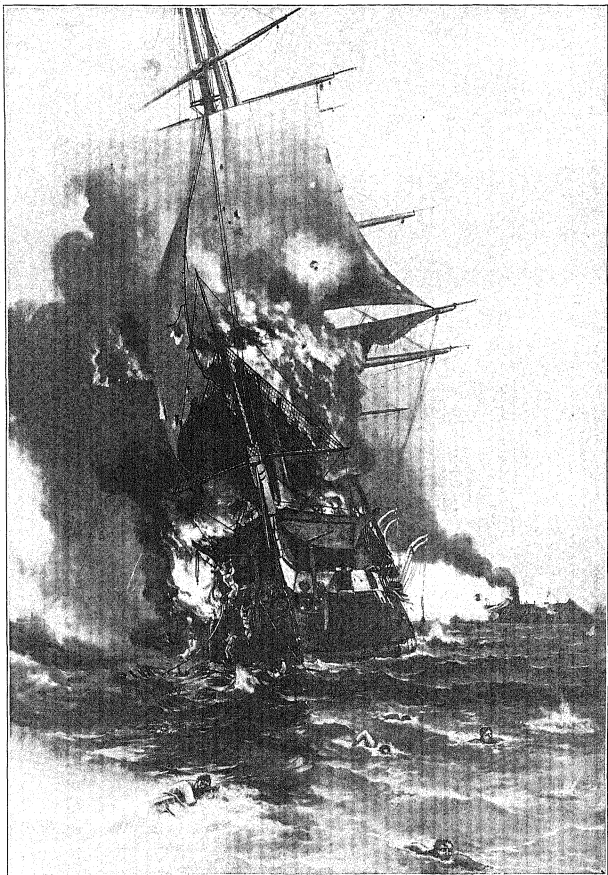
At a council of war held that night, Floyd, who was under indictment at Washington for malversation of government funds while in the cabinet, declared that he meant to escape. Pillow also stated his intention to follow suit; and Gen. Simon B. Buckner, upon whom the command thereupon fell, expressed his determination of surrendering on the following day. Floyd and Pillow, with a small portion of the troops, made good their escape. Buckner's attempt to obtain conditions from Grant the next day were terminated by Grant's famous "unconditional surrender" reply. The fort and 11,500 men were therefore surrendered. Grant had lost in all three thousand men; the Confederate casualties were not nearly so great.

"The capture of Fort Donelson," says Ropes,^k "was not a great affair, judged by the number of the slain, but judged by its moral and strategical results it was one of the turning points of the war. The whole system of the Confederate defence in the West had been broken up." Bowling Green and Columbus were at once abandoned, and Johnston was compelled to construct a completely new line of defence.

ISLAND NUMBER 10 AND PEA RIDGE

After the fall of Fort Donelson the Confederates still maintained strongly entrenched positions at New Madrid and Island Number 10 on the Mississippi; and against these, as a preliminary to opening up the latter river, early in March, 1862, Gen. John Pope was sent with a force of some twenty thousand men. The Mississippi here makes a double loop, New Madrid lying at the bottom of the northern, and Island Number 10 at the bottom of the southern, loop. New Madrid was first made untenable by cutting it off from its source of supply, and it capitulated on March 17th. The capture of Island Number 10 was more difficult, although in this undertaking Pope had the support of Flag-Officer Foote and his gun-boat flotilla. Finally, with much labour, a canal twelve miles long was cut across the isthmus made by the bend in the river, transports were floated through from which troops were landed below the island, and on April 7th a combined land and water attack was followed by the surrender of the island with its valuable stores. The chief result of these successes was the opening of the Mississippi as far as Memphis.

While the operations against Island Number 10 were in progress an



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THE BURNING OF THE *CONGRESS* IN HAMPTON ROADS

(From the painting by J. O. Davidson)

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important victory was won for the Union arms west of the Mississippi by Gen. S. R. Curtis, who had succeeded to the command in Missouri and had slowly driven Van Dorn out of the state into Arkansas. There at Pea Ridge, in the mountains of the northwestern part of the state, Curtis, with a force of eleven thousand was met by a motley Confederate force of twenty thousand. A two days' conflict ensued (March 7th-8th). At the end of the first day's fighting the outlook was favourable to a Confederate victory, but Van Dorn's troops were not well organised, and a vigorous flank attack by General Sigel on the second day resulted in a decisive Federal victory. The result secured the possession of Missouri to the Union cause, and practically cleared it of Confederate troops for the remainder of the war.

THE "MONITOR" AND THE "MERRIMAC"

At Hampton Roads, on Sunday, March 9th, 1862, occurred the fight between the *Monitor* and the *Merrimac*. It was the first combat between ironclads and marked a new era in naval warfare. When the Gosport Navy Yard was abandoned by the Federal authorities in April, 1861, the frigate *Merrimac* had been partially burned and sunk. Subsequently the Confederates had raised her, converted her into an ironclad, and renamed her the *Virginia*. She was provided with a powerful battery, her decks, covered with sheets of iron, sloped down to the water line, and she was fitted with an iron ram. On the morning of March 8th the *Merrimac*, as she was still commonly known, steamed out from Norfolk into Hampton Roads, and attacked the Federal fleet. After a fierce but unavailing resistance on the part of the frigate *Congress* and the sloop-of-war *Cumberland*, both were destroyed. The broadsides of the Federal ships rattled against the *Merrimac's* iron sides, and rolled off harmlessly into the water.

On the next morning the *Merrimac* returned to the scene of her previous day's victories, intending to complete the destruction of the Federal fleet. Her achievements of the day before had created the greatest consternation at the North; and the press conjured up pictures of the invincible *Merrimac* exacting tribute from every seaport on the North Atlantic coast. It was not supposed that the Northern navy possessed a vessel that could cope with the destroyer.

But that very morning the little iron-clad *Monitor* had arrived from New York under the command of Lieutenant John L. Worden, and lay at anchor alongside the frigate *Minnesota*, which the *Merrimac* proposed to demolish. Ropes^k calls this opportune coming of the *Monitor* "the most dramatic of the many dramatic occurrences of the war." This little low-decked, turreted iron-clad which the Confederates contemptuously characterised as "a raft with a cheese-box on it," had been built at the Brooklyn navy yard after models of John Ericsson. It was a good deal in the way of an experiment, but the value of the experiment was soon proved. The *Merrimac* bore down upon her with the intention of ramming her, but the *Monitor* skilfully eluded the blow. For several hours the two vessels fought at close range, but neither was able to inflict any serious damage on the other. Commodore Buchanan and several of the *Merrimac's* gunners were wounded. Lieutenant Worden was the only man on board the *Monitor* to be seriously hurt. After he was wounded the *Monitor* withdrew for a few minutes, whereupon the *Merrimac* took advantage of the cessation of the firing to return to Norfolk. The fight itself was a draw, but the real advantage was with the *Monitor*, for the Federal fleet had been saved, the idea of the invincibility of the *Merrimac* shown to

be false. The latter was not again taken into action, and when Norfolk was abandoned a few months later she was burned by the Confederates.^a

THE BATTLE OF SHILOH

[General Grant, immediately after the fall of Donelson, prepared to ascend the Tennessee river and break the new Confederate line of defence along the Memphis and Charleston Railroad.] On arriving at Pittsburg Landing on the Tennessee river, some twenty miles from Corinth, he occupied a very strong position on the left bank, intending to hold it until the arrival of General Buell with his army from Nashville. After the junction of the two armies, amounting to more than seventy thousand men, it was intended to move in overwhelming force on Corinth. When Gen. Albert Sidney Johnston learned of Grant's presence at Pittsburg Landing with no more than forty thousand men, he decided to advance suddenly and surprise him, in the hope of winning a victory before Buell's arrival. Circumstances so delayed the operation that Buell's advance division had arrived at Savannah, only nine miles below Pittsburg Landing, on the evening before the attack was made. There has been much discussion as to whether Grant was really surprised on the Sunday morning, April 6th, 1862, when the Confederates charged upon his camp. It is perfectly clear that he was not aware of the presence of Johnston's force in his neighbourhood, and did not expect any attack to be made before the middle of the week. When the firing began on Sunday morning Grant was nine miles distant at Savannah. The division of Lew Wallace, seven thousand men, was at Crump's Landing, five miles below the scene of the battle. The position at Pittsburg Landing, where the principal command was exercised by generals McClelland and Sherman, was a strong one, protected on three sides by creeks, which were swollen with backwater from the great river. The open front towards the southwest, marked by a rude meeting-house known as Shiloh church, ought to have been protected by earthworks; this precaution, however, had been neglected. Johnston's plan was to attack by his right flank and cut off the Union army from Pittsburg Landing, which would involve its destruction or capture; but his attack was not correctly planned for that purpose. His force was not sufficiently massed upon his right, and his main blow was directed too near the Federal centre. The attack was conducted with magnificent gallantry, but the resistance of the Federal troops was very obstinate, and although their organisation was much impaired it was with great slowness that they were pushed back. About the middle of the forenoon the Union generals, Benjamin Prentiss, S. A. Hurlbut, and W. H. L. Wallace, secured a difficult position, since known as the Hornets' Nest, and maintained it until late in the afternoon despite all the efforts of the Confederates. Early in the afternoon, while assaulting this position, Johnston was killed, and the command devolved upon General Beauregard. [Here too fell W. H. L. Wallace. The Union forces were steadily driven back toward the Landing; in one of the movements General Prentiss and part of his command were cut off and captured. Nightfall alone brought a cessation of hostilities. At the end of the first day's fighting the victory was undoubtedly with the Confederates.] Lew Wallace's division had been greatly delayed in its march by imperfect information, and Nelson's division of Buell's army had been equally delayed by the detestable spring roads; but at nightfall both these divisions arrived upon the battlefield, adding fifteen thousand fresh men to the Union force; and so many steamboats had now been collected at Savannah that two more

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of Buell's divisions were comfortably brought up the river during the night. It was evident that Beauregard's battle on Monday was fought, not so much in the hope of victory as in order to secure an unmolested retreat. This he accomplished. In the afternoon he withdrew his army with much skill, leaving the Federals too weary to pursue. In this great battle more than twenty thousand men were killed and wounded, and the Federals lost besides three thousand prisoners. It was an important victory for the Federals, inasmuch as it decided the fate of Corinth; but those who blamed Grant for the surprise were perhaps quite as many as those who praised him for the victory.^m

Ropes,^k probably the most brilliant military historian of the war, in criticising Grant's movements after the battle, says: "There was no reason why Grant should not promptly and unremittingly have followed up his beaten antagonist. It was a case where the enemy were in full retreat, and that too, after having lost very heavily in one battle, and been defeated in the second. But Grant did not act at all. He utterly failed to seize the opportunity. And no better opportunity than this was ever presented to a Federal general during the war."^a

FARRAGUT AT NEW ORLEANS (1862)¹

The blockade at New Orleans had been peculiarly difficult to keep intact, and several privateers, as well as many merchantmen, had been able to break through. Among these the ram *Manassas* steamed down the river, and made a sudden diversion among the blockading squadron; but it was of short duration, and quite without result. Towards the close of the year Ship Island, near New Orleans, had been occupied by Union troops. General Benjamin F. Butler had charge of this department, but had brought nothing to a head. Admiral David G. Farragut, with David D. Porter second in command, reached the place in the early spring of 1862 to see what could be done. The capture of New Orleans would not only exert a very depressing effect upon the Confederates, but the city would also serve as a base for operations up the Mississippi, in connection with those already moving down.

The approaches to New Orleans by the main channel were held by two strong works, forts Jackson and St. Philip, and the river was patrolled by a flotilla. Farragut moored his mortar-boats below the forts, back of a bend in the river, and for six days bombarded Fort Jackson; but, impatient to secure the city, he determined to try the experiment of running his fleet past the forts, and thus to isolate them. This was a feat never before attempted and of questionable result. But, to the utter astonishment of the Confederates, it was successfully accomplished, and the next day Farragut took possession of New Orleans, evacuated by General Mansfield Lovell on his approach (April 25th).

Porter shortly afterwards received the surrender of the forts—it is claimed on account of a mutiny of the garrison of Fort Jackson—and they were duly occupied. Butler then took possession of the city with his troops.

It must be said in praise of Butler that in provost-marshal work, such as he was called upon to perform in New Orleans, he showed remarkable capacity. The city was never healthier or in finer condition than under his régime. There was, however, just complaint against him in matters connected with

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trade; nor did he make the least attempt to mix suavity of method with strength of action in his government of the city.¹

THE PENINSULAR CAMPAIGN

After his defeat at Bull Run General McDowell, as we have seen, was superseded in the command of the Army of the Potomac by General George B. McClellan. McClellan, who was almost unsurpassed as a military organiser, spent the succeeding months to good advantage in constructing a real army out of the disorganised, untrained mass of volunteers he found at his disposal. On November 1st, 1861, General Winfield Scott, who had up to this time retained nominal command of the armies of the United States, was retired, and McClellan was made commander-in-chief.

Shortly before this (October 21st) the two opposing armies had unintentionally met in a fierce battle at Ball's Bluff on the Potomac above Washington, in which the Union forces were defeated with considerable loss, including their gallant commander, Colonel E. D. Baker, United States senator from Oregon. This engagement was the result of an isolated operation, however, and not of a forward movement. So also was the battle of Drainesville, a Union victory in December. Throughout the North now began a demand for an advance, but all through the winter McClellan's troops remained inactive in their quarters. It was not until well into March, 1862, that McClellan, his command now again restricted to the Army of the Potomac, began a movement which he had long had in mind. This was the transfer of his army of one hundred and twenty thousand men to Fortress Monroe on the peninsula formed by the James and York rivers, which was accomplished in the three weeks beginning March 17th. From Fortress Monroe McClellan advanced toward Richmond, his objective point, as far as Yorktown, where he found his way blocked by a Confederate army of eleven thousand under General Magruder. At this moment McClellan learned that President Lincoln had detached McDowell's corps from his army and detained it to ensure the defence of Washington. This action of the president McClellan always declared to be responsible for his subsequent failure.

Without attempting to carry the works by assault—a step which a more energetic general would at least have tried—McClellan settled down to a siege, wasted a month erecting elaborate intrenchments and batteries, only to find when he was at last ready to open fire (May 3rd) that Magruder had slipped away toward Richmond. A pursuit was at once ordered, and at Williamsburg Longstreet was found awaiting them (May 5th). A spirited assault was successfully resisted during the day, with a loss of some 2,200 to the Union forces and 600 to the Confederates. The Confederates withdrew under cover of night, and McClellan leisurely continued his advance up the Peninsula, arriving at the Chickahominy May 21st.

It was during this interval that events occurred in the Shenandoah Valley that for a time placed McClellan's peninsular operations in jeopardy. Two small armies had been left in that locality under Banks and Fremont respectively. It had been planned to have these two forces join to crush the Confederate forces of "Stonewall" Jackson, by whom they were opposed. But this brilliant strategist, whose force had been increased to twenty thousand, completely frustrated their designs, and by a brilliant manœuvre defeated Banks at Winchester on May 25th and advanced so close to Washington as to fill that city with consternation. McDowell was then sent to drive him

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away, but again evading a conflict, Jackson proceeded south and joined the main Confederate army near Richmond.

Before Jackson had effected this junction, however, McClellan had fought and won a bloody two days' battle at Fair Oaks (May 31st-June 1st). This conflict had been precipitated by Johnston, who had taken advantage of a mistake of McClellan in dividing his army, and had fallen upon the two corps of Heintzelman and Keyes which had crossed the Chickahominy. These two generals resisted stubbornly against heavy odds and superior numbers, but were slowly pressed back. Defeat seemed certain when General E. V. Sumner, who with his corps had crossed the swollen Chickahominy on bridges of his own construction, arrived on the scene of battle at the critical moment. Sumner's spirited attack threw Johnston's forces into confusion, the latter commander himself being seriously wounded. The battle was renewed the next morning, but the Confederates soon gave up the fight and withdrew from the field. The losses were heavy, aggregating five thousand for the Union and six thousand for the Confederate forces. McClellan made no attempt to follow up this victory — having an apparently good excuse in his inability to transfer the rest of his army across the river. The battle, therefore, though one of the bloodiest thus far fought, was really only important in the improvement it effected in the *morale* of the Federal army. McClellan again took up his careful advance on the Confederate capital, and by June 25th he had reached a point only four miles from Richmond, the church spires of which could be seen in the distance.

THE SEVEN DAYS' BATTLE BEFORE RICHMOND

General Johnston's wound at Fair Oaks incapacitated him from continuing as commander of the Army of Northern Virginia, and he was therefore succeeded by Gen. Robert E. Lee. The change was a happy one, for it gave to this brilliant soldier the opportunity to prove the remarkable powers as a strategist and organiser which have placed him in the front rank of generals of all ages. During the month following Fair Oaks, while McClellan remained inactive within sight of Richmond, Lee made every effort to strengthen his defence, and succeeded in gathering together an army of some ninety thousand. At last, toward the end of June, McClellan was ready to move forward with his hundred thousand men. The first fight — the first of the seven days' battles — was fought at Mechanicsville, June 26th, 1862, where Lee's forces, being divided, suffered a sharp defeat. On the following day took place the much fiercer battle of Gaines' Mill. In this engagement Fitz-John Porter, commanding McClellan's right, consisting of some thirty thousand troops, sustained for hours a furious attack of almost twice as many Confederates, retiring across the Chickahominy at nightfall after each side had lost upward of seven thousand, almost three thousand of Porter's casualties consisting, however, of captured. Although Lee retained possession of the field, his losses were out of all proportion to the value of his success.

At this juncture McClellan might have easily swung his main army around upon Richmond had he not been misled into believing Lee's forces twice their actual strength. But he had other plans, and by the morning of the 28th his army was under way to take up a new base to the left on the James river.

McClellan had cleverly deceived both Lee and Jackson, who had expected him to retire the way he had come and had made their preparations accordingly. By the 29th Lee realised his mistake and made haste to attack the

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retreating Federal army, but was twice repulsed by their rear-guard at Savage's Station and Allen's Farm. On June 30th the Confederates made a more general attack all along the line at Glendale or Frazier's Farm, but were again checked with great loss. That night McClellan concentrated his entire force on Malvern Hill, where on the next day the last and most severe of the seven days' battle was fought. The battle lasted all day, but the determined Confederate assaults were all successfully resisted. The result was a complete Union victory, the loss to their forces aggregating some 1,600 in killed and wounded, while the Confederate loss was over 5,000. The seven days' fighting had resulted in a loss of 15,849 killed, wounded, and missing to the Army of the Potomac, and 20,135 to the Army of Northern Virginia. "Nevertheless," says Ropes,^k "the moral and political effect of the whole series of movements and battles was entirely to the advantage of the Confederates. Facts are stubborn things; and there was no denying that McClellan had been forced to give up his position on the Chickahominy, where he was within sight of the steeples of Richmond, and to retire, followed — pursued, in fact — by his enemies to the river James, to a point twenty or thirty miles from the Confederate capital. The abrupt change of the part played by the Federal general from the rôle of the invader to that of the retreating and pursued enemy was too dramatic not to arrest general attention."

POPE'S VIRGINIA CAMPAIGN (1862)

In the last days of June, 1862, while McClellan was still struggling on the peninsula, the commands of McDowell, Banks, and Frémont were consolidated under the name of the Army of Virginia and placed under the command of General John Pope, who had won prominence by his victory at Island Number 10. On July 11th, General Halleck was called to Washington and made commander-in-chief of all the land forces of the United States.

Pope early in August prepared to make an aggressive campaign into Virginia, his army having now been reinforced by part of McClellan's force. Lee, meanwhile, relieved of immediate fear of McClellan, had despatched "Stonewall" Jackson again to the North to face Pope. The first encounter between the hostile forces took place at Cedar Mountain, where Jackson repulsed a furious attack made by half as large a force under Banks (August 9th). By August 25th McClellan's army had left the peninsula and Porter's and Heintzelman's corps were now acting with Pope. Lee also had moved northward with most of his army to support Jackson, and thenceforth Pope was on the defensive. Meanwhile skirmishes and small engagements were taking place daily. J. E. B. Stuart in one of his daring raids completely circled the Union army, and Jackson captured the Union stores at Manassas. On August 29th took place the sanguinary battle of Groveton. General Hooker under Pope's orders made the first attack on Jackson, not aware of the fact that he had already been strongly reinforced by Longstreet. Porter, whom Pope had ordered to turn Jackson's flank, was prevented from such a movement by the necessity of holding Longstreet in check. Fighting was resumed next morning (August 30th), and from the fact that the second day's battle took place on exactly the same ground upon which McDowell was defeated in July, 1861, it has been called the second battle of Bull Run. Porter, McDowell, and Heintzelman advanced to the attack but were repulsed with great loss, and a counter attack of Longstreet gradually forced Pope's army back upon Centreville. On September 1st, the third day of continuous fighting, Pope withdrew toward Washington, fighting en route

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the bloody battle of Chantilly, in which the gallant General Kearney lost his life. The losses of the Confederates aggregated nine thousand; of the Federals about fourteen thousand, half of whom, however, were prisoners. Ropes^k says, in summing up Pope's failure, that on the morning of August 30th it was entirely within his power to take a strong position and hold it against any assault Lee could have made. "He made, however," he continues, "the fatal mistake of utterly misconceiving the situation; and, neglecting all precautions, he ordered an attack. Pope (on the 30th) was badly beaten; still he was not forced from the field. But his retreat on that day changed the whole aspect of affairs and stamped the whole campaign as a failure. It was a confession of his inability to meet his antagonist, and it lost him the remaining confidence of his soldiers."

ANTIETAM

Pope resigned his command as soon as he reached Washington, the short-lived Army of Virginia went out of existence, and to McClellan was assigned the task of reorganising his own and Pope's forces into the Army of the Potomac. In a week the disorganised and disheartened troops had been moulded by the hand of the master organiser into a new and effective army. Lee, after his defeat of Pope, had at once started on an invasion of Maryland, and McClellan now set out up the north bank of the Potomac to head him off. On September 14th the forces of Franklin, Burnside, and Reno won two decisive actions, known as the battle of South Mountain. General Reno was among the Federal killed. On the following day, however, a Confederate force under Jackson and McLaws captured a Federal force of twelve thousand at Harper's Ferry without any serious attempt being made to defend the place.

Lee's main army meanwhile had taken up a strong position at Sharpsburg, on the south bank of Antietam Creek, a stream emptying into the Potomac above Harper's Ferry. Here McClellan came up with him, and on this field on September 17th was fought the battle of Antietam. Lee's force was not as large as McClellan's, but by the disposition of his troops and his mode of attacking in succession instead of *en masse* he managed to meet the Federal force at almost every point of contact with an equal force of his own. Hooker opened the battle by a sharp attack on Lee's left on the night of the 16th, renewing it on the next morning; but his assault was stopped by Jackson at the little Dunker church. All day long the tide of battle ebbed and flowed about this point. On the left Burnside's slow attack, not undertaken until afternoon, was undecided. At night the two armies, depleted and exhausted by one of the hardest day's fighting in all the war, ceased the conflict as if by mutual consent. The next day Lee withdrew his troops from what Dodge^l characterises as for Lee a tactically drawn battle but a strategic defeat, for it marked the end of his first attempt at an invasion of the North. The losses on each side approximated twelve thousand, which points to it as the bloodiest battle thus far fought in the war except Shiloh. Ropes^k says that "it is likely that more men were killed and wounded on the 17th of September than on any single day in the whole war." "The battle," says this same historian, "was in every light most creditable to General Lee and his army, and of General Lee's personal management of the battle nothing but praise can be uttered."

Had McClellan known that Lee was practically out of ammunition and that his force had been depleted by almost one-half through battle and strag-

gling, he would probably have followed up and crushed him. But he was again held back by his absurd and unreasonable fear of the strength of his adversary. It was five weeks before he crossed the Potomac, in response to the urgent commands of President Lincoln and General Halleck, and moved into Virginia. He had proceeded as far as Warrenton, when, on November 7th, 1862, he was without warning removed from his command and superseded by General Burnside.

THE CAMPAIGN OF 1862 IN KENTUCKY AND TENNESSEE

After Shiloh, Halleck moved the Union lines forward to Corinth, which was abandoned by the Confederates. The army of the Ohio under General Buell now became the centre of interest. Early in the summer of 1862 Buell advanced toward Chattanooga, but he was forestalled by the energetic Confederate general, Braxton Bragg. Later in the summer Bragg moved northward toward Louisville, meanwhile sending his lieutenant, General Kirby Smith, to take Lexington and threaten Cincinnati. Buell reached Louisville before Bragg and marched forth to meet him with a nearly equal force. Bragg retreated but Buell overtook him at Perryville (October 8th, 1862), where a severe battle was fought, Buell sustaining a loss of almost 4,000 and Bragg a thousand less. Bragg, however, continued his retreat that night, and owing to Buell's dilatory tactics made good his escape into Tennessee. Complaints against Buell resulted soon after in his being replaced by General W. S. Rosecrans. Elson² points out an interesting parallel between Bragg's invasion of Kentucky and Lee's invasion of Maryland. "Both ended in failure," he says. "In each case the Confederate commander withdrew after the battle at night and abandoned the expedition. The parallel is notable also between McClellan and Buell. Both were good disciplinarians, but lacking in the fire and dash necessary to an offensive campaign. Both were successful without a great victory in driving the Confederates from border-state soil."

During the same period covered by this campaign General Rosecrans was winning at Iuka and Corinth the laurels that pointed to him as Buell's successor. In the battle of Iuka (September 19th), Rosecrans had administered a sharp defeat to Sterling Price. Two weeks later at Corinth he was in turn attacked by Price and Van Dorn (October 3rd and 4th), but won a brilliant victory, losing only 2,500 men to the Confederates' 4,200.

After taking command of the Army of the Ohio, now renamed the Army of the Cumberland, Rosecrans remained for some weeks quietly in Nashville. On the day after Christmas, 1862, he moved his army of forty-seven thousand men in three divisions, under Thomas, McCook, and Crittenden, toward Bragg's headquarters at Murfreesboro, Tennessee, forty miles distant. The armies met on the last day of the year on the banks of Stone river. The fierce onset of General Hardee turned the Union right under McCook, but the stand of Thomas and the heroic efforts of Rosecrans saved the day and the first day's battle was a drawn one. On the first day of the new year the armies rested preparing for a renewal of the conflict on the next. The battle of January 2nd was hotly contested and resulted in a victory for the Union arms. Rosecrans had lost thirteen thousand men to Bragg's ten thousand, but the latter's immediate withdrawal from Murfreesboro with his crippled army opened the way for the Union advance to Chattanooga the following summer.

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EMANCIPATION

For the first year and a half of the war President Lincoln had adhered strictly to his original intention of keeping the character of the struggle a war for the preservation of the Union. He realised that the mass of the Northern people would at first have held back from an abolition war. As Woodrow Wilson^b says, had the war been short and immediately decisive for the Union, the Federal power would not have touched slavery in the states. But the war had dragged on, it showed no signs of ending, and despite his natural disinclination to take any steps toward abolition the president had to acknowledge that the current of events was tending in that direction.

Indeed many steps had already been taken toward emancipation. As early as May, 1861, Gen. B. F. Butler at Fortress Monroe had refused to return slaves to their owners, declaring them to be "contraband of war," a phrase which came thenceforth to be jocularly applied to all fugitive slaves. Then (August, 1861) came the first of congress' confiscation acts, which applied to slaves, and General Frémont's disallowed order already mentioned. A similar order of Gen. David Hunter in South Carolina was overruled in 1862. On April 16th, congress abolished slavery in the District of Columbia, with compensation. In June, 1862, it passed a law prohibiting slavery in all territories of the United States, which then existed or in the future should be acquired.

To the same congress the president addressed a special message urging the co-operation of that body with the authorities of any border state for the gradual emancipation of its slaves with compensation. The second confiscation act, passed July 17th, 1862, pronounced free all slaves who should seek the protection of the government, if their owners had been directly or indirectly concerned in the rebellion. On July 22nd President Lincoln, to the surprise of most of his cabinet, read them the draft of a proclamation of emancipation which he proposed should take effect on January 1st, 1863.

At Seward's advice the president decided not to issue the proclamation until after some signal Union victory in the field. Meanwhile the more radical republicans continued to denounce the president's inaction. Horace Greeley's famous open letter to the president, "The Prayer of Twenty Millions," appeared in the New York *Tribune*, and brought forth a reply from Lincoln to the effect that he personally desired emancipation, but that his first duty as president was to save the Union with or without emancipation.

By September Lincoln had fully determined that it would serve to stimulate the North if the war were made a war against slavery as well as for the preservation of the Union; and that thereby the dread of foreign intervention would be practically eliminated and the South be placed irrevocably in the wrong in the eyes of the civilised world.

Then came Antietam, and on September 22nd he issued a preliminary proclamation giving notice that unless the Southern states returned to their allegiance to the Union within a hundred days thereafter he should proclaim the slaves within their borders free. This warning he carried out in his formal Proclamation of Emancipation, January 1st, 1863. Questions as to the constitutionality of the measure must be answered by the simple statement that it was a war measure. There was no actual constitutional or statutory warrant or authority for the edict. Lincoln's own explanation was that "measures otherwise unlawful might become lawful by becoming indispensable to the preservation of the constitution through the preservation of the nation. Right or wrong, I assumed this ground."

FREDERICKSBURG AND CHANCELLORSVILLE

General Ambrose E. Burnside had been one of McClellan's staunchest friends, and had been besides a loyal supporter of the administration. Twice he had refused the offer of the command, declaring himself to be incompetent for such authority. Powerful influences were brought to bear upon him. Washington, his friends told him, had asserted a similar disbelief in his own abilities. "It was left, however," says a recent writer (Elsonⁿ), "for Burnside to do what Washington never did—to prove his assertion to be true." Though well liked by rank and file, Burnside suffered from the first by not having the fullest confidence of his corps commanders. Realising this, he made the mistake of not seeking their advice to the extent he should have done.

The two armies lay facing one another south of the Potomac, scarcely thirty miles apart. The Union army, 120,000 strong, was encamped about Warrenton. Dividing his forces into three grand divisions commanded respectively by generals Sumner, Franklin, and Hooker, Burnside abandoned McClellan's carefully prepared plan of campaign and advanced at once against Lee, who had concentrated his army of eighty thousand veteran troops on the heights of Fredericksburg on the lower Rappahannock.

Before Burnside was prepared to attack, Lee had so strongly fortified Marye's Heights, naturally a well nigh impregnable position, as to render the success of an attack from the front almost impossible. Yet against this position Burnside hurled his army on December 13th, 1862. But the force of his attack was weakened by lack of concert between his wings under Sumner and Franklin. These officers and their troops did all that mortal men could do. Again and again, in spite of the most terrible losses, they tried to carry the Confederate position. At nightfall the Union forces were drawn together into Fredericksburg and thence transported across the river. The loss to Burnside's army was over twelve thousand; Lee lost less than half as many. "No other such useless slaughter," says Dodge,^l "with the exception perhaps of Cold Harbor, occurred during the war."

Burnside in desperation declared that he would lead the assault in person the next day, but his officers prevailed upon him to withdraw. Lee, who, had he known the extent of the Union losses, might have followed up his repulse by a successful offensive campaign, let the opportunity slip.

As for the Army of the Potomac, it had never been so demoralised. It needed a new commander who could hold the confidence of his officers and men, which Burnside had utterly forfeited. Late in January the command was entrusted to General Joseph Hooker, who at once set at work to reorganise the army. By the end of April he was ready to act.^a

General Hooker initiated the Chancellorsville campaign by a cavalry raid on Lee's communications intended to move about his left and far to his rear; but sheer blundering robbed this diversion of any good results. He followed up this raid by a feint under Sedgwick below Fredericksburg, while he himself so cleverly stole a march on Lee by the upper Rappahannock that within four days he had massed forty thousand men on the enemy's left flank at Chancellorsville before the latter had begun to divine his purpose.

But there Hooker paused. Indecision seized his mind. He frittered away a precious day, and when he finally advanced on Lee the latter had recovered himself and was prepared to meet him. After barely feeling his adversary, "Fighting Joe" retired into the Wilderness to invite attack, while Lee, with half his force but thrice his nerve, sharply followed him up. The

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terrain to which the Army of the Potomac had been thus withdrawn was well named. It was one vast entanglement of second growth timber and chaparral, to the last degree unfitted for the manœuvres of an army.

With his wonted rashness, but relying on his adversary's vacillation, Lee divided his army and sent Jackson around Hooker's right to take him in reverse and cut him off from United States Ford, while his own constant feints on the centre should cover the move. Meanwhile Hooker weakened his right by blind demonstrations in his front, and enabled Jackson to complete his manœuvre and to crush at a blow the 11th corps (O. O. Howard's) which held that flank and to throw the army into utter confusion. In this moment of his greatest triumph "Stonewall" Jackson fell at the hands of his own men.

On the morrow, with "Jackson" for a watchword, by dint of massed blows upon Hooker's lines where but one man in three was put under fire, Lee fairly drove the Union army into a corner, from whence its dazed commander, with eighty thousand men, cried aloud for succour to Sedgwick's one corps fifteen miles away, still fronting the defences at Fredericksburg. Under quite impossible orders this gallant soldier captured Marye's Heights, where Burnside had lost thirteen thousand men, and advanced towards his chief. But Lee, trusting to Hooker's panic to keep him bottled up, turned upon Sedgwick, drove him across the river after an all-day's fight, and again confronted Hooker, who, dizzy and nerveless, sought safety in retreat to his old camps.

This ten days' passage at arms was glorious to the Confederate soldier's valour and to his leader's skill, while the Federals lost all save honour. With an effective only half as great, Lee had actually outnumbered Hooker whenever he had struck him. While a fraction of the Union forces were being decimated, the rest were held by Hooker in the leash at places where they were uselessly fretting to join their brothers in the fray.^m

THE BATTLE OF GETTYSBURG¹

With one voice the South, inspired by the successes of Fredericksburg and Chancellorsville, demanded an invasion of the North. In response to this demand, Lee, early in June, 1863, crossed the Potomac and concentrated his army at Hagerstown, Maryland, in preparation for an invasion of Pennsylvania, leaving Hill and Stuart with a considerable force to divert Hooker. Hooker, however, evaded them, and started in pursuit of Lee. Hooker's late movements had shown faultless strategy and indomitable energy, but neither Lincoln nor Halleck, remembering Chancellorsville, could have entire confidence in him. Finally, resenting their interference, he sent in his resignation, which was at once accepted.^a

Few words sum up Hooker's military stand. As a corps commander, or with orders to obey, unless jealousy warped his powers, he was unsurpassed in bravery, devotion and skill. For the burden of supreme command he had neither mental calibre nor equipoise. Self-sufficiency stood in lieu of self-reliance.

Into Hooker's place quietly stepped business-like Meade, and unhampered by Halleck, whose favourite he was, continued to follow up the invaders. Ewell was at York, and Carlisle might cross the Susquehanna and capture the capital of the state. Meade therefore moved northward from Fred-

[¹ Reprinted from Theodore A. Dodge's *Bird's-Eye View of the Civil War*, by permission of Houghton, Mifflin, and Company. Copyright, 1897, by Theodore A. Dodge.]

ericksburg, intent upon loosening Lee's grip on that river. This he effected, and Longstreet and Hill were ordered, not towards Harrisburg, but through the South Mountain passes; for Lee, as soon as he knew of Meade's direction, became fearful for his communications. And he was moreover troubled by the naked defence of Richmond, which prize could have been secured by a vigorous attack by General Dix from Fort Monroe with more ease than at any time during the war had the attempt been made. Lee, therefore, determined to draw back and make a diversion east of the South Mountain range to engage Meade's attention. Lee's plan of invasion had been thwarted; but his army must be defeated.

Having divined the purpose of his adversary, Meade selected the general line of Pipe Creek for his defence, and threw his left wing, preceded by cavalry, forward to Gettysburg as a mask. Lee also aimed to secure this point, for it controlled the roads towards the Potomac. The 1st and 11th corps met the van of Lee's army under A. P. Hill, on the north of the now historic town. A severe engagement ensued, in which doughty General Reynolds lost his life, and the Federals, after Ewell came upon the field, were driven back through the town with heavy loss, but unpursued. Hill and Ewell waited for Longstreet. This check to the enemy's advance led to results worth all the sacrifice.

Few conflicts of modern times have become so familiar, in art and story, as the battle of Gettysburg. Only its chief features need be recalled. South of the quiet little town, covering the road to Baltimore, lies a chain of hillocks and bluffs shaped like a fish-hook. At the barb rises Culp's Hill, along the back what is known as Cemetery Hill, and the shank, running north and south, is formed by a hilly slope terminating in a rocky, wooded peak, called Round Top, having Little Round Top as a spur. On this eligible ground the retreating Unionists were rallied and speedily reinforced, while Meade, at Hancock's suggestion, brought the army forward from Pipe Creek to secure it.

Meanwhile Lee cautiously advanced his own troops, and forgetting that he had promised his corps commanders that he would not in this campaign assume a tactical offensive, resolved to give battle. Longstreet's preference was to seize the Emmetsburg road beyond the Union left, and manœuvre Meade out of his position by compromising his communications with Washington. But there lurked in the healthy body of the Army of Northern Virginia a poisonous contempt of its adversary. This was the natural outcome of Manassas, Fredericksburg, and Chancellorsville. Lee was morally unable to decline battle. He could not imperil the high-strung confidence of his men.

As the second day dawned he must, however, have watched with throbbing anxiety the Federal line rapidly throwing up defences on just such a formidable crest as he himself had held at Marye's Heights. For Lee gauged better than his men the fighting qualities of his foe.

His general line lay along Seminary Ridge, parallel to Cemetery Hill, and about a mile distant, with his left thrown round and through the town to a point opposite Culp's, in order, Longstreet, Hill, Ewell. He was thus formed in concave order of battle, the Army of the Potomac having been thrown by the lay of the land into substantially the convex order.

By noon Lee had perfected his plans, and Longstreet opened an attack on a weak salient thrown out by Sickles from the general line of the Union left towards the Emmetsburg road. The possession of Round Top would take the Federal line in reverse, and Sickles' position, an outward angle, could

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be enfiladed in both directions, and if lost would seriously compromise this point. Longstreet was not slow to clutch at the advantage thus offered. But the foresight of Warren, after a desperate struggle, secured Round Top; and though Longstreet wrested from Sickles his salient, he secured only an apparent benefit not commensurate with his loss.

On the Union extreme right, Ewell had meanwhile gained a foothold on Culp's Hill, and, as night fell, Lee was justified in feeling that the morrow would enable him to carry the entire ridge. For he believed that he had effected a breach in both flanks of the Army of the Potomac. Indeed at the close of the second day the gravity of the situation induced Meade to call a council of his corps commanders. It was determined to abide the result at that spot. Officers and men were in good spirits and equal to any work.

Lee was tactically in error as to Longstreet's supposed success on the left. It had in reality rectified Sickles' position. The real line of the Federal army was undisturbed. And Meade at daylight attacked Ewell in force, and after a hard tussle wrenched from him the ground commanding Culp's. Thus Lee had failed to effect a permanent lodgment on either Federal flank, and Meade had thrown up strong field works to defend them. There was no resource for him but to break the Federal centre.

He accordingly massed nearly one hundred and fifty guns along Seminary Ridge, and at one o'clock p. m. opened fire. Owing to the limited space for the batteries, barely eighty guns from the Federal side could answer this spirited challenge. For two hours lasted the fiery duel, when Lee launched Pickett, "the Ney of the rebel army," with a column of thirteen thousand men, to drive a wedge into the centre of the Union line. A column charged with so desperate a duty — the forlornest of forlorn hopes — should contain none but picked troops. Pettigrew's division in the assaulting column was unable to hold its own. And though Pickett's Virginians actually ruptured Hancock's line and a few of the men penetrated some fifty yards beyond, he met an array in front and flank which rolled him back with fearful loss. Lee's last chance of success was wrecked.

The instinct of a great commander might have seized this moment for an advance in force upon the broken enemy. But Meade cautiously held what he had already won, rather than gain more at greater risk. Beaten, but not dismayed, Lee spent all the morrow and until after daylight next day preparing for retreat, and yet in a mood to invite attack. And he would have met it stoutly. But Meade was content. He would adventure nothing. He had won the credit of defeating his enemy; he lost the chance of destroying him. He may be justified in this, but not in failing to follow up Lee's deliberate retreat with greater vigour. It must however be admitted that in almost all campaigns, a similar criticism may be passed — after the event. There is always a term to the endurance and activity of armies and their commanders.

In this most stubborn battle of modern days the Federal army lost 23,000 out of 93,000 engaged; the Confederates 22,500 out of 80,000 men, besides 5,400 prisoners. The loss in killed and wounded, twenty-two and a half per cent., is unexampled in so large a force. Lee retreated by way of Williamsport, undisturbed save at a distance, and after some days was followed across the Potomac by Meade.¹ The Confederate main line of defence was now re-established to the south of the Potomac in the region of the Wilderness, with centres at Chancellorsville and Fredericksburg. Men and officers alike were forced to the conclusion that invasions of the North were not, on the whole, the best sort of operations in which to engage.^a

THE VICKSBURG CAMPAIGN

In the midsummer of 1862 Halleck was appointed general-in-chief of the armies of the United States, and in that capacity transferred his headquarters to Washington, leaving Grant in command at Corinth. His force had been so depleted by Halleck's scattered operations that the Confederates now made an attempt to drive him down the Tennessee river. The result was, as we have seen, the battles of Iuka and Corinth early in October, 1862. It was the prelude to Grant's first movement against Vicksburg. That city had been fortified and guarded by the Confederates in such wise that it was deemed impregnable, and it might well have been thought so. The place is situated on a steep and lofty bluff at the junction of the Yazoo river with the Mississippi.

The latter flows in a serpentine course through a low flat basin about forty miles in width. It is perpetually changing its course, and the land on either side is intersected in all directions by sluggish streams and stagnant lakes, the remnants of its abandoned channels. In such a country operations with an army are impossible. At long intervals, however, the river flows entirely on one side of its basin and washes the foot of the steep hills by which it is bounded. Wherever such a cliff occurred, as at Columbus, Memphis, and other points, it was defended by the Confederates, and when they lost it they lost the river down to the next similar point. Now the combination of circumstances at Vicksburg was peculiar. Its position was too lofty to be taken by the fleet unaided, but the only direction from which it could be safely approached by an army was from the rear, that is to say, from the east; and the correct line of approach was that of the Mississippi Central Railway with Memphis for the Federal base of supplies. For an army coming up or down the Mississippi the problem was almost insoluble. It was impossible to get in the rear of the city by landing to the north of it, for the approaches were there guarded by batteries on Haines Bluff which could shoot down any assailing column faster than it could advance. On the other hand, an army landing to the south of Vicksburg incurred the risk of starvation, since the guns of Vicksburg prevented supplies from passing down stream, while the guns of Port Hudson two hundred miles below equally prevented them from passing up. Grant's first movement against Vicksburg [in the autumn of 1862] was the correct one, along the Mississippi Central Railway; but because of his deficiency in cavalry, his line of communications was cut and he was obliged to retreat upon Corinth. Meanwhile [December, 1862] a separate expedition under General Sherman had been sent down the Mississippi river. It landed at Chickasaw Bayou, and attempted to storm the works at Haines Bluff in order to gain a foothold to the north of Vicksburg. This enterprise met with a bloody repulse. [McClernand who succeeded Sherman made an expedition up the Arkansas River but was called back by Grant who complained that the main object of the campaign was being overlooked.] A period of intrigue succeeded, the result of which was that Grant felt obliged to abandon his first plan and take his whole army down the river to Vicksburg. After arriving on the west bank of the Mississippi opposite the mighty stronghold, the problem before him was to get his army into its rear. Two fruitless months were spent in attempts to navigate the intricate and tortuous system of bayous in order either to land the army northwards without encountering the guns of Haines Bluff, or to carry supply-ships southwards by routes not commanded by the batteries of Vicksburg. Meanwhile Grant's popularity greatly declined, and President Lincoln was urged to remove him from command. But

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Lincoln's reply was, "I rather like the man; I guess we will try him a little longer." At this crisis Grant conceived a most daring scheme; and having heard it condemned by every one of his generals, he proceeded to try it on his own responsibility. On the 16th of April Porter's fleet was taken down the river below the city, sustaining slight damage from its batteries. Feints were made to the northward, while the body of the army was rapidly marched to Bruinsburg, about twenty-five miles below Vicksburg. A crossing was effected near that place, and the Confederates were defeated in an obstinate battle at Port Gibson. This obliged them to evacuate Grand Gulf (May 3rd, 1863), the strongest of the outposts to the southward. From Port Gibson Grant then proceeded to march northeasterly upon the city of Jackson, the capital of the state of Mississippi, intending to find and defeat General Joseph E. Johnston who was approaching to relieve Vicksburg. Grant's object was to throw himself between Johnston's army and that of Pemberton, the commander at Vicksburg, and to defeat them in detail. In order to do this it was necessary for him to keep his army concentrated, and he could not spare troops to guard his line of communications with the Mississippi river. He therefore cut loose from his base altogether and conducted this marvellous campaign upon such food as his men could carry in their knapsacks or seize in the course of their march. To avert certain ruin it was necessary that he should be victorious at every point; and he was. Having defeated Johnston in two battles, at Raymond (May 12th) and again at Jackson (May 14th), he instantly faced about to the west and marched against Pemberton who had come out to intercept his supposed line of communications. In a bloody battle at Champion Hill (May 16th) Pemberton was totally defeated, and his ruin was completed the next day at the Big Black river. Pemberton then retired into Vicksburg with the remnant of his force, while Sherman approached Haines Bluff in the rear and compelled the enemy to evacuate it. The supposed insoluble problem was now virtually at an end, for Grant's line of supplies from the northward was opened and made secure. Mindful of the possibility that Johnston might sufficiently recover strength to interrupt operations, Grant tried to carry Vicksburg by storm, and two assaults were made which were repulsed with great slaughter. He then resorted to siege operations, and by the third day of July the city was starved into submission. By this brilliant campaign Grant's reputation was at once raised to a very high pitch. He was made major-general in the regular army, and henceforth was allowed to have his own way in most things.^m

CHICKAMAUGA AND CHATTANOOGA

For six months after the battle of Stone River Rosecrans with the Army of the Cumberland lay quietly at Murfreesboro facing Bragg. No operations of any magnitude were attempted, though several cavalry raids were undertaken — that of Forrest and Wheeler against Fort Donelson, and of Morgan, the Confederate guerilla, into Kentucky, Indiana, and Ohio being the most noteworthy. Urged by both Halleck and Grant, Rosecrans late in June prepared to advance upon his enemy. In a brilliant series of manoeuvres Rosecrans outgeneralled his adversary and compelled him to change his base time and again. The occupation of Lookout Mountain and Missionary Ridge by generals George H. Thomas and McCook rendered Bragg's position at Chattanooga, whither he had retired, untenable. Finally in attempting to pursue Bragg through the difficult mountain passes to the south, the two armies came face to face at Chickamauga Creek. Bragg, who had meanwhile been

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reinforced by Longstreet with a part of the Army of Northern Virginia, had now about seventy thousand men to Rosecrans' sixty thousand. He began the battle (September 19th, 1863) by falling upon the Federal left under Thomas who managed to hold his position against overwhelming numbers throughout the day. The fight was renewed the next day. The removal of Wood's division from the Federal centre left a gap which Longstreet at once took advantage of. The Federal army was thus divided, its right being completely swept from the field. On the left, however, the redoubtable Thomas, now cut off from the main Union army, re-formed his lines, and though outnumbered two to one withstood again and again the furious attack of the whole Confederate army. Well did he earn his title to the name, "Rock of Chickamauga" which has been applied to him. "No more splendid spectacle appears in the annals of war," says Dodge,¹ the military historian, "than this heroic stand of Thomas in the midst of a routed army, and in the face of an enemy the power of whose blows is doubled by the exultation of victory." Thomas later withdrew in perfect order to Chattanooga where Rosecrans and his defeated corps had preceded him. Rosecrans had been badly worsted in battle, but the net result of the campaign was rather in his favour, and Thomas' staunch stand had so weakened Bragg that it was some time before he could take the offensive. The losses at Chickamauga were sixteen thousand for the Federal, and eighteen thousand for the Confederate army.^a

Rosecrans, as we have said, retired with his army into Chattanooga, but had not sufficient force to hold the crests of Lookout Mountain and Missionary Ridge, which were forthwith occupied by the Confederate army. This operation left the Union army without any good line of communications. The only route by which food could be brought was a long and difficult wagon road over a spur of the Cumberland Mountains known as Waldron's Ridge. Drenching rains set in, the mules died on the route and blocked up the way, and presently the Union army suffered for want of food. Indeed, something like a famine set in, and nearly all the horses perished for want of forage. At this crisis Grant was appointed to command all the armies west of the Alleghanies, increased by the transfer of two corps from the Army of the Potomac to that of the Cumberland. His first proceedings were to supersede Rosecrans by Thomas, and to order up Sherman from Vicksburg. By a beautiful series of operations an excellent line of communication was opened by General William Farrar Smith, and the sufferings at Chattanooga were relieved. On the arrival of Sherman's force it was moved by a circuitous and secret route to the north end of Missionary Ridge near Chickamauga station on the Dalton Railway, by which Bragg received his supplies. At this time Longstreet, who, as we have seen, had taken part in the battle at Chickamauga, was engaged in a subsidiary operation. He had been imprudently sent away by Bragg to lay siege to Knoxville, and his line of communications was also the railway from Dalton. Bragg's left wing occupied the summit of Lookout Mountain, while his centre and right stretched along the crest of Missionary Ridge for a space of five or six miles. Under these conditions Grant's plan of battle was simple. His reinforcements from Virginia, commanded by General Joseph Hooker, were in Lookout Valley. He proposed to make a demonstration with these troops which should engross Bragg's attention, while Sherman at the opposite extremity of the field should storm the northern end of Missionary Ridge, cut off Bragg from the Dalton Railway and crush his right wing, thus wrecking his army; but the battle, as fought, proceeded upon a very different plan. The accidental breaking of a pontoon bridge

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left in Lookout Valley one division of men which had been destined for Sherman's part of the field. This additional force so far strengthened Hooker that in the course of the fight which ensued upon Lookout Mountain he carried the whole position by storm, driving the Confederates down upon Missionary Ridge.

On the other hand, Sherman's enterprise was frustrated by an unforeseen obstacle. After he had surmounted the northern extremity of Missionary Ridge he was confronted by a yawning chasm which none of the Federal glasses had been able to detect, and as there were no good topographical maps its existence was unknown. The crests beyond were crowned with Confederate artillery, and well manned. In these circumstances, the part that Sherman played, though a very useful one, was different from what had been intended. On the second day of the battle he attacked the heights before him; he was unable to carry them, but his pressure upon that vital point was so strong that it led Bragg to keep on reinforcing it at the expense of his centre, which was confronted by the army of General Thomas. Presently Grant, fearing for Sherman and wishing to stop this northward movement of Confederates, ordered four of Thomas' divisions to make a bayonet charge in front. They were to carry the Confederate works at the foot of Missionary Ridge and then halt and await orders. At that moment Grant was building better than he knew. The line of twenty thousand men swept like an avalanche over the works at the foot of the ridge, and then in an uncontrollable spirit of victory kept on without orders, making their way up the perilous height. As they reached the top they broke through the Confederate centre in at least six different places, while at the same moment Hooker, who had come down from Lookout Mountain, overwhelmed Bragg's right and sent it tumbling in upon his routed centre. In a few moments the remnant of the Confederate army was a disorderly mob fleeing for life. This great victory secured for the northern army the line of the Alleghanies, as the capture of Vicksburg had secured the line of the Mississippi.^m

GRANT'S PLAN OF CAMPAIGN

The winter of 1863-1864 was a quiet one. On the last day of February, 1864, congress revived the rank of lieutenant-general and President Lincoln promptly appointed Grant to that position, following the action up in a few days by making him commander-in-chief of all the armies of the Union. At once Grant developed his plans for a grand campaign which he confidently hoped would end with the downfall of the Confederacy.^a His main purpose was to mass and move at the same time against the two great Confederate armies in the field, that of Lee in his immediate front (in Virginia) and that of Joseph E. Johnston at Dalton, Georgia, opposed to which, at Chattanooga, was Sherman, Grant's second in command and his successor in the West, to whom he chiefly looked for co-operation. Sherman was to bear from Chattanooga, making Johnston's army and Atlanta his objective points; he was to penetrate the interior of the Confederacy as far as possible and inflict all possible damage on its war resources, but the mode of operation was left largely to his discretion; Grant chose the most difficult task for himself; to conquer and capture Lee's army was his prime object, with the fall of Richmond as its necessary result, and he thought it better to fight this wary antagonist without his stronghold than within it.^j Lincoln had learned by hard experience that it was better to leave his generals to manage their own campaigns, and he made no attempt to interfere with Grant's plans. In a fare-

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well message he wrote him, "The particulars of your plan I neither know nor seek to know. I wish not to obtrude any constraints or restraints upon you."

THE ATLANTA CAMPAIGN: THE MARCH TO THE SEA

It was, as we have seen, a principal part of Grant's plan of campaign, on assuming supreme command of the armies, that Sherman should march upon Atlanta. While preparations were being made for this movement part of Sherman's army was employed in the expedition of General N. P. Banks and Commodore Porter up the Red river in Louisiana, which, although resulting in some sharp battles, had little influence on the great strategic movements east of the Mississippi, and can here only be mentioned.

The distance by direct line from Chattanooga to Atlanta is only about one hundred miles, but the country is rough and broken and in the way lay General Joseph E. Johnston, one of the ablest of Southern generals, with a veteran army of sixty-five thousand men. Sherman's army in three wings under Thomas, J. B. McPherson, and J. M. Schofield, numbered over one hundred thousand, but as he advanced he was compelled to leave such a considerable force to guard his line of supplies to Nashville that his effective army was never far superior in strength to that of his adversary. Johnston adopted the policy of fighting only when attacked, of intrenching every step he took, and of offering battle only when conditions seemed to favour him. Sherman began his advance on May 7th, 1864. He first came up with Johnston at Resaca, but the Confederates evacuated their intrenched positions without a very spirited resistance (May 13th). Day by day Sherman pushed carefully and slowly forward. Fighting was frequent, but a pitched battle was never ventured. "Like two wrestlers," says Dodge,¹ "as yet ignorant of each other's strength or quickness, they were sparring for a hold. Neither would risk giving odds." The nearest to a general engagement was the battle of New Hope Church (May 25th-27th) but the result of the action was indecisive. By the end of May each army had lost in the aggregate about ten thousand men, conspicuous among the Confederate slain being General Leonidas Polk, the warrior-bishop of Louisiana.

Toward the middle of June as Sherman approached Marietta he found Johnston firmly intrenched across his path. From June 14th to June 28th fighting was almost continuous. On the latter date he abandoned his careful tactics, and made a rash assault on the Confederate works at Kenesaw Mountain only to be repulsed with great loss, General Daniel McCook being among his dead. Again resuming his flanking tactics he was soon within a few miles of Atlanta. At this juncture President Davis, who had never been on friendly terms with Johnston, dismissed him for what he was pleased to call his "dilatatory tactics" and gave the command to General J. B. Hood, a fearless fighter but not to be compared with his predecessor as a tactician.

The change of commanders had its immediate result in the battle of Peachtree Creek (July 20th) in which an assault of Hood's was repulsed with severe loss. On July 22nd began the general engagement known as the battle of Atlanta in which Hood's losses reached eight thousand and Sherman's less than half that number, although among them was his brave and able lieutenant, General McPherson. On July 28th Hood was again defeated at the battle of Ezra Church, after which he retired within the city of Atlanta about which Sherman daily tightened his coils. Hostilities continued for another month, when Hood, despairing of holding the city longer, made good his escape.

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Sherman entered and took possession on September 2nd. The first object of his campaign was accomplished. Conservative estimates of the losses of the two armies during the Atlanta campaign (May 7th-September 1st) place those of the Union forces at 32,000, while those of the Confederates must have exceeded 24,000.

After remaining six weeks in Atlanta, Sherman left Thomas to look after Hood, who was marching northward with the expectation of drawing Sherman after him, and on November 15th set out on his historic march to the sea. His army was sixty-two thousand strong in two columns, under General O. O. Howard and General Henry W. Slocum. By the middle of December the army, having met with little opposition, had covered the three hundred miles to the coast, reduced Fort McAllister, south of Savannah, and opened up communications with Admiral Dahlgren's fleet in preparation for the capture of Savannah. Before the siege was actually begun however, General Hardee, the Confederate commander, had evacuated the city by night and Sherman entered it without opposition December 21st.

THE BATTLE OF MOBILE BAY

While Sherman's army was closing in around Atlanta, Admiral Farragut won his famous naval fight in Mobile Bay. The harbour of Mobile was protected by three formidable forts, Gaines, Morgan, and Powell, which made it the most important and the strongest Confederate position on the Gulf of Mexico. It had long been the centre for Confederate blockade runners and the Federal blockade had never been made effective. After months of delay Farragut accompanied by a land force under General Gordon Granger moved upon the city. The troops were landed on an island at the entrance to the bay. On August 5th Farragut — he himself strapped to the mast of his flagship the *Hartford* that he might not fall if shot — entered the harbour with his fleet in the face of a terrific fire from the forts. One of his ironclads, the *Tecumseh*, was sunk by a torpedo, but the rest advanced and engaged the Confederate fleet. First the forts were silenced, then after a fierce defence the entire fleet including the powerful ram *Tennessee* surrendered or were sunk. Forts Gaines and Morgan were soon after surrendered to Granger, but Mobile itself, though its importance was destroyed, held out some months longer.

THOMAS AND HOOD IN TENNESSEE

General Thomas, whom Sherman had left to cope with Hood in Tennessee, had under him at first only twenty-seven thousand men as compared to a Confederate force of almost twice the size. By the end of November however, he had been reinforced and had gathered at Nashville an army of about fifty thousand. Against Hood who was now marching rapidly on Nashville he sent General Schofield to retard his advance and, if the opportunity offered, to give battle. Schofield took a strong position at Franklin, where Hood impetuously attacked him November 30th, 1864. Again and again Hood vainly hurled his superior numbers against Schofield's well posted force. The assaults were continued till well into the night, but every one was repulsed with success. Hood's loss was six thousand. Schofield's less than half as many. The next day Schofield retired unmolested to Nashville.

In a few days Hood was before Nashville, where he waited two weeks. On December 14th Thomas was ready to attack. His tactics were as simple as they were faultless and effective. On the morning of December 15th he

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advanced, bearing heavily with his right under General A. J. Smith and was successful in crushing and turning Hood's left flank. At the end of the day he had won a certain victory, but Hood still remained to be thoroughly crushed. It was afternoon of the 16th before a general assault was ordered, but it was made with such vigour and spirit that all resistance was overcome. Hood's line was broken in a dozen places and his army was soon swept from the field in a demoralised mass. With scarcely half of the force with which he had begun the battle, Hood escaped across the Tennessee. Not in the whole Civil War had any army suffered such a complete and disastrous defeat as this. It marked the termination of armed resistance to the Union arms west of the Alleghanies. Thomas deserved and received the highest praise for his signal triumph. Of him Dodge¹ says that "he perhaps falls as little short of the model soldier as any man produced by this country."

PORT FISHER; SHERMAN IN THE CAROLINAS

It was now planned that Sherman should march northward from Savannah through the Carolinas and aid Grant in crushing Lee in Virginia, and on February 1st he left Savannah with an army sixty thousand strong. Preliminary to this movement, however, took place the capture of Fort Fisher, which guarded the harbour of Wilmington, North Carolina. This was accomplished January 15th, 1865, by a strong fleet under Admiral Porter co-operating with a land force under General Terry.

Sherman's march through the Carolinas was slower and more difficult than his march from Atlanta to the sea, for he had to cross instead of follow the river courses, and his advance was more stubbornly opposed. Columbia, S. C. was occupied on February 17th after a sharp conflict with a Confederate force under General Wade Hampton. Charleston too was abandoned and almost destroyed by flames from the burning cotton which the fleeing Confederates had fired. Sherman moved on toward Goldsboro, defeating Johnston, who had again been given a command, in a sharp battle at Bentonville (March 16th). At Goldsboro, which he reached March 23rd he was joined by Schofield with a part of Thomas' army and Terry's force from Fort Fisher. His force now numbered ninety thousand men. While Sherman was slowly closing in on Johnston, the Union cavalry leader Stoneman made a successful raid in western Virginia for the purpose of cutting Lee off from any possible railway communication with the west.

THE WILDERNESS CAMPAIGN

Grant divided the Army of the Potomac into three corps under Hancock, Warren, and Sedgwick. Of this army numbering now all told almost one hundred and fifty thousand, Meade was placed in immediate charge, Grant himself of course retaining supreme command. Sheridan, brought from the west, commanded his cavalry. Grant's own plan for overcoming Lee was by means of hard blows rather than by manœuvring. His motto was "continuous hammering." "His belief," says Dodge,¹ "seems to have been that skilful tactics exhibited weakness. Other and greater soldiers have for a time been subject to this delusion. He was to discover his error in his first clash of arms."

The Union army crossed the Rapidan May 4th, 1864, and entered the heavily wooded region near Chancellorsville known as the Wilderness. Fighting began at once, for Lee, who knew well the ground, saw his advantage in

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attacking his adversary where his superior numbers could not be used to the best advantage. The battle of the Wilderness was fought on May 5th and 6th. No tactical movements of any account were possible owing to the nature of the country, and the conflict resolved itself into a series of disconnected battles. The fighting was furious and the slaughter terrific, but at the end of two days' struggle nothing had been decided. Grant had lost over seventeen thousand men, including General Wadsworth. Lee's loss was slightly over twelve thousand.

Grant having come to the conclusion that little good could come of hammering Lee as he stood, next attempted a flank movement toward Spottsylvania Court House. But Lee was there before him. Every day there was severe fighting. On the Union side General Sedgwick was killed. On the Confederate side their dashing cavalry leader, J. E. B. Stuart, fell in conflict with Sheridan's cavalry. "I mean to fight it out on this line if it takes all summer," stubbornly wrote Grant. The battle of Spottsylvania proper took place on May 10th and 12th, both armies resting on the 11th. It exhibited some of the most furious assaults and desperate defences of all the war. The hardest fighting took place on the 12th as a result of Hancock's repeated attempts to take the Confederate's salient. Of this remarkable struggle Elson " writes "He succeeded, and captured four thousand men after great slaughter on each side. Five desperate, fruitless efforts the Confederates made to retake the position. One of these General Lee started to lead in person, but his men refused to advance till he went back beyond the danger line. At a point known as 'the death angle,' the hand to hand fighting which continued till midnight, was equal to any ever known in war. Men fought from the top of heaps of dead men till their own bodies were added to the pile, and others came to take their places. Not a tree or a sapling was left alive or standing. One tree nearly two feet in diameter was literally cut in two by musket balls." The losses in the two days' battle were about equal, footing up to the terrible total of thirty-six thousand. Yet like the battle of the Wilderness its result was undecided.

For a week the hostile armies lay quiet, exhausted by their terrific struggle. On May 21st Grant again moved forward by his left toward Richmond. The two armies again came face to face on almost the exact ground where the battle of Gaines' Mill had been fought two years before. Lee had posted his army in a practically impregnable position with his centre at Cold Harbor, and from this position Grant with almost incredible lack of discretion attempted to dislodge him. There could have been but one result. The Union columns were mowed down like grain before the reaper. In a little over a half hour more than seven thousand of them lay dead or wounded on the ground. The Confederate loss was very small. All military critics agree that this assault was the greatest error in all Grant's military career, a judgment, the justness of which he himself acknowledges in his *Memoirs*. Grant now abandoned his plan of a direct advance on Richmond and proposed to change his base to the James River and march upon the Confederate capital from the south.^a

The object of Grant's overland campaign was to capture or to destroy Lee's army. He had done neither. But he had lost sixty thousand men in five weeks without inflicting corresponding loss upon the enemy. The 2nd corps alone had lost four hundred men a day from the time of leaving the Rappahannock. The full significance of this is apparent when the force of each army at the inception of the campaign is called to mind. Grant had numbered one hundred and twenty-two thousand men; Lee some seventy

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thousand. This fearful loss was the result of assaults in mass undertaken without the aid of that skill which Grant knew well how to employ, though he neglected to do so. Whenever Grant resorted to manœuvring, he succeeded measurably. Whenever he attacked all along the line, he failed utterly.

Criticism cannot depreciate the really great qualities or eminent services of General Grant. His task was one to tax a Bonaparte. That he was unable to put an end to the struggle by means less costly in lives and material, if not indeed by some brilliant feat of arms, cannot detract from the praise actually his due for determined, unflinching courage. It rather adds to the laurels of Lee. It cannot be asserted that any other Northern general could here have accomplished more against the genius of Lee. And it was Grant who, in the face of the gravest difficulties political and military, was able to hold the confidence of the nation and to prevent that party at the North which was clamouring for peace from wrecking the success now all but won. But his truest admirers admit Cold Harbor to have been a grievous mistake. And all who appreciate at its solid worth Grant's ability as a leader regret that in this great struggle with Lee he should have failed to employ the full resources he so abundantly possessed.

THE SINKING OF THE "ALABAMA"

A noteworthy combat between the Confederate cruiser *Alabama* and the United States ship *Kearsarge* occurred off Cherbourg, France, on June 19th, 1864. Among the vessels preying upon American commerce three English-built cruisers had been pre-eminent, the *Alabama*, *Florida*, and *Georgia*. The last two were captured respectively in Bahia Harbour and at sea.

The *Alabama*, under command of Captain Raphael Semmes, had been sought by the *Kearsarge*, Captain John A. Winslow, and sailed out of Cherbourg to accept her challenge. The tonnage and crews of each were about equal. The armament of each was what the English considered the best for war vessels of that size. They were typical craft. The *Alabama* was an English vessel, mounting English guns and carrying an English crew; the *Kearsarge* an American vessel with American guns, and out of one hundred and sixty officers and men all but eleven were American-born citizens. Both were wooden vessels, but the *Kearsarge* hung her chain cables over the sides to protect her engines.

It was a fair fight, but of short duration. The fire of the *Kearsarge* was the more deliberate and proved very destructive. The *Alabama* surrendered within an hour in a sinking condition. Semmes was picked up in the water by an English vessel, and escaped capture. The loss of the *Alabama* was about forty men. On the *Kearsarge*, which was but slightly injured by her opponent's fire, only three men were wounded.¹

In its two years' career of destruction the *Alabama* had destroyed sixty-nine merchant vessels, and ten million dollars worth of property.

SHERIDAN'S SHENANDOAH CAMPAIGN (1864)

While the North was coming slowly to a realisation of the appalling sacrifices of Grant's Wilderness campaign, the chief interest in the war in the east centred in the Shenandoah Valley. In the first weeks of July, 1864, Lee sent General Jubal A. Early to threaten Washington. On the 14th Early was in sight of the capitol's dome and might have captured the city, but while

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he hesitated the city was reinforced. He then turned up the valley and on July 30th one of his detachments crossed into Pennsylvania and burned Chambersburg. At this juncture Grant appointed Sheridan to the command of the Union forces in the Shenandoah valley with instructions to devastate the region to such an extent that it could not henceforth support an invading army. Sheridan entered the valley with forty thousand troops and, after some manœuvring, on September 19th met and defeated Early at Winchester, the latter's losses reaching three thousand six hundred. Three days later he won another victory at Fisher's Hill, Early's loss being twelve hundred.

Sheridan then proceeded up the valley, laying waste as he advanced. Early continued to evade a pitched battle, giving way before the Union advance. On October 19th Sheridan's army was at Cedar Creek, but he himself was absent, having been called to Washington some days before for a conference. Early took this occasion for an unexpected attack, which was made so unexpectedly and with such impetuosity that the superior Union forces were driven from their camps. Their retreat almost became a rout. But the opportune and dramatic arrival of Sheridan, who made his famous ride from "Winchester fifteen miles away" which T. Buchanan Reade has immortalised in verse, stemmed the tide. The Federal troops were rallied and re-formed, and in turn Early was forced from the field he had almost won. Thenceforth he made almost no attempt to oppose the victorious Sheridan, as a result of which the Shenandoah valley and northern Virginia were virtually free from hostilities during the rest of the war.

WAR-TIME POLITICS: LINCOLN'S RE-ELECTION

The bombardment of Fort Sumter had for the moment practically wiped out all party lines in the North. But such a condition could not last long. The powerful democratic party that had been for half a century the greatest political organisation in the nation was not by any means destroyed. Most of the Lincoln administration's purely military measures the democratic leaders either agreed to or acquiesced in. But they early found a plausible issue in the suspension of the writ of *habeas corpus* and the series of arbitrary arrests that followed. Congress in ratifying the president's action and extending his power added to his great authority as commander-in-chief that of a military dictator. The arrests were opposed even by some prominent republicans, and by the democrats were made the subject of the bitterest criticism.

It was not long before the democrats found other things to criticise, such as corruption in the letting of army contracts, favoritism in military appointments, and undue extravagance in expenditures. In the fall elections the party made gains in the strongest republican states, chose governors in New York and New Jersey, and largely increased its congressional representation. The passage of the Conscription Act by congress in March, 1863, was followed by a renewed outburst which in July in New York and other cities took the form of armed opposition, suppressed only after the use of military force and considerable loss to life and property.

Among the leaders of the more radical democrats, or "copperheads" as they were called by their opponents, was Clement L. Vallandigham of Ohio. In canvassing the state for the democratic nomination for governor in 1863 his denunciations of the administration were so extreme that it was determined by General Burnside to arrest him for incendiary utterances. He

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was therefore arrested, tried, and found guilty of "declaring disloyal sentiments" and was sentenced to confinement during the war. This finding Lincoln commuted to banishment to the Confederacy. Vallandigham eventually escaped to Canada. While there he was named as the democratic candidate for governor of Ohio but was overwhelmingly defeated by John Brough.

With the approach of the presidential election of 1864 there developed within the republican party a powerful opposition to Lincoln's renomination. Thaddeus Stevens, William Cullen Bryant, Horace Greeley, and others openly favoured Chase. Popular sentiment, however, was all with the president, and his renomination was secured without opposition. Andrew Johnson of Tennessee was named for vice-president with the idea of favouring Southern unionists and proving to the world that the war was not a sectional struggle.

A group of radical republicans, however, placed John C. Frémont in nomination. The democratic convention meeting at Chicago, August 9th, 1864, nominated General George B. McClellan for president and George H. Pendleton of Ohio for vice-president on a platform that pronounced the war a failure and demanded that efforts at once be made to secure peace on the basis of a restored Union. McClellan repudiated the declaration that the war had proved a failure, but a reaction at once set in in favour of Lincoln. Frémont wisely withdrew from the contest. Sheridan's Shenandoah campaign, Sherman's capture of Atlanta, and Farragut's victory in Mobile Bay were the most powerful campaign arguments. McClellan carried only three states, receiving twenty-one electoral votes to two hundred and twelve for Lincoln. The people, as Lincoln pithily put it, had decided that it was "not best to swap horses while crossing a stream."

PETERSBURG AND APPOMATTOX

After the disaster at Cold Harbor, and the change of base to the James river, Grant advanced upon Petersburg. Without attempting a regular siege, he posted his army so that he could operate against Richmond at pleasure while keeping his eye on the Confederate works before him. To strengthen his own position however he spent some weeks in constructing an elaborate system of intrenchments. An attempt made to assault the Confederate fortifications, after a mine had been exploded beneath them (July 30th, 1864) resulted in a repulse with considerable loss. Fighting continued all along the line for some months, but with the coming of autumn it grew more infrequent and both armies practically suspended hostilities till Spring.

Meanwhile the condition of Lee's army was becoming critical. It was realised that Richmond could hold out but little longer and preparations were at once made to move the army south to co-operate with Johnston in North Carolina. Grant expected some such move, and late in March, 1865, sent Sheridan to gain a foothold in the Confederate rear. The result was the battle of Five Forks (April 1st, 1865) in which Sheridan won a brilliant victory. On the following day a successful general assault was made on Petersburg, and on the same evening Lee began the evacuation of Richmond, amidst scenes of almost unparalleled disorder. Union troops entered the city on the 3rd. The only thought of Lee and Davis was now of escape, but Grant had determined that they should not get away from him.

Slowly but surely the superior Union forces closed in upon the remnants of Lee's once great army. Ewell, Pickett, and a considerable part of the

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army were cut off and forced to surrender. Lee crossed the Appomattox and hurried toward Lynchburg only to find Sheridan and Ord blocking the way. Further resistance appearing useless, nothing was left but surrender, and on April 9th he sent a white flag to Grant asking terms of surrender. The two commanders met at Appomattox Court House. The terms offered by Grant and accepted by Lee provided for the release of officers and men on parole, not to take up arms against the United States, the officers to retain their side arms, baggage, and horses. The captures and desertions of the past week had so reduced Lee's force that only 28,231 were surrendered. On April 26th Johnston surrendered to Sherman, President Davis, escaping into southern Georgia, was captured near Irwinville May 10th. On May 26th, with General Kirby Smith's surrender of the last Confederate army west of the Mississippi, the Civil War in America came to an end.

THE DEATH OF LINCOLN

While the North was thrilling with joy at Lee's surrender, and while both North and South were beginning to breathe with relief that the great struggle was near its close, the one man who more than any other was responsible for the preservation of the Union was stricken down by the hand of an assassin. On the night of April 14th, 1865, while watching the performance of a play at Ford's Theatre, Washington, President Lincoln was shot by John Wilkes Booth, an actor, who was concerned in a plot to murder all the chief officials of the government. He died shortly after seven o'clock the following morning and was buried at his home at Springfield, Illinois, on May 4th. Never before in the history of the nation had the people so generally, so sincerely mourned the death of any man. To the president's nobility and greatness of character, his close friend and associate, John G. Nicolay, pays this tribute:^a

"The declaration of Independence was his political chart and inspiration. He acknowledged a universal equality of human rights. He had unchanging faith in self-government. Yielding and accommodating in non-essentials, he was inflexibly firm in a principle or position deliberately taken. 'Let us have faith that right makes might,' he said, 'and in that faith let us to the end dare to do our duty as we understand it.' Benevolence and forgiveness were the very basis of his character; his world-wide humanity is aptly embodied in a phrase of his second inaugural: 'With malice toward none, with charity for all.' His nature was deeply religious, but he belonged to no denomination; he had faith in the eternal justice and boundless mercy of Providence, and made the golden rule of Christ his practical creed. History must accord him a rare sagacity in guiding a great people through the perils of a mighty revolution, and admirable singleness of aim, a skilful discernment, and courageous seizure of the golden moment to free his nation from the incubus of slavery, faithful adherence to law, and conscientious moderation in the use of power, a shining personal example of honesty and purity, and finally the possession of that subtle and indefinable magnetism by which he subordinated and directed dangerously disturbed and perverted moral and political forces to the restoration of peace and constitutional authority to his country, and the gift of liberty to four millions of human beings. Architect of his own fortunes, rising with every opportunity, mastering every emergency, fulfilling every duty, he not only proved himself pre-eminently the man of the hour, but the signal benefactor of posterity. As statesman, ruler, and liberator civilisation will hold his name in perpetual honour."^o

SCHOULER'S ESTIMATE OF LINCOLN¹

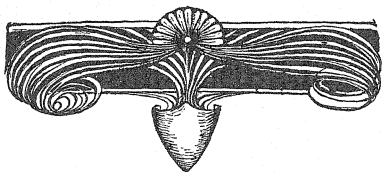
"There lies the most perfect ruler of men the world has ever seen!" said Stanton, in tears, at this president's death-couch; and, probably, for a eulogy so brief no fitter one could have been pronounced. Well did that stern subordinate—headstrong, impulsive, born to be unpopular—realize how much of his own splendid opportunity and success in achieving he owed to that generous and genial direction. Abraham Lincoln need hardly be compared with the great rulers of mankind in other ages and countries; it is enough to take him in his most admirable adaptation to the age and country in which his destiny was cast. He clearly understood the thirty millions of Americans over whom he had been placed by the people's choice, and the tremendous task given him by his Maker to be accomplished. Lincoln was not a profound scholar, but his mind was acute and his logical faculties clear and active; he had a lawyer's self-culture to comprehend the relations of republican society; he had studied American political history and problems of government, and no one understood better his country's institutions, state and national, in their practical workings. He had fair public experience, besides; and his excellence as an administrator in affairs lay in his consummate tact and skill as a manager and director of political forces under the complex and composite system of this American government. Though not among the chief founders of the new national party which brought him into the presidency, he promptly came forward as one of its leaders, and once placed in direction, he guided it confidently for the rest of his life, unapproachable as chieftain and popular inspirer. As president of the United States he harnessed together the greatest intellects of this party—statesmen diverse as the winds in temper and sentiment—better capable than himself to push forward the car of legislation or handle the multifarious details of executive work; and he held the reins over them with infinite considerateness and discretion, conciliating, assuaging rivalries, maintaining good humour, and encouraging each to his greatest work. He kept his cabinet in the closest touch with congress, and both cabinet and congress in generous accord with public opinion, which last he carefully watched and tilled like a good gardener, planting seed, nurturing the growth of new ideas, and bringing, in proper time, the ripe fruit. Raw haste, the falsehood of extremes on one side or the other, he sedulously avoided; yet he sowed and cultivated. And, once again, while conducting the cause of the whole Union, of national integrity, he was yet highly regardful of state pride and state magistracy, seeking not suppression but assistance; and the harshest military rigour he ever exercised over state rebellion was tempered by clemency, forgiveness, and compassion. Not an insurgent commonwealth of the South did he attempt to reorganise and reconstruct, save through the spontaneous aid of its own recognised inhabitants and such native and natural leaders of the jurisdiction as were found available. The armed potency, almost unexampled, which Lincoln exercised through four distressful years, was always exercised unselfishly and as a patriot, in the name and for the welfare of the real constitutional government which he represented, and for the permanent welfare of the whole American people. Rarely leaving and never going far from the nation's capital during that entire period, he there came in contact with people from all parts of the land—soldiers and civilians, men, women, and children, and by his rare personality, in whose external expression pathos and humour were remarkably

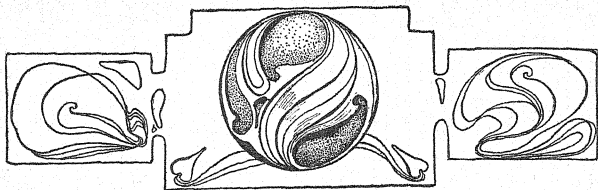
¹ Reprinted from James Schouler's *History of the United States*, by permission of Dodd, Mead and Company. Copyright, 1899, by James Schouler.]

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blended, he dispelled unfavourable prejudice and endeared himself gradually to all classes of the people, at the same time giving reassurance as of one genuine, self-possessed, and trustworthy, who knew well his responsibilities and was capable of exercising them.

The fame of Abraham Lincoln, enhanced by the deep pity felt for his sad and sudden taking-off — the martyrdom of a misconception — has reached the stars, and will spread and endure so long as human rights and human freedom are held sacred. For Americans his name is imperishably joined with that of Washington, under the designation "Father," which no others yet have borne — the one saviour and founder; the other, preserver and liberator. Washington's work was as completely finished as one great human life could make it; and had Lincoln been spared to the end of the presidency for which he was re-chosen, the capstone to his monument would surely have been inscribed "Reconciler." For no man of his times could so wisely and powerfully, or would so earnestly have applied himself to the compassionate task of binding together the broken ligaments of national brotherhood and infusing through the body politic once more the spirit of common harmony and content. Nothing but the clouds of false prejudice and rumour could anywhere have obscured or prevented the rays of so warming and regenerating a personal influence.*j*





CHAPTER XI

THE UNITED STATES SINCE 1865

BY FREDERICK ROBERTSON JONES, PH.D.

RECONSTRUCTION DURING THE ADMINISTRATION OF LINCOLN

THE period in United States history popularly called the Reconstruction Period is usually made to apply, though somewhat indefinitely, to three administrations: that of Andrew Johnson and the two terms of Ulysses S. Grant. It was then that the great economic, social, and constitutional havoc wrought by the war was partly repaired and the former governments of the subdued states were in a measure restored. Nevertheless, it should be clearly borne in mind that during the continuance of the whole war the federal government was occupied with the question, "What is to be done with the revolted states when the fortunes of war shall have put their fate in our hands?"

During the first part of the war it was generally understood that the seceding states would be restored to their former status—that it would be a process of restoration rather than one of reconstruction. The slavery question, however, soon brought about a radical change in sentiment among the people, which in turn was soon reflected in congress. To restore the old governments under their former constitutions, however, meant the continuance of slavery, and this, in the light of subsequent developments, became impossible. The whole question, therefore, soon resolved itself into an attempt to make reconstruction along the lines of the elimination of slavery, square as nearly as possible with restoration. It was an attempt to reconcile two unreconcilable theories; the elimination of slavery from the social and constitutional fabric of the revolted states meant reconstruction of that fabric, and reconstruction was totally incompatible with restoration. People, congress, and president could not agree as to the means of attaining that object. Out of this mass of conflicting councils there gradually evolved, however, a scheme which later became known as the Presidential Plan of Reconstruction. This plan was put into operation before the close of the war in those states that had been wrested from the Confederacy.

In his first inaugural address President Lincoln made the following significant statement: "It follows from these views that no state, upon its own

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mere motion, can lawfully get out of the Union; that resolves and ordinances to that effect are legally void; and that acts of violence within any state or states against the authority of the United States are insurrectionary or revolutionary, according to circumstances. I therefore consider that, in view of the constitution and the laws, the Union is unbroken."

This paragraph states succinctly President Lincoln's view of the status of the seceding states, not only as he held that view at the beginning of his administration but as he maintained it to the end of his life. This view soon led him into conflict with the radicals like Sumner and Wade in the senate and Henry Winter Davis and Stevens in the house.

No sooner, however, had Congress given its official stamp to the president's theory than a radical departure from it made its appearance in that body. February 11th, 1862, nine resolutions were offered in the senate by Charles Sumner, the first of which read as follows:

"Resolved, That any vote of secession or other act by which any state may undertake to put an end to the supremacy of the constitution within its territory, is inoperative and void against the constitution, and when maintained by force it becomes a practical abdication by the state of all rights under the constitution, while the treason which it involves still further works an instant forfeiture of all those functions and powers essential to the continued existence of the state as a body politic, so that from that time forward the territory falls under the exclusive jurisdiction of congress, as other territory, and the state being, according to the language of the law, *jelo de se*, ceases to exist."¹ This was the first attempt to force upon congress the policy of *vae victis*.

In a speech before the house of representatives, January 8th, 1863, Thaddeus Stevens, of Pennsylvania, placed this view upon the grounds of expediency, not upon constitutional grounds. "They will find," he said, "that they cannot execute the constitution in the seceding states; that it is a total nullity there, and that this war must be carried on upon principles wholly independent of it. They will find that they must treat those states now outside of the Union as conquered provinces and settle them with new men, and drive the present rebels as exiles from this country."²

The Presidential Plan of Reconstruction is fully set forth in the proclamation of President Lincoln (1863) which was sent to congress with his annual message, in which he says:

"I, Abraham Lincoln, president of the United States, do proclaim, declare, and make known to all persons who have directly or by implication participated in the existing rebellion, except as hereinafter excepted, that a full pardon is hereby granted to them and each of them, with restoration of all rights of property, except as to slaves, and in property cases where rights of third parties shall have intervened, and upon the condition that every such person shall take and subscribe an oath, and thenceforth keep and maintain said oath inviolate, and which oath shall be registered for permanent preservation, and shall be of the tenor and effect following, to wit. And I do further proclaim, declare, and make known that whenever, in any of the states of Arkansas, Texas, Louisiana, Mississippi, Tennessee, Alabama, Georgia, Florida, South Carolina, and North Carolina, a number of persons, not less than one-tenth in number of the votes cast in such state at the presidential election of the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and sixty, each having taken the oath aforesaid and not having since violated it

¹ *Congressional Globe*, 736, 737.² *Congressional Globe*, 243.

and being a qualified voter by the election law of the state existing immediately before the so-called act of secession, and excluding all others, shall re-establish a state government which shall be republican, and in no wise contravening said oath, such shall be recognised as the true government of the state, and the state shall receive thereunder the benefits of the constitutional provision which declares that 'the United States shall guarantee to every state in this Union a republican form of government, and shall protect each of them against invasion; and, on application of the legislature, or the executive (when the legislature cannot be convened), against domestic violence.'

"And, for the same reason, it may be proper to further say that whether members sent to congress from any state shall be admitted to seats, constitutionally rests exclusively with the respective houses, and not to any extent with the executive; . . . and while the mode presented is the best the executive can suggest, with his present impressions, it must not be understood that no other possible mode would be acceptable."¹

There were thus, shortly after the beginning of the war, two plans of reconstruction in the field, the Presidential Plan and the Congressional Plan. The government was carried by slow and imperceptible steps, though at the same time surely, from one to the other. That is to say, from the doctrine "that a state is indestructible, that it cannot commit treason, that upon its mere motion it cannot lawfully get out of the Union, to the arbitrary conclusion that its maintenance of secession by force works an abdication of all its rights under the constitution of the United States." How this change of attitude towards the seceding states was brought about is, in fact, the larger part of the history of reconstruction. Congress was compelled almost daily to consider its constitutional limitations.

The application of the Presidential Plan to actual conditions brought forth not only criticism of Lincoln but even vituperation. Congress looked upon it as a usurpation of its own sacred powers, and many people, to the extent that they understood it at all, considered it as at least ultra-constitutional. The president was accused of weakness, of despotism, of vacillation, of personal and party aggrandisement—all in one breath. Nor did these criticisms emanate from democratic sources alone; they came from republican sources as well. February 15th, 1864, Henry Winter Davis, of Maryland, reported a bill from the house committee on rebellious states the purpose of which was clearly set forth in its title: "To guarantee to certain states whose governments have been usurped or overthrown, a republican form of government."² The bill was intended to give effect to Article IV, section 4, of the federal constitution, and represented an attempt to harmonise the conflicting views of the different factions of the republican party with regard to the status of the seceding states and their relation to the federal government.

The bill finally passed both house and senate (July 2nd) without modification and went to the president for his approval. There it was subjected to a pocket veto—congress having adjourned *sine die* before the expiration of the ten days allowed the president by the constitution in which to sign bills, or veto them, or not pass upon them at all.

On the 8th of July (1864) following, the president issued a proclamation, in which he stated that the bill had been presented to him for his approval "less than one hour before the *sine die* adjournment" of the session. That, while "unprepared by a formal approval" of the bill to be "inflexibly com-

¹ McPherson's *Political History of the United States during the Rebellion*, pp. 147, 148.

² *Congressional Globe*, 3,448, July 1st, 1864, and H. R., 244.

[1864 A. D.]

mitted to any single plan for restoration"; and, while also "unprepared that the free-state constitutions and governments already adopted and installed in Arkansas and Louisiana" should be "set aside and held for naught, thereby repelling and discouraging the loyal citizens" who had set up the same as to further effort, or "to declare constitutional competency in congress to abolish slavery in the states" (hoping, at the same time, that a constitutional amendment abolishing slavery throughout the nation might be adopted)—nevertheless, he was "fully satisfied with the system for restoration contained in the bill, as one very proper for the loyal people of any state choosing to adopt it." Furthermore, that he was at all times prepared to "give the executive aid and assistance to any such people, so soon as military resistance to the United States" should have been suppressed in any such state, and the people thereof should have "sufficiently returned to their obedience to the constitution and the laws of the United States." That, in such cases, military governors would be appointed with "directions to proceed according to the bill." This proclamation was, in effect, serving notice that he would proceed according to his own plan of reconstruction, and would adopt that embodied in the dead congressional bill only to the extent he deemed advisable.¹

This proclamation created a furor among the adherents of the Congressional Plan of Reconstruction. A protest was issued signed by Henry Winter Davis, who had reported the bill in the house, and by Senator Wade, who had reported it in the senate. The proclamation was declared to be "a document unknown to the laws and constitution of the United States" and a "grave executive usurpation."

A final attempt to pass the Reconstruction Bill through congress failed on the 22nd of February, 1864, and the session closed on the 4th of March, thus leaving the Presidential Plan of Reconstruction, for the time being, the sole possessor of the field.

Tennessee was the first of the seceding states sufficiently under the control of the military forces of the United States to warrant an attempt at reorganisation. By the 25th of February, 1862, Nashville, the capital of the state, was occupied by the federal army. Prior to that event (February 22nd), and, in fact, in anticipation of it, General Grant had issued an order annulling the jurisdiction of state courts and placing the adjudication of cases in the hands of the authorities duly established by the United States government. West Tennessee was placed under martial law, but with the understanding that it would be restored to a normal government as soon as conditions warranted it. The president then appointed Senator Andrew Johnson, of Tennessee, military governor with the rank of brigadier-general. Johnson was a former governor of Tennessee and became Lincoln's successor in the presidency. "Tennessee," said Johnson, "is not out of the Union, never has been, and never will be out. The bonds of the constitution and the federal power will always prevent that. This government is perpetual; provision is made for reforming the government and amending the constitution, and admitting states into the Union; not for letting them out of it. The United States sends an agent or a military governor, whichever you please to call him, to aid you in restoring your government. Whenever you desire, in good faith, to restore civil authority, you can do so, and a proclamation for an election will be issued as speedily as it is practicable to hold one."

By 1864 the state executive committee of the republican party deemed

¹ For text of proclamation, see Scott, *Reconstruction During the Civil War*, Appendix C.

conditions ripe for summoning a convention of the people. The convention met on the 9th of January, 1864, and exceeded its instructions by itself submitting to the people "amendments abolishing slavery, and prohibiting the legislature from making any law recognising the right of property in man." A full state ticket was nominated by the convention, including W. G. Brownlow for governor. The ticket was elected without opposition. The legislature met at Nashville on the 3rd of April, and two days later ratified the Thirteenth Amendment to the constitution. The fact that the election was held according to the state law of 1852 is evidence of the intention of the federal authorities to restore the ancient government of the state except to the extent that it recognised slavery as an institution.

January 20th, 1864, General Steele, the military commander of Arkansas, was ordered to hold an election on March 28th, for the election of a governor. The amended constitution was adopted at the polls and a governor and state and county officials were elected. When the legislature assembled two United States senators were chosen.

A military governor, George F. Shepley, was appointed for Louisiana in 1862. Little or no progress was made under this organisation. None was made, in fact, until the president took the matter of reconstruction entirely into his own hands. This marks the change from the old faction of restoring the governments in the same condition as they were before the rebellion to the open application of the Presidential Plan of Reconstruction. Through General Banks, on January 8th, 1864, an election of state officers was ordered by proclamation to take place February 22nd. These officers were to constitute the civil government of the state, under the constitution and laws of Louisiana, except so much as relate to slavery. September 5th the new constitution emancipating the slaves and prohibiting property in man forever was adopted, and the government was organised on the 3rd of October. Five congressmen were chosen and members of the legislature, and later two United States senators. The senators and representatives were not admitted. This reconstruction of Louisiana in 1864 was the first instance of the kind under the plan set forth in the Amnesty Proclamation.

The beginning of the year 1865 ushered in many events that were clearly indicative of an early close of the war. In the mean time, however, the Thirteenth Amendment to the constitution, forever abolishing slavery, had been accepted by congress in January, though it was not proclaimed by the secretary of state until the 18th of December, after having been ratified by three-fourths of the states. On the 4th of March, upon the occasion of his second inauguration, Lincoln spoke the following truly great words: "With malice toward none; with charity for all; with firmness in the right, as God gives us to see the right, let us strive on to finish the work we are in, to bind up the nation's wounds; to care for him who shall have borne the battle, and for his widow and his orphan—to do all which may achieve and cherish a just and lasting peace among ourselves, and with all nations."¹ But Lincoln's last public address was delivered on the evening of the 11th of April before a great multitude of people gathered about the White House, to convey their congratulations to the president and to signify their joy at the sure prospect of peace. It was his last public utterance, likewise, upon the subject of reconstruction and the criticisms levelled at his policy towards it as practically illustrated in Louisiana. It sums up very aptly his theory of reconstruction as modified by the experience of his first term in the presidential office:

¹ A. Lincoln, *Complete Works*, Vol. II, pp. 656, 657.

[1865 A.D.]

"We are all agreed that the seceded states, so called, are out of their proper practical relation with the Union, and that the sole object of the government, civil and military, in regard to those states is to again get them into the proper practical relation." Voicing the optimism which always was so pronounced an element of his mental equipment, Lincoln went on to say that he believed this could be accomplished far better without ever raising the question as to whether these states had or had not been out of the Union. He urged that everyone should join in restoring the practical relations throughout the Union, each man allowing to his neighbour the indulgence of a personal opinion on the subject, but not permitting that personal opinion to interfere with the practical working of the new scheme of reorganisation.¹

No words could express greater common-sense than is found in this informal address. The question as to whether the states had ever been "out of the Union," he considered as academic; as bad when taken as the "basis of a controversy," as "good for nothing at all"; as merely a "pernicious abstraction"; as practically an immaterial question, that could have no other effect "than the mischievous one of dividing our friends." He frankly acknowledged that if his plan of reconstruction, then in practical operation in Louisiana, failed, he would withdraw it and try another plan.

Three days later—on the evening of the 14th—Lincoln was assassinated. The assassin entered the box at the theatre where Lincoln was seated with a party of friends, and shot the President with a pistol. The stricken man lost consciousness immediately, and died a few hours later. The effect of this blow upon the national mind can be better imagined than described. "The country had now to traverse an unexplored sea, with its unknown currents, without chart to point out rocks and shallows, and in ignorance, of course, of what new storms might rise."² "With the ship barely over the bar," said the *London Spectator*, "the pilot falls dead upon the deck, and it must be well, but the sailors may be pardoned if for the moment they feel as if the harbour would never be attained."

We can say with considerable degree of assurance that, had Lincoln lived, he would easily have triumphed in his policy of reconstruction and would have readily defeated the faction that had arisen against him under the leadership of Sumner. He had already triumphed over the protest of Wade and Davis. "He was master of the situation, and had he been left to command it, there is every reason to believe that the faction which disturbed him a few days before his death would have been crushed."³ The assassin's pistol had deprived the Southerners of their kindest and most powerful friend.

RECONSTRUCTION DURING THE ADMINISTRATION OF JOHNSON

On the day after the assassination of President Lincoln—at eleven o'clock on the morning of the 15th—Andrew Johnson took the oath of office. In answer to the question as to what policy would be pursued, he replied that it must be left for development as the administration progressed, and that his own past course in connection with the rebellion would have to be regarded as a guarantee for the future. "I know it is easy, gentlemen," he said to a delegation from New Hampshire, "for anyone who is so disposed to acquire

¹ A. Lincoln, *Complete Works*, Vol. II, pp. 673-675.

² Henry Wilson, *Rise and Fall of the Slave Power in America*, Vol. III, p. 589.

³ Pollard, *The Lost Cause Regained*, p. 65.

[1865 A.D.]

a reputation for clemency and mercy. But the public good imperatively requires a just discrimination in the exercise of these qualities. The American people must be taught to know and understand that treason is a crime. It must not be regarded as a mere difference of political opinion. It must not be excused as an unsuccessful rebellion, to be overlooked and forgiven."

Many were disposed to regard his advancement to the presidency at that particular juncture as but another evidence of providential favour, if not of divine interposition, by which the nation was to be saved from what many feared might prove Mr. Lincoln's ill-timed leniency and misplaced confidence.¹ Johnson now found himself face to face with the great problem of reconstruction. His view of this momentous question seems to have been substantially much like that of Lincoln, but there was a wide difference between the characters of the two men. Johnson had not a "touch of Lincoln's genius for understanding and persuading men," and was at the same time sadly lacking in tact and discretion. Woodrow Wilson² points out that Johnson was as humble in origin as Lincoln himself. But, unlike Lincoln, he to the last retained his native roughness. He had not the full confidence even of the party that elected him. It was not forgotten that he had once been a democrat; he had even been sent as democratic senator from Tennessee. His sympathies were with the South in regard to almost every question except the one salient one of their attitude toward the Union. In everything short of this, he held that the state had the right to local sovereignty, and his opinions were both arbitrary and stubborn. He was sure to exasperate his opponents in putting forth his views.

He declined to seek the advice of congress in the embarrassment of his position, and subjected himself, in a large measure, to the counsel and influence of his cabinet. This was particularly significant inasmuch as he had made no changes in this body since Lincoln's death. Probably Mr. William H. Seward, the secretary of state, exerted more influence over the president than any other member of the cabinet. Mr. Blaine holds, that by his arguments and by his eloquence Mr. Seward "completely captivated the president. He effectually persuaded him that a policy of anger and hate and vengeance could lead only to evil results," and that the president was gradually influenced by Mr. Seward's arguments, though their whole tenor was against his strongest predilections and against his pronounced and public commitments to a policy directly the reverse of that to which he was now, almost imperceptibly to himself, yielding assent. He points out that the president had completely changed his point of view within a few weeks. No longer ago than April he had declared himself in favour of "the halter for intelligent, influential traitors." He had again and again used language of similar import, advocating the arrest, conviction, and execution of traitors. But he was now brought over to the opposite point of view, and he was ready to advocate the policy of reconstruction that did not contemplate the indictment of a single traitor or the arrest of a single participant in the rebellion, with the sole exception of such as might be suspected of personal complicity in the conspiracy that led to the assassination of Lincoln,—an exception that merely implied a willingness to further the ends of ordinary justice contemplated by the criminal law.³

On the 29th of May two decisive steps were taken in the work of reconstruction. Both steps proceeded on the theory that every act needful for

¹ H. Wilson, *Rise and Fall of the Slave Power in America*, Vol. III, pp. 593, 594.

² Wilson, *Division and Reunion*, pp. 257, 258.

³ J. G. Blaine, *Twenty Years of Congress*, Vol. II, pp. 67, 68.

[1865-1866 A.D.]

the rehabilitation of the seceded states could be accomplished by the executive. The first step taken was the issuance of a Proclamation of Amnesty and Pardon to "all persons who have, directly or indirectly, participated in the existing rebellion." Thirteen classes of persons, however, were excepted from the benefit of this pardon. Of these classes, the first six were nearly identical with those excepted in President Lincoln's proclamation of December 8th, 1863.¹

By the middle of July, three months after the assassination of Lincoln, the whole scheme of reconstruction was in operation. Proclamations appointed governors also for all the states but four. For the reconstruction of Virginia, Louisiana, Arkansas, and Tennessee, different provisions were made. The "Pierpont government," with headquarters at Alexandria, was recognised as the legitimate government of Virginia. A course very similar to that adopted in Virginia was followed in Louisiana, Arkansas, and Tennessee.

The voters in those states who were qualified under the proclamation to do so at once held constitutional conventions and created governments more or less squaring with Johnson's idea of a republican form of government within the meaning of the constitution. This was done in every state, except Texas, by the autumn of 1865, and senators and representatives were elected ready to apply for admission to congress as soon as that body should assemble. When congress assembled, however, on the 4th of December, it was in no mood to consider favourably these new state governments. The unfavourable attitude was, in a measure, due to certain laws passed by those governments which seemed to have in view the direct purpose of keeping the negroes in "involuntary servitude." The South looked with apprehension upon the liberty accorded a "labouring, landless, homeless class." Consequently, a number of the "reconstructed" governments—especially Mississippi and South Carolina—had passed statutes restraining the freedmen in matters relating to employment, labour contracts, and vagrancy. To the Southern legislatures these restraints were considered reasonable enough, but to congress they were looked upon as evidences of bad faith. These circumstances made congress the more willing to listen to those who advocated a more radical policy of reconstruction, having as their professed object the complete submission of the Southern states to the will of the federal government. According to the views of those who advocated this radical policy, resistance to the laws and constitution of the United States had resulted in the suspension of all federal law in so far as the rebellious states were concerned. Furthermore, that law did not revive in those states until congress declared it in force after the conditions incident to its revival had been complied with satisfactorily. In brief, congress would rehabilitate the states when and in the manner it pleased.

The practical adoption of this theory of reconstruction by congress marks the beginning of the policy of "Thorough." Congress assembled in December with more than a two-thirds majority in both houses. The temper of congress was shown immediately upon organising. The names of all the states that had seceded were omitted from the roll-call.

On the 30th of April a reconstruction committee reported a joint resolution embodying a comprehensive amendment to the constitution. It was designed to protect the rights of the negroes of the South, and fix the basis of representation in congress. This resolution was concurred in by the two houses of congress, June 13th, 1866, and when ratified by the proper num-

¹ For text, see McPherson's *History of the Reconstruction*, pp. 9, 10.

[1866 A.D.]

ber of states became the Fourteenth Amendment. It made "all persons born or naturalised in the United States, and subject to the jurisdiction thereof," citizens both of the United States and of the several states of their residence. It provided for a reduction of the congressional representation of any state that should deny the franchise to male citizens of voting age. It likewise excluded from federal office those who had served the Confederacy until congress should pardon them, and likewise invalidated all debts or obligations "incurred in aid of insurrection or rebellion against the United States, or any claim for the loss or emancipation of any slave." President Johnson had no power to veto the resolution, but he sent a message to congress on the 22nd of June expressing his disapproval of it.

But this was not the first clash between the president and congress. On February 6th, 1866, congress passed a bill establishing a second Freedmen's Bureau, the first one, passed March 3rd, 1865, having limited the existence of the "bureau" to one year. The first act had given the bureau rather wide authority to assist the liberated slaves in finding means of subsistence and in helping them to secure their new privileges and immunities. The second bill increased these powers greatly and made it a penal offence, triable and punishable by federal military tribunals, to attempt to interfere with in any way the civil rights and immunities of the freedmen. The president vetoed this bill, February 19th, on the ground that it violated constitutional guarantees in that no person by our organic code should be deprived of life, liberty, or property without due process of law, and that taxation should never be imposed without representation. February 21st, the bill was again put upon its passage, but failed to become a law—not having secured the necessary two-thirds vote in the senate. There were still some republicans in congress who did not see fit to break with the president, at least openly. The third Freedmen's Bureau Bill, of July, 1866, was a much milder document, as it did not make violations of the proposed law a criminal offence. Nevertheless, July 16th the president vetoed the bill, and congress promptly repassed it the very same day the veto message was received.

In March, 1866, congress had sent to the president for his approval a bill "to protect all persons in the United States in their civil rights, and furnish the means of their vindication." This was the first Civil Rights Bill. The president vetoed it on the 27th of March, and on the 9th of April congress passed it over his veto. The president's veto was accompanied by an elaborate message, in which he claimed that the bill was both unwise and in excess of the constitutional powers of congress. This marks definitely the breaking-point between the president and congress. The president accepted the issue, and congress decided to follow its own plan of reconstruction without his assistance.

The president might yet have carried with him a considerable following had he showed the slightest tact and good judgment. His friends, both republicans and democrats, called a convention, at which they made a demonstration of loyalty to the Presidential Plan of Reconstruction. But Johnson took this show of support as a warrant for making violent speeches against congress and acting in a most intemperate manner generally. The fall election resulted in an overwhelming victory for congress. The republican majority in the next house would be as large as in the present one. Congress came together in December determined to curb the president and to formulate means by which the recalcitrant Southern states, that had rejected the Fourteenth Amendment, could be made to accept it. Besides the ten Southern states included in the rebellion, Kentucky, Delaware, and Maryland had voted

[1866-1867 A.D.]

against the amendment. Tennessee was the only geographically Southern state that voted for it. Meanwhile, however, President Johnson, although thus obstructed in the work he had assumed in reorganising the Southern states, had continued issuing proclamations. On the 2nd of April, 1866, he issued a proclamation declaring the state of war ended, and civil authority existing throughout the United States. Later, he issued an amnesty proclamation, modifying that of May 29th, 1865, wherein "thirteen extensive classes of persons were altogether excepted and excluded from the benefits thereof," so that "the full and beneficent pardon conceded" in that proclamation "should be opened and further extended."

But all this was to go for naught before the high-handed congressional programme framed by a caucus of republican members upon the assembling of congress. Congress then proceeded to carry out its policy of "thorough" with regard to reconstruction. The Tenure of Office Act was passed over the president's veto, March 2nd, 1867—thus making the executive power of appointment to and removal from office subject to the approval of the senate. Then, by a rider to the Appropriation Bill, General Grant, already in command of the whole military force of the government, was made practically independent of the president. Johnson was compelled to approve this obnoxious rider in order to save the General Appropriation Bill. Congress also established universal suffrage in the District of Columbia over the president's veto, January 8th, 1867, and in the territories, January 10th, 1867. The latter bill became a law by reason of the failure of the president to sign, or return it with his objections, within ten days after presentation to him. Nebraska was admitted to the Union, March 1st, 1867—Nevada having been added to the list of states October 31st, 1864. The bill admitting Nebraska was passed over the president's veto.

All this legislation, however, was little more than paving the way for the great Reconstruction Act of March 2nd, 1867, which was repassed the same day the president's veto message was received. This remarkable piece of legislation was entitled "An act to provide for the more efficient government of the rebel states." Tennessee had already been admitted to representation and was excluded from the provision of the act. The Southern states were to be grouped into five military districts. It was made the duty of the president to "assign to the command of each of said districts an officer of the army, not below the rank of brigadier-general, and to detail a sufficient military force to enable such officer to enforce his authority." These officers were given full civil and criminal jurisdiction; and all interference under colour of state authority with the exercise of military authority under the act was to be null and void. The provisions were made, however, that no cruel or unusual punishment was to be inflicted and no sentence of death was to be carried into effect without the approval of the president. Section 5 of the act outlined the process of reconstruction. This process was outlined in still greater detail by a Supplemental Reconstruction Act, passed March 23rd, 1867. The military commanders were given the power to enroll in each state, upon oath, all the male citizens of one year's residence who were not disqualified to vote by reason of felony or excluded under the terms of the proposed Fourteenth Amendment. Then they were to hold a general election in each state for the purpose of selecting delegates to a state convention. These conventions were then to frame constitutions extending the franchise to all classes of citizens who had been permitted to vote for delegates—without restriction as to "race, colour, or previous condition of servitude." These constitutions were to conform with the constitution of

the United States "in every respect," and were to be submitted to the same body of electors for ratification. If congress passed favourably upon the constitution of a state thus submitted, then that state would be admitted to representation so soon as its new legislature should ratify the Fourteenth Amendment. After these provisions of the act had been complied with, military jurisdiction over that state was to cease. It was furthermore provided, that "until the people of said rebel states shall be by law admitted to representation in the congress of the United States, any civil governments which may exist therein shall be deemed provisional only, and in all respects subject to the paramount authority of the United States at any time to abolish, modify, control, or supersede the same." Such was this extraordinary act.

This act erected in each of the ten states a vice-royal rule outside of the constitution. President Johnson summed up his objection to the bill in a sentence of his veto message: "I submit to congress whether this measure is not, in its whole character, scope, and object, without precedent and without authority, in palpable conflict with the plainest provisions of the constitution, and utterly destructive to those great principles of liberty and humanity for which our ancestors on both sides of the Atlantic have shed so much blood and expended so much treasure."¹

"Such was the policy of 'thorough' to which congress had made up its mind. Its practical operation was of course revolutionary in its effects upon the Southern governments. The most influential white men were excluded from voting for the delegates who were to compose the constitutional conventions, while the negroes were all admitted to enrolment. Unscrupulous adventurers appeared to act as the leaders of the inexperienced blacks in taking possession, first of the conventions, and afterwards of the state governments; and in the states where the negroes were most numerous, or their leaders most shrewd and unprincipled, an extraordinary carnival of public crime set in under the forms of law. Negro majorities gained complete control of the state governments, or, rather, negroes constituted the legislative majorities and submitted to the unrestrained authority of small and masterful groups of white men whom the instinct of plunder had drawn from the North. Taxes were multiplied, whose proceeds went for the most part into the pockets of these fellows and their confederates among the negroes. Enormous masses of debt were piled up, by processes both legal and fraudulent, and most of the money borrowed reached the same destination. In several of the states it is true that, after the conventions had acted, the white vote was strong enough to control, when united; and in these, reconstruction, when completed, reinstated the whites in power almost at once. But it was in these states in several cases that the process of reconstruction was longest delayed, just because the white voters could resist the more obnoxious measures of the conventions; and in the mean time there was military rule."²

On the 22nd of June, 1868, an act was passed for the admission of Arkansas. The president vetoed the bill on the 20th of March, but congress passed it over his veto on the 22nd. Three days later a similar act was passed admitting the states of North Carolina, South Carolina, Louisiana, Georgia, Alabama, and Florida. This bill was vetoed by the president on the 25th, and passed over his veto by congress on the same day.

January 27th, 1870, Virginia was admitted into the Union; on the 3rd of February, Mississippi; Texas, March 30th.

Virginia was required to ratify the Fifteenth Amendment to the federal

¹ For text, see McPherson's *History of Reconstruction*, pp. 166-172.

² Wilson, *Division and Reunion*, pp. 268, 269.

[1868-1870 A.D.]

constitution, as well as the Fourteenth Amendment, before she could be admitted to the Union. The same requirement was made of Louisiana, Mississippi, and Texas. A sufficient number of ratifications had already been obtained for the Fourteenth Amendment, and on the 28th of July, 1868, it had been finally proclaimed part of the fundamental law. The Fifteenth Amendment was likewise adopted by the necessary number of states, and was finally declared in force March 30th, 1870. Congress had proposed it February 26th, 1869. It declared that the right of citizens of the United States to vote should not be denied or abridged by the United States, or by any state, on account of race, colour, or previous condition of servitude; and that congress should have power to enforce the amendment by appropriate legislation.

In the mean time the breach between congress and the president grew wider and wider. The congressional policy of "thorough" was met at every point by the presidential power of veto. Not content, however, with exercising his constitutional prerogatives, he went out of his way to show in every way possible his bitter contempt for congress and its policy of reconstruction. The Tenure of Office Act of March 2nd, 1867, had sought to deprive the president of the power of removing even cabinet officers without the approval of the senate.

This was the law that in the end furnished the issue that brought the quarrel between congress and the president to its finality. August 5th, 1867, President Johnson demanded the resignation of Edwin M. Stanton, secretary of war, in the following words: "Public considerations of a high character constrain me to say that your resignation as secretary of war will be accepted." Secretary Stanton replied to this demand for his resignation on the same day in the following words: "In reply," he said, "I have the honour to say that public considerations of a high character, which alone have induced me to continue at the head of this department, constrain me not to resign the office of secretary of war before the next meeting of congress." The president then suspended him from office, August 12th, as the terms of the act permitted him to do, and empowered General Ulysses S. Grant to act as secretary of war *ad interim*. Stanton "submitted under protest, to superior force," but denied the president's right to suspend him without the advice and consent of the senate. When congress reassembled, the senate, on January 13th, 1868, refused to sanction the removal. The president thereupon, in defiance of the Tenure of Office Act (which he considered a "palpable invasion of his constitutional privileges"), determined to remove Stanton. This he did on February 21st, 1868, and announced the fact to the senate in a communication to that body on the same date. General Lorenzo Thomas, adjutant-general of the army, was at the same time designated secretary of war *ad interim*. But Stanton refused to quit his office and made a direct appeal to the house for protection. The house then determined to impeach the president of high crimes and misdemeanours in office.

As early as November 25th, 1867, Mr. Boutwell, from the committee on the judiciary, had submitted a report to the house recommending the impeachment of the president, but the resolution had not prevailed by a large majority. On January 27th, 1868, a committee, called the committee on reconstruction, was appointed to inquire into the state of affairs. This committee, on February 24th, submitted a report recommending the impeachment of the president, and it was adopted by a vote of 128 to 47. A committee of two was appointed to notify the senate, and another committee of seven was appointed to prepare and report articles of impeachment. The trial was begun in the

senate on the 5th of March, and later eleven articles of impeachment were presented to the senate sitting as a court. Chief-Justice Salmon P. Chase presided at the trial, and after having had the oath administered to him by Associate Justice Nelson, in turn administered it to the various senators. On the 6th of March an order was adopted directing Johnson to file an answer to the articles, returnable on the 13th instant. The president's counsel asked for forty days in which to prepare an answer, but this request was denied, and the senate decided upon the 30th instant as the time for the beginning of the trial.

On May 16th the first vote of the court was taken on the eleventh article, with the result of thirty-five for "guilty" and nineteen "not guilty." Ten days later, May 26th, a vote was taken upon the second and third articles, with the same result as on the eleventh article. A motion was then carried that the court adjourn *sine die*. Judgment of acquittal was then entered by the chief justice on the three articles voted upon. Johnson's escape was very narrow; a two-thirds majority was required to convict, and but one vote was wanting. Five republican senators had declined to vote with their party. Stanton resigned his position of secretary of war on the same day of the adjournment of the court.

In the presidential election of that year (1868) Johnson was an impossible candidate for either party. The republican nominating convention, meeting at Chicago, just four days after the failure of the impeachment proceedings, nominated General Grant for the presidency. The democrats nominated Horatio Seymour of New York. The reconstruction issue was squarely met. Three Southern states did not take part in the election, not having been reconstructed, and most of the rest were in possession of negro majorities. "One hundred and fourteen electoral votes were cast for Grant, thirty for Seymour. The aggregate popular majority of the republicans was only a little more than 300,000 in a total vote of nearly 6,000,000." "The result was for Grant."

March 4th, 1869, Johnson's tempestuous administration came to an end. It was "crowded with perplexities for the constitutional law," as a judicious historian alike.¹ One event of considerable importance was the foreign relations of the government. On October 31st, 1868, a convention had been signed at London between England, France, and Prussia. The object of this agreement was to send an expedition against Mexico, in demand from the Mexican authorities more efficient protection for the persons and properties of their (the allied sovereigns') subjects, as well as a fulfilment of the obligations contracted towards their majesties by the republic of Mexico." It was not long, however, before the designs of the French became apparent to the other allies and to the world. The emperor of the French "walked his own wild road, whither that led him," and established a sort of feudatory monarchy in Mexico, and persuaded the archduke Maximilian, brother of the emperor of Austria, to accept the throne. The archduke was a man of pure and noble character, but evidently wanting in strength of purpose.

The United States government protested against these high-handed doings of the French from the very first. But the emperor Napoleon, quite positive that the United States were going to pieces and that he would have the Southern Confederacy as a friend and ally in his vast schemes, ignored these protests. After the tide turned, however, and the rebellion was at an end, the United States government demanded of Louis Napoleon the withdrawal of

¹ Wilson, *Division and Reunion*, p. 272.

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his troops from Mexico. A significant movement of troops was made in the direction of the Mexican frontier and the French were compelled to withdraw (March, 1867). Maximilian remained and endeavoured to raise an army of his own to defend himself against the growing strength of the Mexicans under Juarez. But the latter conquered at last, and Maximilian was tried by court-martial, condemned, and shot, June 19th, 1867. The French Empire never recovered from the shock of this Mexican failure, and the Monroe doctrine was triumphantly asserted and maintained.

Another event of importance of an international character was the Fenian invasion of Canada. On the night of May 31st, 1866, about nine hundred men, under Colonel O'Neil, crossed from Buffalo to Fort Erie. Their object was the destruction of the Welland Canal. After a series of rather unimportant engagements with varying success, they were driven back by Canadian regular and volunteer troops. Another Fenian expedition aimed at reaching the capital at Ottawa, and a band of marauders crossed the border from Vermont, but both were easily driven back. The invasions continued spasmodically in 1870 and in 1871, but all with the like result. The Fenian troubles, being, as they were, attacks by the Irish-Americans upon British sovereignty, roused strong feeling in Canada against the American authorities.

In March, 1867, definite negotiations between the United States and Russia for the purchase of Alaska were opened by the Russian minister at Washington. After negotiations covering about two months, a treaty was ratified transferring Alaska to the United States for a consideration of \$7,200,000 in gold. The usual proclamation was made by the president of the United States, June 20th, 1867, and the transfer was made on the 18th of October following.

RECONSTRUCTION DURING THE ADMINISTRATIONS OF GRANT

During the two administrations of Grant normal conditions of government and of economic and intellectual life were gradually restored. Nevertheless, before this happy result was brought about the republican party had yet to complete its policy of reconstruction. President Grant communicated the fact of the ratification of the Fifteenth Amendment to Congress in a special message on the 30th of March, 1870. May 31st, 1870, and April 20th, 1871, congress enacted laws having in view making effective the Fourteenth and Fifteenth amendments. These laws were popularly known as the "Force bills." Conspiracy to take away from any person the rights of a citizen was made a penal offence. Furthermore, the acts provided that inability, neglect, or refusal by any state to suppress such conspiracy, to protect the rights of its citizens, or to call upon the president for aid, should be "deemed a denial by such state of the equal protection of the laws" under the Fourteenth Amendment. Such conspiracies, if not suppressed by the authorities, were likewise declared "rebellion against the government of the United States." The president was authorised to suspend the privileges of the writ of *habeas corpus* in any district. In the spring of 1872—conditions in the South having very materially improved—congress permitted some of the harsher portions of the act of 1871 to lapse. This was followed up, May 22nd of the same year, by a General Amnesty Act. Those who had served the Confederacy after having served the United States in a judicial, military, or naval capacity, or in the higher grades of administration and political freedom, were excepted from the provisions of the act.

The Force Bill of 1871 was enacted as a result of the peculiar conditions existing in the Southern states after the ratification of the Fourteenth and Fifteenth amendments. Reconstruction had resulted in a condition of affairs in which the most prominent whites were disfranchised and deprived of the right to hold public offices. Their slaves were enfranchised and unfriendly, and sometimes dishonest strangers from the North filled their judicial and other offices. Some of these offices were filled by ignorant negroes. The Southern states resisted this state of affairs, and resistance took the form of organised intimidation and terrorism. Cox¹ declares that it made an objective point of the agents of the Freedmen's Bureau, including ministers of the gospel and school-teachers. The major part of these were doubtless adventurers from the North, or, at least, men of the pioneering spirit, who had come in quest of a fortune. By the people whose territory they had invaded they were regarded as public enemies, and they came to be known by the opprobrious title of "carpet-baggers." It is not strange that people so regarded should have met with public and private opposition. The outrages to which they were subjected fill many volumes of reports made by sundry committees of investigation appointed by the two houses of congress. These reports make it clear that there existed in the South, soon after the Civil War, a considerable number of secret societies, the express, even if guarded, object of which was to prevent the exercise of political rights by the negroes. These societies assumed a variety of fantastic names, such as the Brotherhood, the Pale Faces, the Invisible Empire, the Knights of the White Camellia. But they all had practically the same motives, and they were conducted along very much the same lines. Ultimately all of them came to be merged in the Ku-Klux Klan.

This formidable organisation was said to have originated in 1866 with the object at first of only scaring the superstitious blacks. From this, however, it soon went to using its power in the most cruel manner for the furtherance of political ends—to crush out republicanism in the Southern states, to prevent the negroes exercising their political rights, and to exclude from all political offices those who depended mainly upon negro votes for their election. The strength of the Ku-Klux Klan in Tennessee was estimated at forty thousand, and it was supposed to be still stronger in other states. Virginia was fairly well exempt from Ku-Klux outrages, while North Carolina and Tennessee presented numerous cases. According to the members were sworn to secrecy under penalty of death for breach of fidelity. Armed bodies of masked men, well mounted, and wearing white gowns, swept about the country at night, terrifying the communities. They did not hesitate to surround and break into the cabins of negroes, frightening and maltreating the inmates, and warning them that if they gave offence in any way they were marked out for future vengeance. In some instances they went farther, actually seizing an obnoxious negro or carpet-bagger, and subjecting him to physical injury. Senator Scott, in a speech in the senate, based upon personal investigation, gave a summary of the extent of the Ku-Klux outrages. In ninety-nine counties in different states he found five hundred and twenty-six homicides and two thousand and nine cases of whipping. Furthermore, it was stated by the congressional committee that investigated the subject, that in Louisiana alone in the year 1868 there were more than one thousand murders, and most of them were the result of the operations of the Ku-Klux. In October, 1871,

¹ S. S. Cox, *Three Decades of Federal Legislation*, p. 453.

² S. S. Cox, *Three Decades of Federal Legislation*, p. 455.

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the president suspended the privilege of *habeas corpus* in South Carolina in nine counties, so flagrantly prevalent were the Ku-Klux outrages.

The Force Act, however, was destined to outrun popular feeling. The supreme court of the United States, moreover, showed a decided tendency towards a conservative construction of the changes brought about by the war. In the case of *Texas versus White*, it held that the states maintained their statehood intact, though at the same time it sustained congress even in its extreme policy of reconstruction. In 1873 the court was called upon to interpret the Fourteenth and Fifteenth amendments to the constitution in the celebrated *Slaughter-House Cases*. In these cases the political and constitutional powers of the Southern states were held to be unimpaired, and the control of the state over the general privileges of its citizens was declared intact, notwithstanding the last two amendments.

In fact, a general reaction from extreme partisanship and a violent reconstruction policy was noticeable throughout the North. The Force Act had come dangerously near the suspension of state government in the South, and there was a growing disposition in the North, even among republicans, to regard the treatment far more dangerous than the disease. As the first term of Grant's administration drew to a close, the political parties again made the Congressional Plan of Reconstruction the chief issue of the campaign. The president was in accord with this plan of reconstruction and was consequently subjected to much criticism. Nevertheless, he was renominated by the republicans for the presidency, with Henry Wilson, of Massachusetts, as the vice-presidential nominee. The "liberal republicans" bolted the regular party and nominated for the presidency Horace Greeley, editor of the *New York Tribune*. They adopted a platform declaring local self-government a better safeguard for the rights of all citizens than centralised power. Universal amnesty for the Southerners was favoured. The democrats accepted the nominees of the liberal party and endorsed the platform. The movement was supported by many other prominent republicans besides Greeley, among them Charles Sumner, Stanley Matthews, Carl Schurz, and David A. Wells.

The Greeley movement developed, as Andrews¹ remarks, both remarkable strength and remarkable weakness. Greeley had been influential for several years as a journalist. His chivalrous offer to give bail for Jefferson Davis, and his open advocacy of mercy for all rebellious subjects who had laid down their arms, had gained him a strong coterie of friends in the South. When he took the stump on his own behalf, making the tour of the central states, it was but natural that crowds of republicans should come to see and hear their former leader. But a very large number of those who may even have applauded his speeches, did not give him the sanction of their ballots. Nor could it be expected that the democrats as a whole would rally with enthusiasm about the standard of a man who had been one of their most bitter opponents. Naturally enough, then, some of these supported a third ticket, whilst others refrained from voting. The campaign was one of wild excitement and bitter denunciation, and the result was what might have been anticipated. Greeley was overwhelmingly beaten. The democrats carried but six states, and those were all in the South. Within a month after the election Mr. Greeley died, at the age of sixty-one, broken down by "over-exertion, family bereavement, and disappointed ambition."

The Congressional Plan of Reconstruction was thus once more emphatically sustained at the polls. Election troubles were of frequent occurrence

¹ E. B. Andrews, *History of the United States*, Vol. II, pp. 205, 206.

during Grant's second term in those Southern states in which the negroes were most numerous or most thoroughly organised under white leaders. Both of the contestants, no doubt, were to a considerable extent in the wrong. In a number of these states the electoral machinery was in the hands of negro managers who had the support of the federal officers authorised by congress for the protection of the negroes in their political rights. These supervisors, marshals, and deputy-marshals were not slow, of course, to take advantage of every opportunity for their personal advancement. On the other hand, the Southerners used every means of preventing the negroes from voting. Where persuasion and bribery would not bring about the desired end, intimidation and actual violence were often resorted to. The turmoil finally reached a climax in Louisiana. Since 1872 the whites in that state had been chafing under the republican rule of Governor Kellogg, who was accused of ruinous extravagance in the use of the state's credit. In the autumn of 1872 rival returning boards in Louisiana certified to democratic and republican majorities in the choice of state officers and presidential electors. Both of these boards were irregularly constituted, but both claimed to be the legal board. As a result, rival governments were erected and it took congressional interference to effect a compromise. The republican governor was kept in office through the support of the federal troops, but his opponents were given control of the house of representatives of the state legislature.

"In August, 1874, a disturbance occurred which ended in the deliberate shooting of six republican officials. President Grant prepared to send military aid to the Kellogg government. Thereupon Penn, the defeated candidate for lieutenant-governor in 1872, issued an address to the people, claiming to be the lawful executive of Louisiana, and calling upon the state militia to arm and drive 'the usurpers from power.' Barricades were thrown up in the streets of New Orleans, and on September 14th a severe fight took place between the insurgents and the state forces, in which a dozen were killed on each side. On the next day the state-house was surrendered to the militia, ten thousand of whom had responded to Penn's call. Governor Kellogg took refuge in the custom-house. Penn was formally inducted in office. United States troops were hurried to the scene. Agreeably to their professions of loyalty towards the federal government, the insurgents surrendered the state property to the United States authorities without resistance, but under protest.

"A sullen acquiescence in the Kellogg government gradually prevailed. Other electoral difficulties occurred in 1874 and 1875 in Arkansas and Mississippi. The republican officials asked the president to send federal troops, but none were sent.

"General Grant declared that, while he felt bound to intervene, he found it an 'exceedingly unpalatable' duty; and when calls for troops came later from other states, he replied, with evident impatience, that the whole public was 'tired out with these annual autumnal outbreaks in the South,' and that the great majority were 'ready now to condemn any interference on the part of the government.' He had never shown any vindictive feeling towards the South, and there can be no doubt that in directing federal troops to interfere to cut the puzzling knots of Southern election snarls, he acted with the same simple sense of duty towards the laws that had characterised his soldier predecessors, Jackson and Taylor."¹

The most important of the treaties that marked President Grant's terms

¹ Woodrow Wilson, *Division and Reunion*, pp. 276, 277.

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of office was the Treaty of Washington, concluded with Great Britain May 8th, 1871. This treaty made provisions for the settlement of the following important questions: the northwestern boundary—a portion of which had been too vaguely determined by the treaty of 1847; the Canadian Fishery Dispute; and the *Alabama* Claims.

The question of the northwestern boundary was referred to the decision of the German emperor, William I. The treaty of 1847 had not left it clear whether the boundary line through the channel between Vancouver Island and the mainland should be run so as to include the island of San Juan, with its group, in the United States or in Canada. The emperor decided in 1872 in favour of the contention of the United States.

The fisheries dispute had its origin at the very beginning of the nation. It has continued to be a source of international trouble down to the present time. The treaty of 1871 seemed only to confuse matters more than before. The Canadians were permitted, by its provisions, to go as far south as the thirty-ninth parallel; free trade in fish-oil and in all salt-water fish was granted; and, in recognition of the fact that mere reciprocity was supposed to give the United States a decided advantage, that nation was required to pay Canada \$5,500,000. This agreement was so thoroughly unsatisfactory that the United States took the earliest possible opportunity (July 1st, 1883) to abrogate it.

As early as 1863 the United States had sought satisfaction from Great Britain for the damages sustained to shipping from the Confederate cruisers sailing from English ports. Of these, the *Alabama* had proven most destructive. Attempts were made to settle the claims in 1865, but without success.

On the 26th of January, 1871, the British government proposed the appointment of a joint high commission to meet at Washington, for the settlement of questions connected with the Canadian fisheries.

On May 8th the commission completed a treaty which received the prompt approval of both governments. The British government expressed its regret for "the escape, under whatever circumstances, of the *Alabama* and other vessels from British ports, and for the depredations committed by those vessels." It furthermore agreed that the *Alabama* Claims should be referred to a tribunal of arbitration to be composed of five arbitrators, to meet at Geneva, at the earliest convenient day, when all questions considered by the tribunal, including the final award, should be decided by a majority of all the arbitrators.

The tribunal held its first conference at Geneva on the 15th of December, 1871.

The American claim for damages was based on losses inflicted by fourteen cruisers and four tenders, but the award did not allow the full claim. The tribunal found that the British government had "failed to use due diligence in the performance of its neutral obligation" with respect to the cruisers *Alabama* and *Florida*, and the several tenders of those vessels; and also with respect to the *Shenandoah* after her departure from Melbourne, February 18th, 1865, but not before that date. In fact, with regard to the *Alabama*, the culpability of the British government was so evident that even the English arbiter, Sir Alexander Cockburn, voted in favour of the American claim.

The tribunal, by a majority of four voices to one, awarded to the United States the sum of \$15,500,000 in gold as indemnity. Of this sum about \$2,000,000 represented interest at six per cent. Sir Alexander Cockburn, the British arbiter, was the only member of the tribunal who voted in the negative.¹

¹ See in detail, C. Cushing, *The Treaty of Washington*.

A movement was made in the right direction when, after Grant had called attention to the need of reform, the first Civil Service Reform Act was passed by congress, March 3rd, 1871. The president appointed a commission, and congress appropriated \$25,000 to defray its expenses. A like sum was voted next year, but after that nothing was granted until June, 1882, when \$15,000 was grudgingly appropriated. Nevertheless, the act of 1871 was a beginning, and its provisions formed the basis of subsequent legislation and afforded encouragement for further efforts to those who had the reform of the civil service at heart.

The civil service was not the only branch of the government that needed reforming; congress itself was sorely in need of a reform movement. By 1869, both the Central Pacific and Union Pacific railroads had been completed across the continent with the aid of enormous government grants. The interests of the Union Pacific, financial as well as constitutional, had been assumed by a corporation chartered by the legislature of Pennsylvania. This corporation became known as the *Crédit Mobilier*. On the meeting of congress in December, 1872, the speaker of the house called attention to the charges made in the preceding campaign that the vice-president, Mr. Colfax, the vice-president elect, Mr. Henry Wilson, the secretary of the treasury, several senators, the speaker of the house, and a large number of representatives, had been bribed during the years 1867 and 1868 by presents of stock in a corporation known as the *Crédit Mobilier*, to vote and act for the benefit of the Union Pacific Railroad Company. On the motion of the speaker, an investigating committee was appointed.

This committee reported, February 18th, 1873, and recommended the expulsion of Oakes Ames, of Massachusetts, for "selling to members of congress shares of the stock of the *Crédit Mobilier* below their real value, with intent thereby to influence the votes of such members." Likewise the expulsion of James Brooks, of New York, for receiving such stock. The house modified the proposed expulsion into an "absolute condemnation" of the conduct of both members. Other members of congress were exonerated on the ground that they had no knowledge of the illegitimate purposes of the transaction. Still other members escaped because of the absence of conclusive proof of their guilt. Nor did this congress abate the public's suspicion of its guilt by passing the "Salary Grab" Bill. This bill increased the salaries of representatives and senators, and retroactively included the salaries of the members of the existing congress. It was repealed at the next session.

In 1875 the "whiskey ring" was brought to light. This was a more or less close association between distillers and federal officials for the purpose of defrauding the government of a large amount of the internal revenue tax on distilled spirits; and, furthermore, of employing a part of the proceeds in political corruption. Grant's secretary of war, W. W. Belknap, was impeached for accepting bribes in making the appointments in his department. He was impeached and tried, but was acquitted on the ground that, having resigned, the senate was without jurisdiction in the case. The civil suit brought against him was dismissed. The whole of Grant's second term was characterised by a state of official demoralisation. "Inefficiency and fraud were suspected even where they did not exist."

Two events of financial importance occurred during Grant's two terms that should not be passed over in silence. One was the speculation in gold and the consequent "Black Friday" of September 24th, 1869. The other was the so-called "demonetisation of silver" and the panic of 1873.

When gold ceased to circulate, in 1862, speculation in it began as a result

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of the depreciation of paper. In 1869 a clique of speculators in New York (of which Jay Gould, president of the Erie Railway, was one) thought to corner the market in gold and thus make an immense fortune. This clique, succeeding in getting control of a large percentage of the gold in the East, forced the price of that metal up to 164. But there was some hundred millions of gold in the United States treasury, more or less, and the president of the United States or the secretary of the treasury might at any time throw it on the market. The price had reached its highest point and the whole speculative world was in a feverish condition, when it was suddenly announced that the government would sell. The price immediately fell to 135, and the power of the clique was broken. This day—September 24th—has passed into history as Black Friday.

By an act of February 12th, 1873, the silver dollar of 412½ grains was dropped out of the list of silver coins. It was merely a nominal demonetisation of silver, for the real demonetisation of that metal had been accomplished in 1853. Important consequences have been attached to this act of 1873. It has been charged that the law was the cause of the commercial crisis of September 1873; but so competent a critic as Laughlin ridicules the notion that a law which made no changes whatever in the actual metallic standard that had been in use for more than twenty years could produce financial disaster in seven months. He asserts that the act of 1873 "had little importance in changing existing conditions"; but he admits that its ultimate influences were of the utmost consequence. He claims that had it not been for the demonetisation of the silver dollar in 1873 and 1874, the country would have found itself in 1876 with a single silver standard. In that event the resumption of specie payment on January 1st, 1879, would have been in silver, not in gold. The result would have been the repudiation of 15 per cent. of existing contracts and obligations. In this view, the act of 1873 was a piece of the greatest good fortune, since its indirect effect was to save the financial credit of the nation.¹

The panic of 1873 differed very materially from the great panics of 1837 and 1857. The causes of the earlier panics were fairly evident. But in 1873 trade was good; everyone was busy and wanted money to carry on industry. Railroads had been built to an unprecedented extent. During the half decade ending with 1873, \$1,700,000,000 had been thus spent in the country. But these outward evidences of prosperity were the real evidences of a coming crisis. Industry was very largely upon a paper basis. Speculation was rife, and it was only a question of a short time before the crisis was bound to come. The supposed wealth consisted mainly of the bonds of these railroads that would not pay dividends for years, and worthless mining and manufacturing stock. During 1872 the balance of trade was strongly against the United States. The Chicago fire of October, 1871, by which \$192,000,000 worth of property was destroyed, and the Boston fire of November, 1872, which resulted in the loss of \$75,000,000, no doubt must be classed as a partial cause of the disturbed condition of industrial affairs of 1873. The circulation of depreciated paper money led to a free contraction of debts by individuals, corporations, towns, cities, and states, and this, of course, led to speculation.

On the 18th of September the panic came. On the morning of that day, Jay Cooke, the agent of the United States government, with some \$4,000,000 held on deposit from all parts of the country, and with \$15,000,000 of

¹ J. L. Laughlin, *History of Bimetallism in the United States*, p. 93.

Northern Pacific paper, suspended. Next day the banking firm of Fisk & Hatch went under. Terror became universal. At eleven o'clock on the 20th the New York Stock Exchange, for the first time in its history, closed its doors. For ten days the New York Clearing-House had to suspend. Products of all kinds declined in price, as well as stocks and bonds. Factories either ran on short time or shut down entirely. But money flowed into New York from Europe and the West, and the public began to purchase stocks freely, tempted by the low prices.

The United States continued to advance in material welfare notwithstanding these drawbacks. The Centennial Exhibition at Philadelphia in 1876 would be sufficient proof of this. The Centennial was not a financial success, but it illustrated aptly the great material prosperity the United States had made during the century of its existence. On July 4th of the centennial year Colorado was admitted to the Union.

Before bringing President Grant's two eventful terms to a close, reference should be made to the act of July 14th, 1870, amending the naturalisation laws, and the act of January 14th, 1875, providing for the resumption of specie payments by the government on the 1st of January, 1879. The first act was merely a completion of the policy of the Fourteenth Amendment to the constitution. It admitted to citizenship, besides "free white persons," "aliens of African nativity and persons of African descent." Stringent provision was also made against the fraudulent naturalisation and registration of aliens. Federal supervisors were appointed to enforce the regulations in cities of over twenty thousand inhabitants.

ADMINISTRATION OF PRESIDENT HAYES

The scandals brought to light in the republican party during the second administration of Grant bore their fruits. The former vital question of reconstruction could no longer be made the winning issue of the campaign. Furthermore, the republican party had to bear, in a measure, the responsibility for the financial distress of 1873. The democrats had secured every Southern state except Louisiana, South Carolina, and Florida, and the republican governments in these states were upheld only by the aid of bayonets. But what is more surprising is the fact that in the elections of 1874 and 1875 the democrats carried their state tickets in several Northern states, and elected their candidate for governor in Massachusetts. Moreover, they were overwhelmingly successful in the congressional elections. The republican majority of almost one hundred was supplanted by a democratic majority of almost the same size. There was every indication of a political revolution at the next presidential election.

The republicans, after a long struggle between rival factions, nominated Governor Rutherford B. Hayes, of Ohio, with William A. Wheeler, of New York, for vice-president. The democrats nominated Governor Samuel J. Tilden, of New York, and Thomas A. Hendricks, of Indiana. Thirty-eight states participated in the election. Once more the democratic party seemed to sweep the country. The morning after the election, November 8th, nearly every republican newspaper conceded the election of Mr. Tilden. He was believed to have carried every Southern state, and New York, Indiana, New Jersey, and Connecticut in addition. The whole number of electoral votes was 369, and upon this estimate the democratic candidate would have had 203 and the republican candidate 166. But the existence of dual govern-

[1877 A.D.]

ments in South Carolina, Florida, and Louisiana, and an election complication in Oregon, threw the whole result into grave doubt and precipitated the most extraordinary contest that has taken place in the history of the country. If the republicans lost a single vote, the democratic candidate would be elected.

In four states—South Carolina, Florida, Louisiana, and Oregon—there were double returns. In South Carolina the republicans claimed that the negroes had been intimidated by white rifle-clubs, the democrats that “detachments of the United States army stationed near the polls had prevented a fair and free election.¹ Acting on this claim, the electors declined to be governed by the returns as specified by the state canvassers. Instead of casting their votes for Hayes, therefore, as they must have done, the democratic electors gave their ballots for Tilden and Hendricks. In Florida there were similar differences. The canvassing boards and the governor certified to the election of the republican ticket, but a court decision declared that the democratic electors were entitled to meet and register their vote. In Louisiana each party claimed victory, and each attempted to establish its governor, its returning board, and its electoral college. In Oregon, the democratic governor arbitrarily adjudged one of the republican electors ineligible, and gave a certificate to the highest candidate on the democratic list; notwithstanding which the republican electors met and voted for Hayes and Wheeler. Of course the democratic electors refused to take cognisance of this action on the part of their opponents, and, in a word, there was total chaos. Such uncertainty had never attended the result of any previous election, and it was impossible to say how the tangle was to be unsnarled.

The contest was now transferred to the halls of congress. The senate, which was republican, held that the Twenty-second Joint Rule, which had been in force in the counts of 1865, 1869, and 1873, and which provided that no disputed electoral vote could be counted unless both houses concurred in counting it, had not been re-enacted by the present congress, and hence was not in force. The house, which was democratic, took the opposite view. Republicans claimed that the power to count the votes belonged to the president of the senate; democrats maintained that it belonged to congress and that no vote could be counted against the wishes of the house. Threats were made that Hayes should never be inaugurated, and military organisations to support Tilden's claim were formed in several states. Happily, peaceful counsels prevailed, and in January, 1877, the famous Electoral Commission Act was passed. This act created a commission of fifteen—five to be selected by the senate, five by the house, four associate justices of the supreme court who were designated by the act, and a fifth to be selected from the remaining associate justices by these four. It had been expected that the fifteenth member would be David Davis, a justice with democratic leanings but supposedly free from any marked prejudice one way or the other. But just before the bill became a law the democrats and a few independent republicans in the Illinois legislature unexpectedly elected Justice Davis to the United States senate, and he therefore declined to serve upon the commission. Justice Bradley, a republican, was selected as the fifteenth member.

The commission thus contained eight republicans and seven democrats; and when the disputed cases were submitted to it, all were decided in favor of the republicans by a strict party vote. An attempt in the house to prevent the completion of the count failed because of the opposition of the speaker, Samuel J. Randall, and because friends of Hayes promised that if

¹ Stanwood, *History of Presidential Elections*, pp. 329, 330.

he were allowed to become president he would refuse to support the republican state governments in South Carolina and Louisiana. On the early morning of March 2 Hayes was declared elected by 185 to 184. On the 5th of March (the 4th being Sunday) he was inaugurated without any disturbance. The country acquiesced in the decision, but the democrats have always maintained that Tilden was elected.

One thing was perfectly manifest to men of both parties—that provision should be made against the recurrence of such a dispute. However, it was not until February 3rd, 1887, that a bill providing for the counting of the electoral votes was approved by the president. The Electoral Count Bill, as this bill was called, throws upon the state, as far as possible, the responsibility of determining how its own presidential vote has been cast. The president of the senate opens the electoral certificates in the presence of both houses; he then hands them to the tellers (two from each house), who read them aloud and record the votes. If there is a dispute, the set of returns certified to by the officially constituted state tribunal is accepted. Should there be two rival tribunals, the vote of the state is not counted unless each house separately agrees to accept one of them as official.

One of President Hayes' important acts after his inauguration was the withdrawal of federal troops in 1877 from South Carolina and Louisiana. The republican governments in these states were at once superseded by democratic governments. Inasmuch as Florida had already gone democratic, that party was now in entire control of the South. Hayes was criticised for what was termed his flagrant inconsistency for repudiating the very state governments to which he had been entirely indebted for his election to the presidency. However that may be, the action of the president brought a welcome peace. Affairs at once became normal and the congressional policy of reconstructions had almost run its course. Bryce¹ sees in the disappearance of the carpet-bag and the negro movements, the opening of the third era in the political history of the South since the war. In the first, the whites had exclusive right of suffrage; in the second, negro suffrage predominated; in the third, it was to appear that alleged universal suffrage meant the actual supremacy of the whites. The South was no longer the country it was before the war. During the sixteen years between 1860 and 1876 it had experienced something like an industrial revolution. It became a great economic force working along entirely new lines of industrial development. Its old labour system had been swept away, and it was now prepared to enter the industrial contest with the rest of the world.

Many believed that the so-called "demonetisation of silver" in 1873 would, if persisted in, work a hardship to taxpayers during the process of paying off the national debt. A bill was therefore passed through congress in 1878, known as the Bland Silver Bill. The passage of the act was due to causes easily described. In dealing with economic questions there must be some difference of opinion as to the share played by different elements. Tausig regards the opposition to the contraction of the currency as the most important episode in American history of this period. He admits that the movement in favour of the use of silver gained power from the desire of the silver-mining states to further their local interests by coining a larger quantity of this metal. But he contends that this was only a minor element in the agitation, though it was one to gain greater importance in later years. "The real strength of the agitation for the wider use of silver as money," he says, "comes

¹ J. Bryce, *The American Commonwealth*, Vol. II, p. 483.

[1878-1879 A.D.]

from the conviction of large masses of the people that the community has not enough money.”¹ This act provided for the purchase by the government, each month, of not less than two million dollars’ worth, and not more than four million dollars’ worth, of silver bullion, for coinage into silver dollars at the rate of 412½ grains of standard silver (or 371½ grains of fine silver) for each dollar. The secretary of the treasury was given discretion as to the amount he should purchase between those limits. No secretary purchased a greater amount than the minimum during the time the act was in force. The number of silver dollars actually coined each month depended, of course, upon the amount of silver bullion that could be purchased by two millions of dollars in the medium of exchange. After the resumption of specie payment, when greenbacks became redeemable in gold, the number of silver dollars coined was, of course, greater than before when the greenbacks were irredeemable. This piece of legislation restored the silver dollar to its full legal-tender character, but the disparity in value between it and the gold dollar at the ratio of 16 to 1 was so great that congress did not confer the right of free coinage upon silver. President Hayes vetoed the bill, but it was passed over his veto, February 28th, 1878. By another important provision of the act, silver certificates could be issued against the deposit of silver dollars. Those who supported monometallism prophesied that the issues of these silver dollars would drive out gold. But it is inflation of the currency, and not debasement of it, that tends to drive out the metal of greater value. The new coinage was limited in amount, and the increased demands of commerce for money more than took up the increased amount of the currency. Silver dollars and silver certificates floated at par with gold; and gold, instead of leaving the country, came into it in increased amounts.

In accordance with the act of January 14th, 1875, the government began the payment of specie in liquidation of greenbacks on the first day of January, 1879. Specie payment had been suspended since 1862. This resumption of specie payment was due very largely to the efforts of John Sherman, secretary of the treasury. He accumulated before January 1st, 1879, \$138,000,000 of coin (nearly all of it gold) by the sale of 4½ per cent. government bonds redeemable in 1891. This was about 40 per cent. of the outstanding greenbacks. Thirteen days before the time appointed for the resumption of specie payment the greenbacks had reached par. As soon as the people were assured that the greenbacks were as valuable as gold, there was no inclination to demand the gold. The paper money was preferred as being more convenient.

Important labour difficulties marked a part of the administration of Hayes. In 1877 there was an extensive strike along the entire systems of the Baltimore and Ohio, the Pennsylvania, the Erie, and the New York Central railroads. The freight and passenger service was completely demoralised, and the militia and United States troops had to be called out to quell the rioting. Among the real causes of these labour troubles were, undoubtedly, the vast number of undesirable immigrants who had come to the country, the introduction of communist and anarchist doctrines from Europe, the arrogance of capitalists, and the greed and lawlessness of the newly developing trusts and gigantic corporations.

Nevertheless, great industrial progress was being made by the country, and was, in a way, responsible for some of the disturbance. The submarine cable between the United States and Europe was successfully laid in 1869,

¹ Taussig, *The Silver Situation in the United States*, p. 5.

and one likewise between the United States and England in 1875. Again, in 1869, continuous transportation between the Atlantic and Pacific coasts had been made possible by the junction of the Union Pacific Railway with the Central Pacific. Consolidation was the rule. The application of electricity to practical purposes received a decided impetus in 1875, when the dynamo was made practicable. The invention of Edison in lighting by electricity in 1878 took us several steps still farther in advance. Add to this the inventions of Alexander Graham Bell, in conveying sounds by means of the electric wire, and the practical utilisation of these inventions, in 1877, in the telephone, and we have a wonderful record of industrial development.

The second congress was democratic in both branches. But the democrats were not united, and were, in addition, inclined to be led astray by financial and industrial fallacies. Consequently the party was unable to reap any distinct advantage by reason of its control of congress. The Bland Silver Bill had been passed over the president's veto only by a combination with republicans. Real legislation was almost at a stand-still. With his own party Mr. Hayes had but little more influence than had Johnson. Nor did he have a real hold upon the country. Wilson¹ is doubtless right in suggesting that Hayes "was not aggressive enough to draw a party of his own about him." It is conceded that he had amiability of character, and that he intended to conciliate the South. But, as often happens in the case of a man who lacks the intense bias of the enthusiast, he succeeded in alienating the members of his own party in congress, without effecting the purpose of conciliation at which he aimed.

THE ADMINISTRATION OF GARFIELD AND ARTHUR

Upon his return from a trip around the world, General Grant was again placed in nomination for the presidency at the republican national convention meeting at Chicago, June 5th, 1880. This was due to the efforts of the reactionary section of the republican party. A deadlock in the convention ensued, however, between Grant and Blaine, and as a result James A. Garfield, of Ohio, received the nomination. The democrats nominated General W. S. Hancock, of Gettysburg fame. Garfield was elected, having received 214 electoral votes, as against 155 for Hancock. The democrats carried every Southern state, but no Northern states except New Jersey, California, and Nevada. The popular vote was very close, being for Garfield 4,454,416, and for Hancock 4,444,952. The so-called greenback party (which had appeared four years before) received 308,578 votes for its presidential candidate, James B. Weaver, of Iowa; and the prohibition candidate, Neal Dow, of Maine, received but 10,305 votes. The object and principles of the greenback party were set forth in several paragraphs of its platform, to the effect that "the right to make and issue money is a sovereign power to be maintained by the people for the common benefit,"—an assertion that conveys no very new or startling principle. It is further declared that all money should be issued and controlled by the government directly, and not by or through banking corporations; and that the money thus issued, whatever its character, must be a full legal tender for all public and private debts. The express issue is made that the greenback notes of the Civil War period should be substituted for the notes of the national banks, the system of national banks abolished, and the unlimited coinage of silver, as well as of gold, established by law.²

¹ Wilson, *A History of the American People*, Vol. V, pp. 149-151.

² McPherson, *Handbook of Politics for 1880*, pp. 195, 196.

[1881-1884 A.D.]

Garfield had owed his nomination to the deadlock created in the convention by the supporters of Grant and Blaine. This deadlock was caused largely by the continuation of the fight between two violent factions in the republican party called the "stalwarts" and the "half-breeds." The "stalwarts" controlled the distribution of appointed offices under the federal government during the administration of Grant, and contemptuously gave the name "half-breeds" to their dissatisfied republican opponents. Garfield did his best to effect a settlement between the hostile factions, and did not recognise one faction more than another. The inevitable outbreak of hostilities came, however, when the president made nominations in New York which were distasteful to Roscoe Conkling, the leader of the "stalwart" forces. Garfield had made up a strong cabinet with Blaine as secretary of state, and the New York appointees were supporters of the latter, and not of Conkling. The open break came in the presentation of the name of William H. Robertson for the collector of the port of New York, who was particularly objectionable to the New York senators. Consequently, in order to force an issue with the president, both of the senators, Conkling and Platt, resigned and appealed to the New York legislature to sustain them in their course by a re-election. This the legislature, to their very great chagrin, refused to do, though not until after a bitter contest.

The bitter passions engendered within the party as a result of this furious contest no doubt had something to do with the tragedy that soon ensued. On the morning of the 2nd of July, 1881, as President Garfield was upon the point of taking a train at the station of the Baltimore and Potomac Railway in Washington, he was shot by a disappointed office-seeker, Charles Jules Guiteau. The president lingered for eighty days, but finally died, on September 19th, at Elberon, New Jersey. Guiteau was tried and finally executed for the crime on June 30th, 1882, though there was much doubt as to his sanity. Vice-President Chester A. Arthur became president for the remainder of the term.

The assassination of President Garfield called the attention of the whole country to the need of civil service reform. Congress was no longer able to resist the pressure of public opinion. On January 9th, 1883, the Pendleton Civil Service Act was passed by congress with overwhelming majorities in its favour, both of the parties having united in its support. President Arthur promptly signed the bill on the 16th. This act authorised the president, with the consent of the senate, to order appointments to the civil service to be made after competitive examinations. Likewise, to appoint three civil service commissioners who were to have the management and development of the system.

The canvass of the twenty-fifth presidential election was bitterly personal. The republican national convention, meeting at Chicago, June 3rd, 1884, had nominated James G. Blaine, of Maine, for president, and General John A. Logan, of Illinois, for vice-president. The democratic national convention, meeting in the same city, July 8th, had put forward Governor Grover Cleveland, of New York, for president, and Thomas A. Hendricks, of Indiana, for vice-president. The election was an exceedingly close one, its result turning upon a plurality of only 1,149 in New York, by which the thirty-six electoral votes of that state were given to Cleveland. This secured his election—he having secured 219 electoral votes to Blaine's 182. The democrats carried every Southern state, and, in addition, New York, Connecticut, Indiana, Delaware, Maryland, and New Jersey, and continued in control of the house of representatives, while the republicans continued to have a small majority in the senate.

This election was characterised by a "bolt" from the republican party of a group of men and their supporters noted for intelligence and social position. They supported civil service reform, denounced Blaine as a representative of corrupt political methods, and endorsed the democratic nominees. The movement was supported by George W. Curtis and Carl Schurz, among other prominent republicans, and likewise by several influential independent republican newspapers. These men called themselves "independent republicans," but were called "mugwumps" by the "straight-out" republicans.

THE ADMINISTRATION OF CLEVELAND (1885-1889 A.D.)

The accession of the new administration to power brought two important subjects prominently before the country: (1) civil service reform and (2) tariff reform. Mr. Cleveland had pledged himself to a rigid enforcement of the Pendleton Act, and many of his supporters believed he would extend the reforms to other branches of the civil service. Mr. Cleveland did not make a clean sweep among the office-holders, but as his term advanced it became evident to many of his supporters who favoured civil service reform that the pressure of office-seekers and office-holders was proving too strong for the president's resolution.

In 1882 congress appointed a tariff commission which travelled through the country, taking testimony, and made a report to congress. With this report as a basis, congress made a slight reduction of duties. Little else was done until President Cleveland, in his message of December 6th, 1887, finally committed the democratic party to tariff reform. In this message the president stated that "our present tariff laws, the vicious, inequitable, and illogical source of unnecessary taxation, ought to be at once revised and amended. Our progress towards a wise conclusion will not be improved by dwelling upon the theories of protection and free trade. This savours too much of bandying epithets. It is a condition which confronts us, not a theory."

This message inspired a more united effort in the house to modify and simplify the tariff. The committee on ways and means, under the leadership of Mr. Mills, of Texas, reported a bill to the house on April 2nd, 1888. This bill proposed a reduction in the *ad valorem* duties (which ranged from 40 per cent. to 90 per cent.) of from 30 per cent. to 45 per cent.

The bill passed the house, but was defeated in the senate, where the republicans had a majority. In fact, the protectionists of the senate substituted a bill generally raising the duties instead of lowering them. The tariff question thus became the great issue in the election of 1888.

In 1887 congress passed an Interstate Commerce Act which forbade discrimination in rates, the "pooling" of rates by competing lines of railways. Furthermore, such railways were not permitted to divide their earnings. The interstate commerce commission was likewise established with semi-judicial powers to enforce the act. Another important act of Cleveland's administration was the act regulating the presidential succession. This act was introduced by Senator Hoar, was passed by congress, and was approved by the president, January 18th, 1886. By previous statutes, in case of the death, removal, resignation, or disability of both president and vice-president, the presidency passed in order to the temporary president of the senate and the speaker of the house. This made possible the defeat of the will of the people as expressed in the election by putting in the presidency a man of the opposite party from the president's. Or, in case of the death of both president

[1868-1890 A.D.]

and vice-president between two congresses, there would be no legal or constitutional successor to either place. The death of President Garfield, September 19th, 1881, brought this to the attention of the people in a most forcible manner. Had President Arthur died at any moment between September 19th, 1881, and the meeting of the forty-eighth congress in December, the latter eventuality would have occurred. The Presidential Succession Act, therefore, devolved the succession upon the members of the cabinet in the order of the historical establishment of their several departments, beginning with the secretary of state. Both parties in congress agreed to a repeal of the Tenure of Office Act, by which congress had attempted to limit President Johnson in his powers of dismissal from office in 1867. Two other important questions arose during this administration of President Cleveland—two questions that had become chronic in their recurrence—namely, the question of the exclusion of the Chinese and the fisheries dispute. Mr. Cleveland's tariff message made the issue of the next campaign. The democrats had accepted the issue under protest, but the president's message gave them an unmistakable policy with which to go before the people in 1888. The president had not taken counsel with the leaders of his party, and they warned him that his stand might cost him his re-election. Nevertheless, he was firmly convinced that he was in the right, and had made up his mind to meet the issue squarely.

The republican national nominating convention met at Chicago, June 19th. Mr. John Sherman, of Ohio, was at first the leading candidate; but on the eighth ballot Mr. Benjamin Harrison, of Indiana, grandson of William Henry Harrison, received the nomination for president. The republican platform favoured bimetalism, the building up of the merchant marine, the reform of the civil service, and the admission of new states. The main issue, however, as in 1884, was the tariff, and the platform declared emphatically in favour of protection. The democrats met at St. Louis in July, and nominated Grover Cleveland and Allen G. Thurman, of Ohio, for president and vice-president respectively. The convention declared for the Mills Bill—that is, not for absolute free trade, but for very heavy reductions in the tariff.

The campaign turned on the issue of protection or free trade in spite of the democratic disclaimer that their policy did not mean absolute free trade. The democrats were defeated. The popular vote for Mr. Cleveland was over one hundred thousand greater than that for Mr. Harrison; but the latter had a majority of sixty-five in the electoral college (233-168). The republicans also carried the house and retained their control of the senate. They thus once more had possession of the presidency and both branches of congress.

THE ADMINISTRATION OF HARRISON

The republicans now took advantage of their control of both houses of congress and the presidency to revise the tariff. This step was undoubtedly due to the attack made upon the protective system by Cleveland in his message to congress in December, 1887. Under the chairmanship of William McKinley, of Ohio, the house committee on ways and means reported a tariff bill known as the McKinley Bill, which was finally accepted by both houses, and upon receiving the signature of the president became a law, October 1st, 1890. The bill swept away most of the duty on refined sugar (one-half cent a pound) and admitted all raw sugar free. For this action the republican party was accused of playing into the hands of the "Sugar Trust." To placate the domestic producers of sugar, a bounty of two cents a pound, the rate of the preceding

duty, was given them. These domestic producers produced only about one-tenth of the amount of sugar consumed in the country, and the bill had in view particularly the stimulation of the beet-root culture. This policy still further emphasised the determination of the republican party to rely solely upon protective duties for the customs revenue. There was a considerable advance on woollen goods, while on cotton goods of the better grades the duties were particularly high. The most important change in duties on metals was the increase of the duty upon tin plate. This commodity had never been produced in the United States, and the increase of the duty upon it to 2 $\frac{2}{5}$ cents per pound (equivalent to about 70 per cent. upon the value) was a direct manifesto by the republican party that not only should duties be placed upon commodities for the purpose of supporting an industry, but likewise with the direct object in view of establishing an industry. At the late instance of the state department, this tariff bill provided for reciprocity through special treaties with other countries. This congress also enacted what has become known as the Sherman Law. By its provisions, it became the duty of the secretary of the treasury to purchase monthly 4,500,000 ounces of silver and to issue in place of the silver thus purchased treasury notes. The amount of the silver that was to be coined was left to the discretion of the secretary—depending upon what he deemed necessary for the redemption of these notes. The avowed object of the bill was to keep the silver money equal to gold, for, as the bill declared, it is the “established policy of the United States to maintain the two metals at a parity with each other on the present legal ratio, or such ratio as may be provided by law.”¹ The coinage of silver dollars was accordingly suspended by the treasury on July 1st, 1891. Tausig declares that this change occasioned both abuse and praise, but that it was really of no consequence whatever. He points out that the price of silver advanced rapidly for a month or two after the act was passed, and that at its highest, in August 1890, it reached \$1.21. The rise, however, proved to be but temporary, and after September a steady decline set in, which finally brought the price, in 1892, as low as 85 cents.

In addition to the unsettled fisheries dispute, President Harrison's administration inherited the always chronic Behring Sea controversy. The United States claimed that it had acquired from Russia exclusive rights in Behring Sea, at least with regard to seal-fishing. This the British government, representing the Canadians, denied, holding that there could be no exclusive rights outside three miles off shore. By an agreement of February 29th, 1892, the whole question was submitted to arbitration.

There were seven arbitrators in all—two represented the United States, two represented Great Britain, and one each was appointed by the French, the Italian, and the Swedish governments. The court of arbitration met at Paris on March 23rd, 1893, and decided that all the rights of Russia as to jurisdiction and the seal fisheries in Behring Sea east of the water boundary passed unimpaired to the United States under the treaty of March 30th, 1867; that the United States has not any right of protection or property in the fur-seals frequenting the islands of the United States in the Behring Sea when such seals are found outside the ordinary three-mile limit.

A bill “to absolutely prohibit the coming of Chinese persons into the United States,” reported by Mr. Geary, of California, was passed by the house, April 4th, 1892. In the senate a substitute was reported and was adopted. A compromise bill, slightly modifying the house bill, was the result.

¹ F. W. Tausig, *The Silver Situation in the United States*, pp. 50, 51.

[1892-1893 A.D.]

Among the treaties of Harrison's term was a tripartite arrangement concerning the Samoan Islands with Germany and Great Britain, which gave omen of a coming departure from the traditional policy of continental confinement, so as to extend American influence, conjointly with that of European powers, far across the Pacific.

During this administration, Oklahoma Territory was opened up to settlement (March 22nd, 1889) and seven new states were admitted to the Union. North Dakota and South Dakota were proclaimed states by the president November 3rd, 1889; Montana, November 8th, and Washington, November 11th, of the same year; likewise Wyoming, July 10th, 1890, and Idaho, July 3rd, 1890.

On May 31st, 1889, occurred the Johnstown flood, caused by the breaking of a dam, and as a result of which at least five thousand persons lost their lives, and property worth \$10,000,000 was utterly destroyed. October 2nd, 1889, representatives of the leading governments of Central and South America, together with the republic of Mexico, met representatives chosen by the United States in the so-called Pan-American congress held at Washington. The object of the congress was to bring the three Americas into a closer union for purposes of trade and of mutual advantage.

The revolution that occurred in Chili during the autumn of 1891 was the indirect cause of a controversy between that country and the United States. One act after another following the revolution finally led to an attack, October 16th, upon United States sailors who had landed at Valparaiso from the United States ship *Baltimore*. As a result, two United States sailors were killed and eighteen wounded. A suitable apology was not exacted from Chili until after the United States government had issued a practical ultimatum demanding one, and fortifying it by most ominous preparations for war.

The republicans, meeting at Minneapolis in June, 1892, nominated Benjamin Harrison and Whitelaw Reid for president and vice-president respectively. The democrats, meeting at Chicago in the same month, nominated Grover Cleveland and Adlai E. Stevenson. The republican party affirmed protection linked with reciprocity as the true tariff creed. Cleveland swept the country with an unexpectedly large electoral and popular vote. For the first time since 1861 the republicans lost control of the executive and both branches of congress. The most striking feature of the elections was the great losses of the republicans in the West.

SECOND ADMINISTRATION OF CLEVELAND (1893-1897 A.D.)

"On the 4th of March, 1893, for the first time in the history, a president returned to the White House which he had once vacated, to resume official authority and succeed his own successor. Cleveland's new inaugural address was in a serious strain, as though foreboding the business distress of the country now near at hand, and his own doubts about uniting upon a judicious line of policy the new and incongruous elements that had borne him back to power."¹

On the 4th of July, 1894, the republic of Hawaii, named from one of the Sandwich Islands, was established. It was modelled on the government of the United States, and President Cleveland formally recognised it as a "free, sovereign, and independent republic." This was not done, however, until

¹ James Schouler, *Encyclopædia Britannica* (10th edition), Vol. XXXIII, article on "United States," p. 592.

[1893-1895 A.D.]

after an interesting chapter in the diplomatic history had nearly closed. In 1893 a part of the inhabitants of Hawaii had risen in revolt against an attempt of their queen, Liliuokalani, to promulgate a new constitution obviously for the purpose of increasing her power in the government. The revolution was successful, and the provisional government established was immediately recognised by the United States minister, Mr. Stevens. Commissioners were sent to Washington to apply for annexation, and on the 16th of February, 1893, President Harrison sent a message to the senate, submitting an annexation treaty and recommending its ratification. Meantime, the United States minister at Honolulu, on the 9th of February, acting without instructions, had established a protectorate over the islands. While the treaty was pending, Mr. Cleveland became president, and one of his first acts after inauguration was the withdrawal of the treaty from consideration by the senate. The president then despatched a commissioner, Mr. Blount, to the Hawaiian Islands to examine and report upon the circumstances attending the change of government. The report of the commissioner and the decision of the president, as given in the latter's message to congress, December 18th, 1893, was that "the lawful government of Hawaii was overthrown, without the drawing of a sword or the firing of a shot, by a process every step of which, it may safely be asserted, is directly traceable to and dependent for its success upon the agency of the United States, acting through its diplomatic and naval representatives. I mistake the American people if they favour the odious doctrine that there is no such thing as international morality; that there is one law for a strong nation and another for a weak one; and that even by indirection a strong power may, with impunity, despoil a weak one of its territory." The president offered to use his best efforts to restore the *status quo* if a general amnesty would be granted to the supporters of the provisional government and the past buried. This the queen refused to do, and the provisional government continued in power, promulgating a republican constitution, July 24th, 1894.

The annexation of the Hawaiian Islands was not accomplished until the administration of President McKinley. Their annexation was then urged by Captain Mahan and other naval men, who held that they were needed as a military base of defence and of naval operations in the Pacific. June 16th, 1897, the president transmitted to congress a new treaty providing for the annexation of the islands. The opposition to the treaty was so strong that in all probability the plan would have failed had the war with Spain not rendered the islands doubly desirable from a military and naval standpoint. A joint resolution to accept the offered cession was therefore carried through congress, and was approved by the President on the 7th of July, 1898.

December 17th, 1895, President Cleveland sent a message to congress relating to the disputed boundary between British Guiana and Venezuela, that startled the country. Preceding this message, the government had been engaged in an extensive correspondence with the government of Great Britain relative to a peaceful settlement of the whole difficulty. But the correspondence had come to naught, the British government having refused to submit the dispute to arbitration. The president's message was peremptory and threatening, and congress supported it with alacrity. Pursuant to the president's suggestion that a commission be appointed to ascertain the "true divisional line" between Venezuela and British Guiana, congress, December 20th, passed an act authorising the appointment of such a commission and appropriated \$100,000 for the expenses of its work. Fortunately, the president's message did not provoke the same warlike feeling in England that it

[1895 A.D.]

did in the United States, and even in the latter country the bellicose spirit was soon superseded by a desire for arbitration. The president appointed a commission of five, which, after organisation, at once addressed a letter to the secretary of state suggesting a friendly intimation to the governments of Great Britain and Venezuela that their assistance and co-operation would be welcome in securing evidence. The British government met the overture in a friendly manner. However, before the labours of the commission were completed, the governments of the United States and Great Britain had already come to a practical understanding. After much preliminary correspondence, on the 2nd of February, 1897, a treaty between the two countries was signed at Washington embodying an agreement to arbitrate the dispute. The tribunal was to consist of five jurists: two on the part of Great Britain, two on the part of Venezuela, and the fifth to be selected by the other four. The first four were provided for in the treaty—the two representing Venezuela being justices of the supreme court of the United States. The tribunal met in Paris on the 15th of June, 1899, and on the 3rd of October of the same year rendered what is said to have been a unanimous decision. It was in the main favourable to the contention of Venezuela.

The victory of the democrats in the twenty-seventh presidential election led to a revision of the tariff, only four years after the embodiment of the extremest doctrine of protection in the McKinley Act. In 1894 the democratic members of the house committee on ways and means reported a tariff bill which, when finally enacted into a law, became known as the Wilson Bill. The senate, however, raised the duties somewhat and restored many specific duties. After a long and bitter struggle in conference between the two houses, the senate bill was finally accepted unchanged on the 13th of July, 1894. The president refused to sign the bill, but permitted it to become a law without his signature. In general, this tariff made but one important change—the placing of wool upon the free list.

By the summer of 1893 the country's financial condition had become so critical that on June 5th the president declared his purpose to call an extra session of congress to meet in the first half of September. "Hard times" had come to multitudes of people. There had been a money panic in the spring of the year, and it had been followed by many disastrous failures. Mr. Cleveland's message to congress, August 8th, embodied an exposition of what he considered to be the evils of the Sherman Act of 1890, and concluded with an earnest recommendation that its purchase clause be immediately repealed. The repeal measure was carried. This put a stop to further buying of great quantities of silver, and checked the making of silver dollars. Then a slow recovery of business confidence began, which was much retarded and disturbed, however, by the uncertainty of congressional action on tariff and currency questions.

On the 28th of January, 1895, President Cleveland, in a special message to congress, renewed his appeal which he had made at the opening of the session for legislation to correct the mischievous working of the existing currency system. But his suggestion was not acted upon by congress. The silver interests were too strong, and the government was forced to make a new issue of bonds under the old act for the replenishing of its gold reserve and the maintenance of its financial credit. In every instance, the issuance of bonds was condemned by the opponents of the administration.

The industrial disturbances throughout the country continued but little unabated. In the spring of 1894 (March 25th), a horse-dealer, named Coxey, led an "army" of the unemployed from Massillon, Ohio, to Washington, to

[1896 A.D.]

demand relief from the government. The movement was imitated in other parts of the country, and soon other "armies" began their march from the Pacific states, from Texas, and from Massachusetts. A more motley gathering had never taken place in the history of the country. In all, these "armies" were made up of five or six thousand persons and were composed of honest men seeking work, of tramps and criminals seeking to avoid work, and of younger men looking for fun and excitement. Coxey and a few of his men (about 350) succeeded in reaching Washington by May 1st, where Coxey was merely arrested for walking on the grass in the White House grounds. Having accomplished nothing, his "army" was soon disbanded.

The movement, however, was very significant of the unsettled and unsatisfactory condition of industrial affairs. It was followed shortly afterwards by a strike of some four thousand workmen employed in the car shops of the Pullman Company, at the town of Pullman, near Chicago. Acts of violence now followed, and the interruption of the United States mails brought the strikers within the jurisdiction of the Federal courts. The leaders of the strike were indicted and placed under arrest, and President Cleveland made known his intention to protect the mails and keep interstate commerce open. His proclamation to this effect was supported by the despatch of United States troops to Chicago and to places in California. The leaders of the American Railway Union attempted to precipitate a strike in all departments of industry throughout the country, but were unsuccessful. The Pullman strike came to an end practically by the 15th of July.

At the beginning of these industrial disturbances and right in the midst of them, two expositions of international importance were held. The World's Columbian Exposition was opened by the president in the spring of 1893, and the Cotton States and International Exhibition in the autumn of 1895. The former was held at Chicago and the latter at Atlanta. The World's Fair was a success in every respect except financially. The exhibition at Atlanta illustrated most aptly the wonderful progress made by the South since the Civil War. An act of congress approved by the president on the 31st of March, 1896, fittingly closed the period of "reconstruction." It provided for the removal of the disabilities placed upon Southern leaders as a result of their participation in the Civil War.

January 4th, 1896, upon proclamation of the president, Utah was admitted as a state after its citizens had adopted a constitution forever prohibiting polygamous or plural marriages.

The agitation for monetary reforms on the part of the financial leaders of the country, during the summer and autumn of 1896, and the counter agitation to force the unlimited coinage of silver on equal terms with gold, were clearly indicative of the direction the presidential campaign was to take. The free-silver propaganda was pushed by influential men in both parties. But, shortly, a financial policy began to crystallise around each of the two parties. Southern and Western influences carried the democratic party into advocacy of free silver, while Eastern and Central Western influences controlled the republican party in the interests of a gold standard. The republican national convention was held at St. Louis in June and nominated William McKinley, ex-governor of Ohio, for president on the first ballot. The democratic convention met at Chicago in July and resulted in the unexpected nomination for the presidency of William J. Bryan, of Nebraska, one of the leaders of the free-silver democracy of the West. The money question caused a split in both of these parties. The campaign was one of the most remarkable in many respects that the country had ever passed through.

[1897-1898 A.D.]

Never in any former political contest were the questions involved discussed with more heat. McKinley won, however, receiving 271 electoral votes to Bryan's 176.

THE ADMINISTRATION OF MCKINLEY (1897-1901 A.D.)

President McKinley called congress together in extra session on the 15th of March, and asked for immediate action to increase the revenue of the government by increased duties. In response to this demand, congress passed the Dingley Tariff Bill, which became a law July 7th, 1897. The restoration of the duties on wool was the salient feature in the Dingley Act. In addition to wool, certain other raw materials, which the Wilson tariff of 1894 admitted free, were subjected to duties. Furthermore, the policy of reciprocity was not only revived, but its scope was even enlarged.

In his annual message to congress at the opening of the session in December, 1896, President Cleveland called attention to the unhappy state of Cuba. "The spectacle of the utter ruin of an adjoining country, by nature one of the most fertile and charming on the globe, would engage the serious attention of the government and people of the United States in any circumstances. In point of fact, they have a concern with it which is by no means of a wholly sentimental or philanthropic character. Our actual pecuniary interest in it is second only to that of the people and government of Spain. It should be added that it cannot be reasonably assumed that the hitherto expectant attitude of the United States will be indefinitely maintained."

When the liberal party came into power at Madrid with Sagasta at its head, Weyler was recalled and General Blanco put in his place. Furthermore, a new constitution was announced which gave the colony what seemed to be a fairly autonomous government under a parliament of its own. This constitution was not given a fair trial, for it had come too late for a test of its practicability. General Fitzhugh Lee, consul-general of the United States at Havana, said of it that it was "an elaborate system of 'home rule' with a string to every sentence."

On the 14th of December, 1897, and 8th of January, 1898, General Lee made reports to the department of state upon the condition of the *reconcentrados*, that stirred up public opinion throughout the United States to a high state of excitement. This feeling had been growing in intensity for months past and continuously threatened a rupture of peaceful relations between the United States and Spain. Such was the state of affairs when suddenly a crisis was precipitated on the morning of the 15th of February, 1898, by news that the United States battle-ship *Maine*, while paying a visit of courtesy to the harbour of Havana, had been totally destroyed on the previous evening by an explosion which killed most of her crew.

The United States appointed a naval court of inquiry to make an investigation, as did likewise the Spanish government. The former court reported that "the loss of the *Maine* was not in any respect due to the fault or negligence on the part of any of the officers or members of her crew; that the ship was destroyed by the explosion of a submarine mine, which caused the partial explosion of two or more of her forward magazines." The Spanish naval board of inquiry reported that the explosion resulted from causes within the ship itself. The Spanish government then urged that the whole question should be referred to a committee of persons chosen by different nations. The United States declined to accept this proposal.

The tension between the United States and Spain now approached the

[1898 A.D.]

breaking point. On the 11th of April President McKinley addressed a special message to congress, setting forth the unsatisfactory results of the negotiations with Spain, and declaring that "in the name of humanity, in the name of civilisation, in behalf of endangered American interests, which gives us the right and the duty to speak and act, the war in Cuba must stop." The message closed with a request that the president be authorised to take means for securing a "full and final termination of hostilities" in the oppressed island.¹

After a brief contest between the two houses over the method of procedure to carry out the suggestion of the president, a joint resolution was passed April 18th, declaring "that the people of the island of Cuba are and of a right ought to be free and independent." The resolution demanded, furthermore, that Spain should withdraw absolutely from Cuba, and the president was directed to use the military and naval force of the United States to make the resolution effective. In addition, the resolution disclaimed any intention on the part of the United States to assume in any way, except for pacification, jurisdiction over Cuba; and furthermore declared its intention to "leave the government and control of the island to its people."²

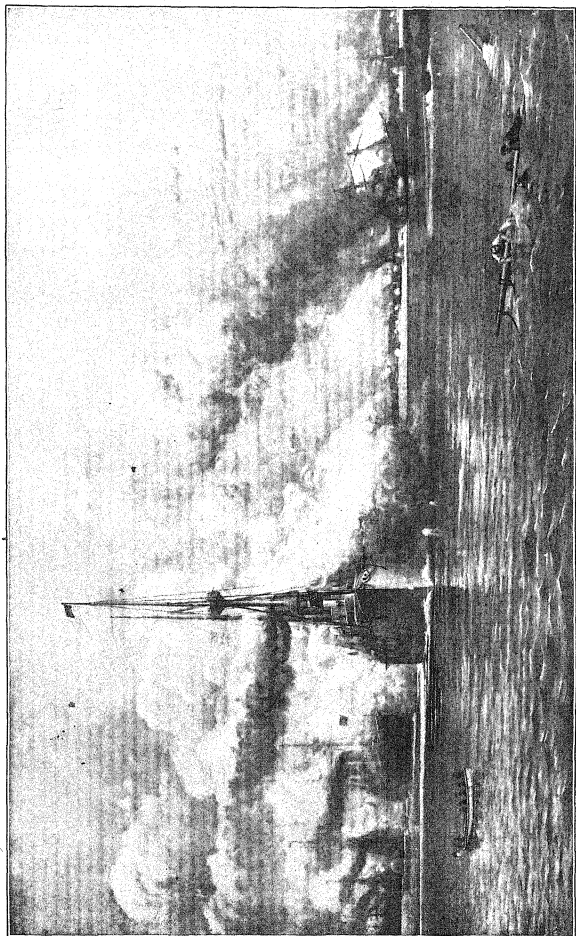
Following out a suggestion of the president in a message, April 25th, congress adopted a joint resolution on the same day declaring "that war be, and the same is hereby, declared to exist, and that war has existed since the 21st day of April, 1898, including said day, between the United States of America and the kingdom of Spain."

At the outbreak of the war the regular army of the United States numbered but 28,000 officers and men. Under an authority of congress, this was shortly increased to 2,191 officers and nearly 42,000 men. At the same time a volunteer army was speedily raised. The president issued a proclamation on April 23rd, calling for 125,000 volunteers; and another proclamation on May 25th, calling for 75,000 more. Before the end of May 118,580 of these volunteers had been mustered in, and later were assembled in various camps and prepared for service in a more or less hurried manner. Among the volunteer regiments organised, one known as that of the Rough Riders greatly excited public interest. The command of one of the proposed three regiments of rough riders was offered to Theodore Roosevelt (then assistant secretary of the navy), who had some knowledge of ranch life. Roosevelt promptly declined the honour, however, on the score that his military experience was insufficient to warrant him in taking command of a regiment. He asked for and received, however, the second place in the regiment commanded by Colonel Leonard Wood.

On the 21st of April a blockade of Cuban ports was ordered under the command of Admiral William T. Sampson. Likewise, Commodore W. S. Schley was ordered to organise a "flying squadron" of fast, armed steamers at Fortress Monroe. While these preparations were being made in the West, plans were being perfected for a successful attack upon Spain's colonial possessions in the Far East. The president had ordered Commodore George Dewey, who was in command of the United States Asiatic squadron at Hong-Kong, to proceed at once to Manila, the capital of the Philippines, and "capture or destroy" the Spanish squadron which guarded that fort. The Spaniards were in no condition to resist an attack, and on May 1st, 1898, Dewey was able to report the total destruction of the Spanish squadron without the loss of a man on the American fleet.

¹ *Congressional Record*, April 11th, 1898.

² *Congressional Record*, April 18th, 1898.



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THE BATTLE OF MANILA BAY

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[1898 A.D.]

Upon the opening of hostilities, a Spanish squadron of four armoured cruisers and some smaller vessels was assembled at the Cape Verde Islands under the command of Rear-Admiral Pascual Cervera. Being in Portuguese waters, the fleet was compelled to set sail after a proclamation of neutrality was issued by Portugal on the 29th of April. After causing the American people considerable anxiety of mind as to its ultimate destination, the fleet put in at Santiago de Cuba. May 29th a blockade of that port was established by the American fleet, inasmuch as it was found impracticable to attack the fleet within the harbour. Some weeks later (June 22nd-24th) the American troops under General Shafter disembarked at Daiquiri and advanced to Siboney. Their forces were to co-operate with the naval forces in operations for the capture of Santiago de Cuba. After a series of sharp skirmishes on the 1st and 2nd of July, the Americans succeeded in capturing the steep heights of El Caney and San Juan which overlooked the city of Santiago. In the mean time, while Admiral Sampson and General Shafter were in consultation about making an attack on the city, Commodore Schley, of the flagship *Brooklyn*, and the commanders of the other vessels of the fleet, guarded the entrance to the harbour of the city. Not long after the departure of Admiral Sampson, for the conference with General Shafter on the morning of July 3rd, Admiral Cervera made a desperate attempt to save his squadron by escaping to sea. But the attempt was futile—the whole squadron being destroyed and Cervera himself captured. These two naval victories—Manila and Santiago—effectually eliminated Spain as a sea-power.

July 17th the Spanish commander of Santiago de Cuba formally surrendered the city and the district to General Shafter. With the fall of Santiago the occupation of Porto Rico became the next strategic necessity. This duty was intrusted to General Miles, and by the 12th of August much of the island was in his possession. On the 13th of this same month the city of Manila passed into the hands of the United States forces in co-operation with the Philippine insurgents. It was not until the 16th of August that a cablegram reached Manila containing the text of the president's proclamation directing a cessation of hostilities. August 12th the secretary of state of the United States and the French ambassador had signed a protocol preliminary to the drawing up of a treaty of peace bringing about a cessation of hostilities between the United States and Spain. Correspondence leading to this issue had begun as early as July 26th. A discussion between the Spanish and American commissioners at Paris, based upon the provisions of the protocol, was prolonged until the 10th of December, 1898, when the former yielded to what they protested against as hard terms, and the treaty of peace was signed. By the terms of the treaty Spain (1) relinquished all claim of sovereignty over and title to Cuba; (2) she ceded Porto Rico and other islands under her sovereignty in the West Indies, and likewise the island of Guahan, or Guam, in the Ladrões; and finally (3) she ceded the archipelago known as the Philippine Islands for a consideration of \$20,000,000. The United States, in turn, agreed to admit Spanish ships and merchandise to the ports of the Philippine Islands on the same terms as ships and merchandise of the United States for a period of ten years.

There developed considerable opposition to the ratification of the treaty in the senate by reason of the acquisition of the Philippine Islands. While this discussion was going on, the insurgent forces at Manila attacked the United States forces under General Otis and Rear-Admiral Dewey. The Filipinos were driven back, however, with great loss. This was the beginning

of a somewhat intermittent struggle of the Philippine insurgents against the establishment of the authority of the United States government in the archipelago. It practically disappeared, however, upon the capture of the insurgent leader, Emilio Aguinaldo, in the spring of 1901. The day after the beginning of this insurrection, that is, February 6th, 1899, the senate ratified the treaty by a vote of fifty-seven to twenty-seven. By its terms the United States was left the guardian of Cuba until the people of that island were in a position to establish a government of their own.

The direct cost of the war with Spain was about \$130,000,000, while the indirect cost would undoubtedly foot up a vastly larger sum.

The conduct of the war department was criticised severely. Charges of the ill effects of administrative "red tape," politics, and positive inefficiency led to the appointment by the president, in September, 1898, of an investigating commission. The report of this commission, made in the following February, could not be described as entirely satisfactory to the country at large.

The three great results of the Spanish War, in so far as the United States is concerned, might be summarised as follows: (1) embarkation upon a policy of colonisation; (2) entrance upon the career of a world-wide power; (3) a greater unification of the different sections of the United States. The close of the war made it possible for the United States to take up for consideration other matters of international importance. In the spring of 1899 the United States sent commissioners to The Hague to meet representatives from other nations for the purpose of electing a tribunal for the pacific settlement of international conflicts. The Hague Peace Conference Treaty was drawn up and later was ratified by the senate of the United States. Near the end of the same year the joint control of the Samoan Islands by Germany, England, and the United States came to an end and the islands were partitioned between the three countries. Probably the most important negotiations of all were those leading to the signature of the Hay-Pauncefote Treaty between the United States and Great Britain to facilitate the construction of an isthmian canal. The treaty was amended by the senate in so radical a manner that the British government, early in March, 1901, was compelled to reject it. Later, however, a satisfactory treaty was agreed upon.

Legislation leading to the establishment of the monetary system of the country upon a sound basis was secured March 14th, 1900, when the Financial Bill became a law. This bill had for its object "the fixing of the standard of value and the maintaining at a parity with that standard of all forms of money issued or coined by the United States." It affirmed that "the unit of value is the dollar, consisting of 25.8 grains of gold, nine-tenths fine," and made it the duty of the secretary of the treasury to maintain all forms of money issued or coined at a parity with this standard.¹

Before the close of this administration congress provided (1900) a government for the people of Porto Rico. Late in the spring of 1901 the power of congress to deal as it sees fit with the colonies was sustained by a decision of the supreme court of the United States. At the same time congress authorised the president to leave the control of Cuba to its people provided they agreed to certain conditions. Among these conditions were that the Cubans should maintain their right of independence, and that they should recognise the right of the United States to preserve that independence, if necessary; and also to protect life, property, and individual liberty in that island. These

¹ *Annual Report of the Secretary of the Treasury*, 1900, pp. 72, 73.

[1900-1901 A.D.]

conditions were accepted, and on May 20th, 1902, the United States formally recognized the new republic of Cuba.

The census taken in 1900 revealed a population in the states, territories (including Hawaii), Indian reservations, and Alaska, of 76,303,387, which the population of the insular possessions not incorporated in the United States increased to about 85,271,730. The wealth of the country was estimated at \$94,300,000,000.

In the presidential campaign of 1900 the platform adopted by the republican convention, which met at Philadelphia on the 19th of June, declared in favour of the gold standard and defended the American policy in the Philippines as the only one which could honourably have been followed; while the platform adopted by the democratic convention, which met at Kansas City on the 4th of July, reiterated the demand of 1896 for the unlimited coinage of silver at the ratio of sixteen to one, but put forward the question of expansion, or "imperialism," as "the paramount issue of the campaign." For their candidates the republicans nominated President William McKinley for re-election and Theodore Roosevelt, then governor of New York, for vice-president; the democrats selected William J. Bryan for president and Adlai E. Stevenson for vice-president. When the election came, it resulted in republican success; for, though many republicans, among them ex-President Harrison, Senator Hoar, and Mr. Thomas B. Reed, were dissatisfied with the administration's course towards the Philippines, while others deplored its tenderness towards certain financial interests, most of them were prevented by their distrust of Mr. Bryan's free-silver ideas from joining with the Democrats. About fourteen million votes were cast, of which McKinley received 7,214,027, and Bryan 6,342,514. The former's electoral vote was 292, while the latter's was but 155.

ADMINISTRATION OF MCKINLEY AND ROOSEVELT

But President McKinley was not destined to fill out many months of his new term of office. In the spring of 1901 the Pan-American Exposition had been opened at Buffalo. It differed from other expositions in that it was especially designed to show the progress made by the nations of North, South, and Central America in agriculture, manufactures, and the arts. In addition to this, it had a distinct purpose to unite all the nations of the three Americas in closer commercial intercourse for their common benefit. President McKinley visited the exposition in September and gave expression to this latter sentiment. The day after his address, on Friday afternoon, September 6th, the president gave a public reception in the music-hall of the exposition. It was at this reception, while shaking hands with the people, that the president was shot twice by a young anarchist named Leon F. Czolgosz. Mr. McKinley lingered about a week, and died early on Saturday morning, September 14th. Under the provisions of the constitution, Mr. Roosevelt became president.

The new president brought to the duties of his office one of the most forceful and compelling personalities that has yet appeared in American public life. Although the youngest man who had ever occupied the presidential chair, his experience had been both long and varied. Soon after his graduation from Harvard he entered the New York legislature, where, despite his youth, he gained a high reputation as a leader of the reform forces. From 1884 to 1886 he lived on a ranch in western Dakota, and there acquired a knowledge of the men of the frontier which he was later to put to novel use. In 1886

he was an unsuccessful candidate on the republican ticket for mayor of New York; from 1889 to 1895 served with much credit on the United States civil service commission; and from 1895 to 1897 displayed great energy as president of the New York City police commission. Mr. Roosevelt was also a frequent contributor to the magazines; while by works on *The Naval War of 1812*, *The Winning of the West*, and other subjects he gained a prominent place among American historians. In 1897 he became assistant secretary of the navy; and foreseeing that a war with Spain was inevitable, he did much to prepare our navy for the splendid work which it accomplished. Upon the outbreak of the war he and his friend Dr. Leonard Wood organised, as already related, a volunteer regiment composed of cowboys, Indians, frontiersmen, football players, and other adventurous spirits; and when Wood was promoted to a brigadier-generalcy, Roosevelt took chief command. The regiment displayed remarkable fighting qualities in the campaign against Santiago, and went down to history as "Roosevelt's Rough Riders." Upon his return home Colonel Roosevelt was elected governor of New York. In 1900 his extraordinary popularity with the people of the country and the intrigues of certain politicians who wished to "shelve" him combined to make him against his will the republican nominee for the vice-presidency.

Upon his unexpected succession to the presidency Mr. Roosevelt retained the cabinet of his predecessor and pledged himself to carry out his predecessor's policy. In the summer and autumn of the following year a great strike paralyzed the anthracite coal industry of the country and brought much suffering to those who were dependent upon coal for fuel, but through the activity of the president the differences between the miners and their employers were finally arbitrated by a commission selected by him. In the same year suit was brought by his order against the Northern Securities Company, a corporation which had been formed with the object of uniting the Great Northern and Pacific railroads in such a way as to control transportation in the northwest and eliminate all competition. The contention on which the suit was based was that this merger amounted to a restraint of interstate trade as forbidden by the Sherman Anti-Trust Act of 1890; this contention was sustained by the circuit court of appeals at St. Paul in April, 1903, and, upon appeal, by the supreme court in March, 1904. The outcome is believed to have prevented the formation of other similar companies and to have exercised a salutary effect upon financial circles. In 1903 the long standing controversy over the boundary line between Canada and Alaska was settled in favour of the United States; the same year saw the establishment of a department of commerce and labour; and in 1904 occurred at St. Louis a great exposition commemorative of the purchase of Louisiana.

By far the most important act of the administration, however, consisted in bringing to a head the long meditated plan for an Isthmian canal. After the abrogation, as already described, of the Clayton-Bulwer Treaty of 1850 a treaty was negotiated with Colombia for the right of way across the Isthmus of Panama; but the Colombian congress refused to ratify it. Angered by this refusal, the people of the Isthmus in November, 1903, set up the independent state of Panama; their independence was at once recognized by the president, and a favourable treaty was made with the new state. By this treaty the United States secured perpetual control over a strip ten miles wide across the Isthmus as well as other privileges; while in return it agreed to guarantee the independence of Panama and to pay \$10,000,000 down and \$250,000 yearly after the expiration of nine years. The French company's

[1904-1907 A.D.]

works and rights on the Isthmus were also bought for \$40,000,000; and further measures were taken for making the canal a reality.

As election-time drew near it became apparent that Mr. Roosevelt would be the republican nominee. Although his independent course had rendered him unsatisfactory to many politicians, and although, by insisting upon a "square deal" for the negro as well as for the white man, he had aroused a storm of criticism in the South, he had nevertheless won the confidence of the people to a remarkable degree. At the republican convention in Chicago in June, he was nominated by acclamation. As nominee for vice-president, the convention chose Senator Charles W. Fairbanks of Indiana. In the democratic convention at St. Louis in July, a bitter struggle between the radical and the conservative elements resulted in a victory for the latter, and the nomination of Judge Alton B. Parker of New York, and for vice-president, ex-senator Henry Gassaway Davis of West Virginia. The platform adopted evaded the silver issue, but upon the news of his nomination Judge Parker telegraphed the convention that he considered the gold standard irrevocably established. Mr. Roosevelt swept the entire north, as well as West Virginia and Missouri, and received one electoral vote in Maryland; of the popular vote he received a plurality of 2,512,417 and received 338 electoral votes against 140 for Parker.

THE ROOSEVELT ADMINISTRATION

On the 1st of July, 1905, occurred the death of the secretary of state, Mr. John Hay, who had gained an eminent position in diplomacy, notably by maintaining the "open door" in China. He was succeeded in the cabinet by Mr. Elihu Root, from 1899 to 1904 secretary of war. In the same summer the president induced Russia and Japan to send representatives to a peace conference at Portsmouth, New Hampshire, which brought the struggle in the far East to an end. The year was made noteworthy in a less honorable way by the disclosure of grave scandals in the management of the great life insurance companies.

In his message to Congress of December, 1904, the president recommended legislation to secure Federal control over great corporations carrying on interstate trade, and particularly Federal regulation of freight rates to destroy the rebate evil. No legislation on these matters was secured, and these recommendations were reiterated in the message of December, 1905.

On April 17th, 1906, there were repeated and terrific earthquake shocks along the Pacific coast, the maximum severity and mortality centering in San Francisco and its suburbs. In the city fire broke out immediately, was carried this way and that by the wind, and could be checked neither by the utterly inadequate supply of water nor by the liberal use of dynamite. In the greater part of the city only a few buildings, mostly of modern fire-proof, steel-frame construction, were left standing. The lives lost numbered hundreds, and shelter, provision, and clothing were for a short time almost absolutely lacking; but owing to the energy displayed by the authorities and others, and to the fact that many thousands were transported to surrounding towns, free of charge, the suffering was less than might have been expected from the severity of the disaster. The work of the War Department in the city was admirable and the entire country gave promptly and generously. Plans for rebuilding were speedily undertaken.

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CHAPTER XI. THE UNITED STATES SINCE 1865.

Written for the present work by FREDERICK ROBERTSON JONES.

The Reference to Authorities will be found in the footnotes.



A CHRONOLOGICAL SUMMARY OF THE HISTORY OF THE UNITED STATES (986-1907 A.D.)

DISCOVERIES

- 986 Bjarni Herjulfson, sailing south from Greenland, sights the coast of Vinland, but does not land.
- 1000 Leif Ericson discovers Helluland (possibly Newfoundland); Markland (Nova Scotia) and Vinland (Nantucket).
- 1005 Thorvald Ericson coasts along Cape Cod and dies in Boston harbour.
- 1007-1009 Thorfinn establishes colony in Vinland.
- 1011 Colony destroyed by Indians.
- 1492 Columbus lands on Guanahani, one of the Bahama islands; discovers Cuba and Hayti, and establishes colony in Hayti.
- 1493 Columbus on second voyage discovers Lesser Antilles and Jamaica.
- 1497 John and perhaps Sebastian Cabot discover Newfoundland and explore coast to the south.
- 1498 Sebastian Cabot sails along the coast from Maine to Cape Hatteras.
- 1500 Cabral discovers Brazil.

SIXTEENTH CENTURY

- 1501 Gaspar de Cortereal, a Portuguese, discovers the river St. Lawrence.
- 1501-1502 Portuguese explore coast from Florida to Cape Cod.
- 1502 Last voyage of Columbus. He discovers bay of Honduras, Veragua and Porto Bello.
- 1504 French fishermen on banks of Newfoundland.
- 1506 Jean Denys of Honfleur examines and charts gulf of St. Lawrence. Spaniards discover Yucatan.
- 1507 The name "America" coined by Waldseemüller from Amerigo Vespucci.
- 1508 First importation of negroes to Spanish West Indies.
- 1513 Juan Ponce de Leon discovers Florida. Vasco Núñez Balboa discovers Pacific Ocean.
- 1518 Juan de Grijalva sails along Mexican coast and learns of Aztec Empire.
- 1519 Alvarez Pineda explores north coast, of gulf of Mexico, and perhaps discovers the Mississippi. Hernando Cortes invades Mexico, captures Montezuma. Returning to the coast he defeats Narvaez and
- 1520 returns to Mexico. War with Aztecs.
- 1521 Cortes captures city of Mexico and subdues country.
- 1522 Bermudas discovered.
- 1524 Giovanni da Verrazano sails along the coast from 34° to 50° N. discovering the Hudson River and Block Island.

- 1525 Estevan Gomez sails along coast 34° to 44° N. Cabeza de Vaca reaches the mouth of the Mississippi.
- 1527 John Rut discovers coast of Maine.
- 1528 Panfilo Narvaez leads unsuccessful expedition to Florida.
- 1534 Jacques Cartier explores gulf of St. Lawrence, and
- 1535 sails up the St. Lawrence to site of Montreal.
- 1536 Cortes discovers Lower California.
- 1539 Hernando de Soto leads expedition to Florida.
- 1540 Francisco Vasquez de Coronado discovers cañon of the Colorado. Expedition of Cartier for colonisation of Canada. St. Lawrence river explored.
- 1542 Juan Rodriguez Cabrillo discovers Cape Mendocino and explores Pacific coast to 44° N. Hernando de Soto reaches the Mississippi river, explores it to mouth of the Ohio, and is buried in its waters.
- 1548 First act of English parliament regarding America. Regulation of Newfoundland fisheries.
- 1562 Admiral Coligny attempts to found a Huguenot colony near Port Royal in South Carolina. Settlement abandoned.
- 1563 John Hawkins brings three hundred slaves to West Indies.
- 1564 René de Laudonnière builds Fort Carolina on the St. John's river in Florida.
- 1565 Spaniards under Menendez de Aviles massacre garrison of Fort Carolina, build forts on St. John's river and at St. Augustine.
- 1568 Dominique de Gourgues captures Spanish forts and massacres garrisons.
- 1576-1577 Martin Frobisher attempts to discover northwest passage.
- 1578 Francis Drake reaches west coast in his voyage round the world, and claims country between 38° and 42° N. for England, under name of New Albion.
- 1580 Espejo founds Santa Fé, in New Mexico.
- 1583 Sir Humphrey Gilbert leads expedition to Newfoundland.
- 1584 Sir Walter Raleigh sends expedition under Amadas and Barlow to explore coast north of Spanish possessions. Landing on the island of Roanoke (Wocokon) they take possession in the name of Queen Elizabeth and call the country Virginia.
- 1585 Sir Richard Grenville leads colony of one hundred and eighty persons to Roanoke Island; who are removed in
- 1586 by Drake. Grenville returns with one hundred and seventeen new colonists in
- 1587 and founds "Borough of Raleigh in Virginia." Virginia Dare, first English child, born in America.
- 1598 French explore Acadia, and
- 1600 establish colony at Tadousac.

SEVENTEENTH CENTURY

- 1602 Bartholomew Gosnold discovers Cape Cod and Buzzard's Bay, erects fort on Cuttyhunk (Elizabeth Island).
- 1603 Voyage of Samuel Champlain up the St. Lawrence.
- 1604 Port Royal (Annapolis) in Nova Scotia founded by the French under De Monts. Champlain discovers St. John river.
- 1606 James I issues patent dividing Virginia into two parts; (1) The First colony, embracing country from 34° to 41° N., granted to the London Company. (2) The Second colony, embracing country from 41° to 45° N., granted to the Plymouth Company.
- 1607 Foundation of Jamestown, explorations by Captain John Smith. Plymouth Company sends expedition which builds Fort St. George at mouth of Kennebec river in Maine.
- 1608 Colonists abandon settlement and return to England. Quebec founded by French colony under Champlain.
- 1609 Henry Hudson coasts from Newfoundland to Chesapeake Bay and sails up the Hudson river. Champlain defeats the Mohawks at Ticonderoga.
- 1610 English colony in Newfoundland.
- 1613 Dutch trading post established on Manhattan Island at the mouth of the Hudson or North river (so-called to distinguish it from the South or Delaware river). French colony of St. Saviour, at Mount Desert on the coast of Maine, destroyed by expedition from South Virginia under Sir Samuel Argall.
- 1614 United New Netherland Company established in Holland. Fort built at Manhattan, another, Fort Orange, near the present Albany. John Smith explores coast from Penobscot to Cape Cod, names district New England.
- 1615 Voyage of Adrian Block through Long Island sound (Block Island). Change of land-tenures in South Virginia. Lake Huron discovered by Champlain.
- 1619 First General Assembly in South Virginia. Negro slaves first brought to Virginia.
- 1620 Pilgrims land at Plymouth. John Carver elected governor.

- 1621 Acadia granted to Sir William Alexander under name of Nova Scotia. Plymouth colony receives new charter. William Bradford elected governor.
- 1622 Maine granted to Sir Ferdinand Gorges and John Mason. Settlements at Dover and Portsmouth. Indians massacre three hundred and forty-seven colonists in Virginia.
- 1624 Charter of London Company annulled. The king assumes control of colony.
- 1626 Peter Minuit founds New Amsterdam on Manhattan Island.
- 1628 Salem colony established by John Endicott.
- 1629 Company of Massachusetts Bay established by charter from crown to Salem colony. John Mason receives grant of present New Hampshire. English capture Quebec.
- 1630 John Winthrop appointed governor of Massachusetts Bay Company, brings large colony to Charlestown. Settlement of Boston. First general court of Massachusetts. Sir William Alexander sells Nova Scotia patent to Huguenots.
- 1632 Maryland granted to Cecilus Calvert, Lord Baltimore. Treaty of St. Germain, ceding New France, Acadia, and Canada to France.
- 1634 First settlement in Maryland. Roger Williams expelled from Salem for heresy.
- 1635 French seize trading post at Penobscot. Death of Champlain. Charter of Plymouth colony surrendered to the crown. Connecticut colony founded. Settlements at Hartford, Saybrook, Windsor, and Wethersfield.
- 1636 Roger Williams founds Providence.
- 1637 First general court of Connecticut. War with Pequots.
- 1638 Colonies of Rhode Island and New Haven in Connecticut founded by settlers from Massachusetts. Harvard College established at Cambridge. Colony of New Sweden on the Delaware river.
- 1639 Union of Connecticut towns for separate government. The "Fundamental Orders," the first written constitution in history. Province of Maine established. First general assembly in Plymouth colony.
- 1641 Montreal settled by French under Maisonneuve.
- 1643 Formation of United Colonies of New England (Connecticut, New Haven, Plymouth, and Massachusetts Bay).
- 1644 Providence and Rhode Island colonies unite under one charter. Saybrook joins Connecticut. Indians massacre Virginia colonists.
- 1645 Clayborne rebellion in Maryland.
- 1646 John Eliot commences missionary labour among Indians at Nonantum. Peter Stuyvesant becomes governor of New Netherlands, and claims region from Cape Henlopen to Cape Cod.
- 1648 Petition of Rhode Island for admission to union of colonies rejected.
- 1649 Grant of land in Virginia to Lord Culpeper.
- 1650 Settlement of boundary disputes between New Netherlands and the united colonies.
- 1652 Province of Maine joined to Massachusetts. English parliament assumes control of Maryland.
- 1655 Governor Stuyvesant breaks up colony of New Sweden.
- 1658 Radisson and Groseilliers discover the Upper Mississippi.
- 1659 Virginia proclaims Charles II as king. Persecution of Quakers in New England.
- 1662 Charter of Connecticut granted. New Haven refuses to accept it. Lord Baltimore confirmed in government of Maryland.
- 1663 Grant of Carolina (31° to 36° N.) to earl of Clarendon and associates. Charter of Rhode Island and Providence plantations.
- 1664 New Netherlands granted to duke of York and Albany, including eastern Maine and islands south of Cape Cod. English capture New Amsterdam; name changed to New York. New Jersey granted to Lord Berkeley and Sir George Carteret. Name of Fort Orange changed to Albany.
- 1665 Union of Connecticut and New Haven.
- 1666 French settlement of St. Esprit on south shore of Lake Superior.
- 1667 Treaty of Breda. Acadia surrendered to France.
- 1668 Marquette founds Sault Sainte Marie.
- 1669 Fundamental constitutions of Carolina adopted. Hudson Bay Company incorporated.
- 1670 Charleston in Carolina founded. Treaty of Madrid settles boundaries of English and Spanish possessions. La Salle perhaps visits the Mississippi.
- 1673 Marquette and Joliet explore the Mississippi. Dutch recapture New York and New Jersey, but by the peace of
- 1674 they are restored to the English.
- 1675 Conflicts between New York and Connecticut. King Philip's War begins.
- 1676 King Philip killed. Indians defeated. Bacon's rebellion in Virginia. New Jersey divided into East and West Jersey.
- 1677 Maine finally united to Massachusetts.
- 1678 La Salle explores lakes Erie, Huron, and Michigan.
- 1680 New Hampshire receives royal charter. Hennepin reaches the Mississippi.
- 1681 William Penn receives grant of Pennsylvania, and

- 1683 makes treaty with Indians. Foundation of Philadelphia. La Salle descends the Mississippi to the gulf and calls the valley Louisiana. First legislative assembly in New York.
- 1684 Charter of Massachusetts forfeited to the crown.
- 1686 Sir Edmund Andros appointed governor of New England.
- 1687 Andros unsuccessfully attempts to secure charter of Connecticut. Death of La Salle.
- 1689 Accession of William and Mary. Andros imprisoned. Former governments reinstated. King William's War begins.
- 1690 Sir William Phips captures Port Royal.
- 1692 New charter for Massachusetts. Salem witchcraft frenzy. William and Mary College established.
- 1693 Renewed conflicts between New York and Connecticut.
- 1695 French settlement at Kaskaskia in Illinois.
- 1697 King William's War ended by Peace of Ryswick.
- 1699 French settle at Biloxi in Mississippi.
- 1700 D'Iberville claims possession of Mississippi river for France.

EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

- 1701 Foundation of Yale College. First settlement at Detroit.
- 1702 Queen Anne's War begins. D'Iberville founds Mobile in Alabama.
- 1704 Deerfield in Massachusetts destroyed by Indians.
- 1705 French settle at Vincennes in Indiana.
- 1706 French and Spanish invade Carolina.
- 1708 Indian massacre at Haverhill in Massachusetts.
- 1710 Port Royal captured, name changed to Annapolis.
- 1713 Peace of Utrecht ends Queen Anne's War. Boundary between Massachusetts and Connecticut established.
- 1715 Indian war in Carolina.
- 1718 Suppression of buccaneers in West Indies and pirates on the Carolina coast.
- 1722 Trading-house erected at Oswego.
- 1724 Indian war in New England.
- 1726 Treaties with Indians in New England and New York.
- 1728 Boundary between Virginia and Carolina established.
- 1729 Carolina divided into North and South Carolina.
- 1731 Settlement of boundary dispute between New York and Connecticut.
- 1733 James Oglethorpe establishes colony at Savannah in Georgia (the last of the thirteen colonies).
- 1738 Princeton College founded.
- 1740 Oglethorpe besieges St. Augustine.
- 1742 Spanish invade Georgia.
- 1745 Colonists under William Pepperell capture Louisburg on Cape Breton Island.
- 1748 Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle restores Cape Breton to France. Ohio Company formed.
- 1752 Georgia becomes a royal colony.
- 1753 Disputes between English and French settlers in Ohio valley. George Washington sent by Virginia to remonstrate with French.
- 1754 Washington leads expedition to the Ohio, but is captured at Fort Necessity. Columbia College founded.
- 1755 French and Indian War begins. Braddock's defeat at Fort Duquesne. Battle of Lake George. French fortify Ticonderoga.
- 1756 Montcalm captures forts at Oswego and Niagara.
- 1757 Fort William Henry captured, its garrison massacred.
- 1758 Abercrombie defeated at Ticonderoga, Louisburg captured. General Forbes takes Fort Duquesne, which is renamed Pittsburg.
- 1759 Wolfe defeats Montcalm in battle of the Plains of Abraham, Quebec surrenders.
- 1760 Canada surrenders to the English.
- 1761 The Writs of Assistance in Massachusetts.
- 1762 Expedition against Martinique, English seize French West Indies. Capture of Havana. France cedes Louisiana and New Orleans to Spain.
- 1763 Peace of Paris. France cedes to England Nova Scotia, Canada, and all possessions east of Mississippi river except New Orleans. Spain cedes Florida to England. The conspiracy of Pontiac.
- 1764 Parliament passes the Sugar Act. Massachusetts resolves not to use British manufactures.
- 1765 Passage of the Stamp Act. Colonial congress at New York. Declaration of Rights adopted. Stamp riot in Boston and New York.
- 1766 Repeal of the Stamp Act.

- 1767 Parliament imposes duties on imports to the colonies, creates custom house and commissioners for America.
- 1768 English troops sent to Boston. First settlement in Tennessee.
- 1770 Parliament removes duties on all imports but tea. The Boston massacre.
- 1771 Insurrection in North Carolina.
- 1772 Destruction of the *Gaspee*.
- 1773 Virginia assembly appoints committee on correspondence. The Boston Tea-party. Daniel Boone settles in Kentucky.
- 1774 Boston Port Bill. General Gage appointed governor of Massachusetts. First continental congress at Philadelphia adopts "the American association." Militia organised in Massachusetts.
- 1775 Battles of Lexington and Concord. Continental congress appoints George Washington commander-in-chief of provincial forces. Battle of Bunker Hill. Siege of Boston. Georgia joins the other colonies. Montgomery captures Montreal, besieges Quebec.
- 1776 English surrender Boston. Declaration of Independence adopted. Battles of Long Island and White Plains. Washington retreats to Pennsylvania. Battle of Trenton.
- 1777 Expedition of Burgoyne. Battle of Bennington. Burgoyne defeated at Stillwater, near Saratoga, surrenders his entire force to General Gates. Colonists defeated at Brandywine and Germantown. Congress adopts articles of confederation as "The United States of America." Washington at Valley Forge.
- 1778 France recognises independence of the United States. Parliament renounces right of taxation except for regulation of trade, and unsuccessfully negotiates for the submission of the colonies. English evacuate Philadelphia, are defeated at Monmouth. Count d'Estantin arrives with French fleet and four thousand troops. Massacres of Wyoming and Cherry Valley. English capture Savannah. John Paul Jones destroys many English ships and surprises White Haven.
- 1779 Anthony Wayne surprises and storms Stony Point. West Point fortified. John Paul Jones wins naval battle off English coast.
- 1780 English capture Charleston and subjugate South Carolina. Battle of Camden. General Rochambeau arrives with six thousand French troops. Treason of Benedict Arnold. Execution of André. English defeated at King's Mountain in North Carolina. Abolition of slavery in Massachusetts and Pennsylvania.
- 1781 Battles of Cowpens, Guilford Court House, and Eutaw Springs. English retreat to Charleston. Cornwallis surrenders at Yorktown in Virginia.
- 1782 English evacuate Savannah and Charleston. Preliminary articles of peace signed at Paris.
- 1783 Independence of the United States recognised by Holland, Sweden, Denmark, Spain and Russia. Treaty of Paris recognises the independence and establishes the boundaries of the United States. English evacuate New York.
- 1784 Temporary organisation of western territory.
- 1787 Shays's rebellion. Convention at Philadelphia formulates and adopts the constitution. Congress passes ordinance for the government of the Northwest Territory (slavery forbidden).
- 1788 All the states, except Rhode Island and North Carolina, accept the constitution.
- 1789 **George Washington** unanimously elected President. First congress meets at New York. Ten amendments to the constitution submitted to the states. North Carolina accepts the constitution.
- 1790 Rhode Island accepts the constitution. District of Columbia established, city of Washington laid out. Indian War in Northwest Territory. Death of Franklin.
- 1791 Vermont admitted as fourteenth state.
- 1792 United States Bank and mint established at Philadelphia. Kentucky admitted as fifteenth state. Washington reelected president.
- 1793 Fugitive Slave Act.
- 1794 Neutrality Act. Whiskey insurrection in Pennsylvania. Jay's Treaty concluded with England.
- 1795 Treaty with Spain secures free navigation of the Mississippi.
- 1796 Tennessee admitted as sixteenth state.
- 1797 **John Adams**, second President. War with France begins. Alien and Sedition laws.
- 1798 Eleventh amendment to the constitution adopted. Navy department organised.
- 1799 Death of Washington. Naval warfare with France.
- 1800 Congress meets at Washington for the first time.

NINETEENTH CENTURY

- 1801 **Thomas Jefferson**, third president.
- 1802 Ohio admitted as seventeenth state.

- 1803 The Louisiana Purchase more than doubles original area of the United States.
- 1804 Tripolitan War. Bombardment of Tripoli. Twelfth amendment to the constitution adopted.
- 1805 Thomas Jefferson reelected president.
- 1806 War between England and France injures American commerce. Berlin and Milan decrees.
- 1807 English ship *Leopard* fires on frigate *Chesapeake* and reclaims alleged deserters. Embargo declared. Aaron Burr tried for treason and acquitted. Robert Fulton successfully navigates steamboat *Clermont*.
- 1808 Congress prohibits importation of slaves.
- 1809 **James Madison**, fourth president.
- 1810 Non-importation act revived as to Great Britain.
- 1812 Louisiana admitted as eighteenth state. War declared against Great Britain. Unsuccessful invasion of Canada. American navy victorious in many combats.
- 1813 Battle of Lake Erie. English blockade Atlantic ports. James Madison reelected president.
- 1814 Americans win battles of Chippewa and Lundy's Lane. British capture Washington and burn public buildings, but are defeated at Lake Champlain and at New Orleans. Treaty of Ghent ends war, but leaves all questions unsettled. The Hartford Convention.
- 1815 Treaty with Algiers.
- 1816 Second United States Bank chartered for twenty years. Indiana admitted as nineteenth state.
- 1817 **James Monroe**, fifth president. Mississippi admitted as twentieth state. Seminole War begins.
- 1818 Illinois admitted as twenty-first state. Pensions granted to survivors of Revolutionary War.
- 1819 Treaty with Spain. The United States secures all of Florida and gives up all claim to Texas. Alabama admitted as twenty-second state.
- 1820 Maine admitted as twenty-third state. Missouri Compromise adopted. Monroe reelected president.
- 1821 Missouri admitted as twenty-fourth state.
- 1823 The Monroe Doctrine enunciated.
- 1825 **John Quincy Adams**, sixth president. Erie Canal completed. The first railroad in America built.
- 1828 Congress passes the "Tariff of Abominations."
- 1829 **Andrew Jackson** seventh president. Inauguration of the "spoils system." General protest in the southern states against the tariff laws.
- 1830 Great debate in the senate upon states-rights between Webster and Hayne.
- 1831 Organisation of the abolitionists. Settlement of the French claims.
- 1832 Congress passes new tariff act. Nullification ordinance adopted in South Carolina. President Jackson issues the Nullification Proclamation, refuting states-rights doctrine.
- 1833 Compromise tariff enacted.
- 1835 Second war with Seminole Indians begins.
- 1836 Arkansas admitted as twenty-fifth state. Texas declares its independence of Mexico.
- 1837 **Martin Van Buren**, eighth president. Michigan admitted as twenty-sixth state. Great financial crisis. Rebellion in Canada. American steamer *Caroline* burned.
- 1838-1839 Congress passes the Gag Resolutions against slavery legislation.
- 1840 United States treasury and sub-treasuries established.
- 1841 **William Henry Harrison**, ninth president. Upon his death (April 4th) **John Tyler** vice-president, succeeds as tenth president.
- 1842 Webster-Ashburton Treaty settles northeastern boundary question with Great Britain. Dorr's rebellion in Rhode Island.
- 1844 Samuel F. B. Morse builds experimental telegraph line between Washington and Baltimore.
- 1845 **James K. Polk**, eleventh president. Florida admitted as twenty-seventh state. Texas annexed to United States and admitted as twenty-eighth state.
- 1846 The Oregon Treaty with Great Britain fixes northwestern boundary. Iowa admitted as twenty-ninth state. War with Mexico begins. General Zachary Taylor invades Mexico, wins battles of Palo Alto and Resaca de la Palma, and captures Monterey.
- 1847 General Winfield Scott captures Vera Cruz, wins battles of Cerro Gordo and Churubusco, captures fortress of Chapultepec and enters city of Mexico. Gold discovered in California.
- 1848 By the Treaty of Guadalupe-Hidalgo, Mexico gives up Texas and cedes to the United States New Mexico and Upper California (about 522,000 square miles). Wisconsin admitted as thirtieth state. Organisation of Free Soil party.

- 1849 **Zachary Taylor**, twelfth president, dies (July, 1850),
 1850 and is succeeded by Millard Fillmore, vice-president, as thirteenth president. California admitted as thirty-first state. Fugitive Slave Law passed. Clayton-Bulwer Treaty with Great Britain.
- 1853 **Franklin Pierce**, fourteenth president. Gadsden Purchase establishes Mexican boundary, adds forty-five thousand square miles to the United States. Rise of Know Nothing party.
- 1854 Commodore Perry negotiates treaty with Japan. Reciprocity treaty with Great Britain. Congress passes Kansas-Nebraska Bill. The Ostend Manifesto.
- 1855-1856 "Border-ruffian" troubles in Kansas. Republican party organised.
- 1857 **James Buchanan**, fifteenth president. The Dred-Scott decision. Great financial panic.
- 1858 Minnesota admitted as thirty-second state. First Atlantic cable laid, but proves a failure. Lincoln-Douglas debate.
- 1859 Oregon admitted as thirty-third state. John Brown seizes arsenal at Harper's Ferry, Virginia, is captured and hanged.
- 1860 The republican party having been successful in the presidential election, South Carolina secedes from the Union, followed early in
- 1861 by Mississippi, Florida, Alabama, Georgia, Louisiana, North Carolina, Texas, Virginia, Tennessee and Arkansas. **Confederate States of America**, organised at Montgomery, Alabama, and **Jefferson Davis** elected president. **Abraham Lincoln** inaugurated as sixteenth president. Siege and capture of Fort Sumter, in Charleston harbour. Call for seventy-five thousand volunteers. Riots in Baltimore. Great Britain recognises Confederate States as belligerents. Battle of Bull Run. George B. McClellan appointed commander of Army of Potomac. Capture and release of Mason and Slidell (*Trent* affair). Kansas admitted as thirty-fourth state.
- 1862 General U. S. Grant captures forts Henry and Donelson in Tennessee. *Monitor* and *Merrimac*. Battle of Shiloh. Capture of New Orleans. McClellan fails in the Peninsular campaign after seven days' battle before Richmond. Second battle of Bull Run. Confederate army under General Robert E. Lee invades Maryland, but retreats after battle of Antietam. McClellan superseded by Burnside, who suffers severe defeat at Fredericksburg, and is succeeded in
- 1863 by General Joseph Hooker. President Lincoln issues Emancipation Proclamation. Hooker is defeated at Chancellorsville, and is succeeded by General George G. Meade. Lee again invades the North, but is defeated at Gettysburg. General Grant captures Vicksburg and opens the Mississippi; is made commander of the department of the Mississippi, and defeats the Confederates at Lookout Mountain and Missionary Ridge. West Virginia admitted as thirty-fifth state.
- 1864 Grant becomes commander-in-chief, fights battles of the Wilderness, Spottsylvania, and Cold Harbor, and begins siege of Petersburg. Sheridan defeats Early in Shenandoah valley. General William T. Sherman, commanding department of the Mississippi, begins the march to the sea, captures Atlanta and Savannah. Thomas defeats Hood at Nashville. The *Kearsarge* sinks the Confederate steamer *Alabama* off Cherbourg, France, and Admiral Farragut captures Mobile. Nevada admitted as thirty-sixth state. Lincoln re-elected president.
- 1865 Fort Fisher captured by General Terry. Battle of Five Forks compels evacuation by Confederates of Petersburg and Richmond. General Lee surrenders at Appomattox Court House. Assassination of Lincoln (April 14th). **Andrew Johnson**, vice-president, succeeds as seventeenth president. Last Confederate army surrenders. Proclamation of amnesty. Thirteenth amendment to the constitution adopted. Freedmen's bureau established.
- 1866 Telegraphic communication established with England.
- 1867 Reconstruction and Tenure of Office acts. Alaska purchased from Russia. Nebraska admitted as thirty-seventh state.
- 1868 Impeachment and acquittal of President Johnson. Fourteenth amendment to the constitution adopted.
- 1869 **Ulysses S. Grant**, eighteenth president. "Black Friday."
- 1870 Fifteenth amendment to the constitution adopted. The Ku-Klux-Klan. Congress passes the Force Act.
- 1871 Civil service commission authorised by congress. Treaty of Washington with Great Britain provides for settlement of Oregon boundary, the fishery disputes, and of the *Alabama* claims. Chicago fire.
- 1872 Cr dit Mobilier scandals. The *Virginian* incident.
- 1873 Commercial crisis. Coinage Act (the "crime of 1873"). Reconstruction troubles in the South which in
- 1874 cause severe crisis in New Orleans.
- 1876 Centennial exhibition at Philadelphia. Indian War, destruction of General Custer's command. Colorado admitted as thirty-eighth state. The result of the presidential election being in doubt, congress appoints an electoral commission, which in

- 1877 declares the republican candidates elected. **Rutherford B. Hayes**, nineteenth president. Troops withdrawn from the southern states. The "solid South" an accomplished fact. Progress of civil service reform. Great railroad strikes and riots.
- 1878 Greenback party organised. Congress passes Bland-Allison Bill.
- 1879 Resumption of specie payments. Negro exodus from the southern states.
- 1881 **James A. Garfield**, twentieth president. Star route frauds. Congress passes anti-polygamy and anti-Chinese bills. Garfield assassinated and succeeded by **Chester A. Arthur**, vice-president, as twenty-first president.
- 1883 Civil Service Reform Bill enacted.
- 1885 **Grover Cleveland**, twenty-second president.
- 1886 Congress regulates succession to the presidency.
- 1887 Interstate Commerce Act. Electoral Count Bill.
- 1888 Chinese immigration prohibited.
- 1889 **Benjamin Harrison**, twenty-third president. Pan-American congress at Washington. Dispute with Germany over Samoan Islands. North Dakota, South Dakota, Montana, and Washington admitted as states.
- 1890 McKinley Tariff Bill passes congress. Behring Sea troubles with Great Britain. Idaho and Wyoming admitted as states.
- 1891 Italian minister recalled on account of lynchings at New Orleans. American seamen slain at Valparaiso, Chile. Behring Sea troubles referred to arbitration. Labour disturbances at Homestead, Pennsylvania.
- 1892 Hawaiian Islands apply for annexation.
- 1893 **Grover Cleveland**, twenty-fourth president. Hawaiian Treaty withdrawn. Income tax declared unconstitutional. Commercial panic. World's Columbian Exposition at Chicago.
- 1894 Wilson tariff enacted. Bonds issued to maintain gold reserve. Treaties with China and Japan. United States troops quell riot at Chicago.
- 1895 Silver legislation vetoed. Venezuela message. Discovery of gold in Alaska.
- 1896 Utah admitted as forty-fifth state.
- 1897 **William McKinley**, twenty-fifth president.
- 1898 Battleship *Maine* blown up in Havana harbour. Congress appropriates \$50,000,000 for national defence. War declared with Spain. Blockade of Cuban ports. Commodore George Dewey destroys Spanish fleet in the harbour of Manila, in Philippine Islands. United States troops land near Santiago in Cuba. Battles of Las Guasimas, El Caney, and San Juan Hill. Spanish fleet attempts to escape from Santiago, but is entirely destroyed. Santiago surrenders. United States troops occupy Porto Rico. Capture of Manila. Treaty of Paris cedes Spanish West Indies, Guam, and the Philippines to the United States. Military government established in Cuba. Annexation of Hawaii.
- 1899 Insurrection in the Philippines. Philippines Commission appointed. Cuba reorganised. Enormous growth of the trusts. Continued insurrection in the Philippines.
- 1900 Constitutional convention in Cuba. McKinley reelected president. Boxer War in China.

TWENTIETH CENTURY

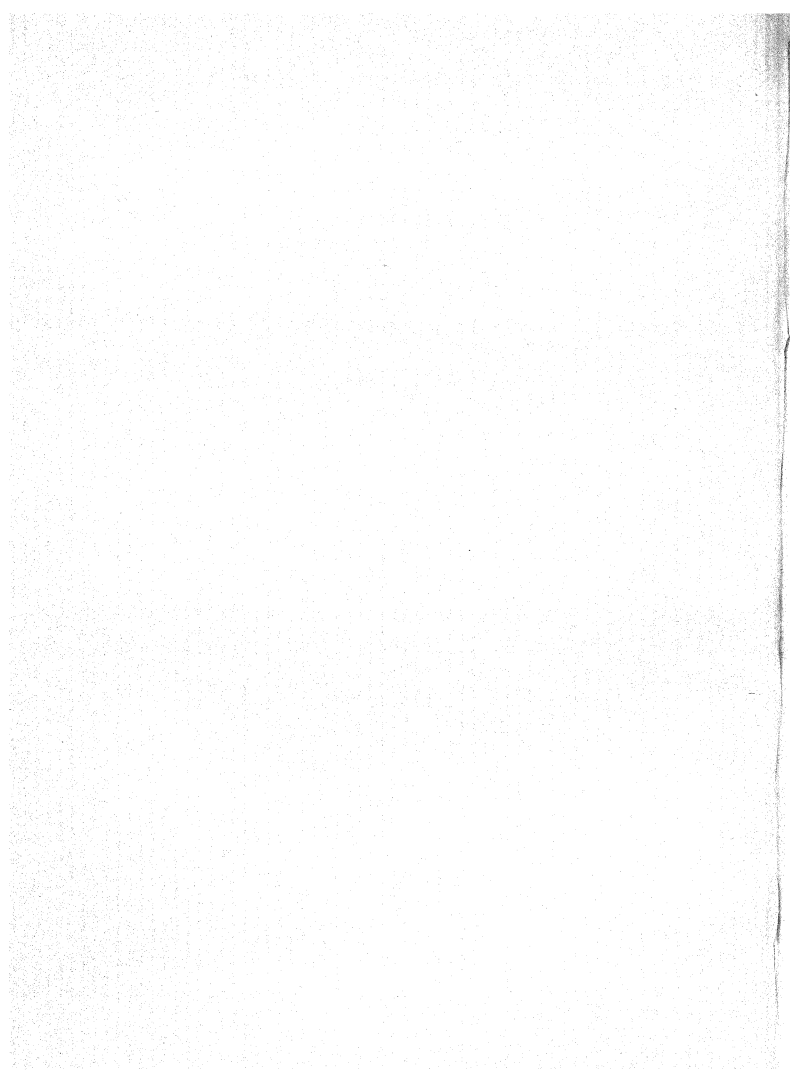
- 1901 President McKinley assassinated, succeeded by **Theodore Roosevelt**, vice-president, as twenty-sixth president. Civil government established in the Philippines. Capture of Aguinaldo. Hay-Pauncefote Treaty settles Isthmian canal question.
- 1902 Republic of Cuba established. United States troops withdrawn. Congress authorises purchase of Panama canal. Reciprocity Treaty with Cuba. Coal miners' strike in Pennsylvania.
- 1903 Alaskan boundary tribunal grants claims of United States. Treaty with republic of Panama.
- 1904 Panama canal purchased. Louisiana Purchase Exposition at St. Louis. **Theodore Roosevelt** elected president for the term 1905-1909.
- 1905 Death of Secretary Hay. Scandals in management of insurance companies.
- 1906 Question of the regulation of railway rates. Earthquake and fire at San Francisco. Exclusion of Japanese children from Californian schools.
- 1907 Intervention of the Federal authorities in the Californian School dispute.

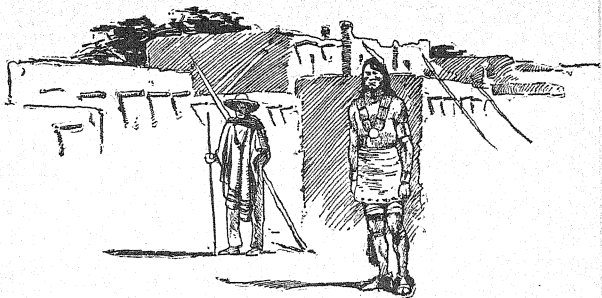
PART XXIV

THE
HISTORY OF SPANISH AMERICA

BASED CHIEFLY UPON THE WORKS OF THE FOLLOWING WRITERS

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CHAPTER I

THE CONQUEST OF MEXICO

EARLY HISTORY OF MEXICO

IF a traveller, landing on that part of the coast of the Mexican gulf where Cortes and his Spaniards landed, were to proceed westward, across the continent, he would pass successively through three regions or climates. First, he would pass through the *tierra caliente*, or hot region, distinguished by all the features of the tropics—their luxuriant vegetation, their occasional sandy deserts, and their unhealthiness at particular seasons. After sixty miles of travel through this *tierra caliente*, he would enter the *tierra templada*, or temperate region, where the products of the soil are such as belong to the most genial European countries. Ascending through it, the traveller at last leaves wheat-fields beneath him, and plunges into forests of pine, indicating his entrance into the *tierra fria*, or cold region, where the sleety blasts from the mountains penetrate the very bones. This *tierra fria* constitutes the summits of part of the great mountain range of the Andes, which traverses the whole American continent. Fortunately, however, at this point the Andes do not attain their greatest elevation. Instead of rising, as in some other parts of their range, in a huge perpendicular wall or ridge, they here flatten and widen out, so as to constitute a vast plateau, or table-land, six or seven thousand feet above the level of the sea. On this immense sheet of table-land, stretching for hundreds of miles, the inhabitants, though living within the tropics, enjoy a climate equal to that of the south of Italy; while their proximity to the extremes both of heat and cold enables them to procure, without much labour, the luxuries of many lands. Across the table-land there stretches, from east to west, a chain of volcanic peaks, some of which are of immense height and covered perpetually with snow.

This table-land was called by the ancient Mexicans the plain of Anahuac. Near its centre is a valley of an oval form, about two hundred miles in circumference, surrounded by a rampart of porphyritic rock, and overspread

for about a tenth part of its surface by five distinct lakes or sheets of water. This is the celebrated valley of Mexico—called a valley only by comparison with the mountains which surround it, for it is seven thousand feet above the level of the sea. Round the margins of the five lakes once stood numerous cities, the relics of which are yet visible; and on an islet in the middle of the largest lake stood the great city of Mexico, or Tenochtitlan, the capital of the empire which the Spaniards were now invading, and the residence of the Mexican emperor, Montezuma.

The origin of the Mexicans is a question of great obscurity—a part of the more extensive question of the manner in which America was peopled. According to the highly discrepant theories of the authorities on the subject, the plains of Anahuac were overrun, previous to the discovery of America, by several successive races from the northwest [or, as some assert, the south-west] of the continent. Thus, in the thirteenth century the great table-land of Central America was inhabited by a number of races and subraces, all originally of the same stock, but differing from each other greatly in character and degree of civilisation, and engaged in mutual hostilities. The cities of these different races were scattered over the plateau, principally in the neighbourhood of the five lakes. Tezcuco, on the eastern bank of the greatest of the lakes, was the capital of the Acolhuans; and the city of Tenochtitlan, or Mexico, situated on an island in the same lake, was the capital of the Aztecs.

In the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries the dominant race in the plains of Anahuac was the Acolhuans, or Tezcucans, represented as a people of mild and polished manners, skilled in the elegant arts, and possessing literary habits and tastes—the Athenians, if we may so call them, of the New World. The most celebrated of the Tezcucan sovereigns was Nezahualcoyotl, who reigned early in the fifteenth century. By this prince a revolution was effected in the political state of the valley of Anahuac. He procured the formation of a confederacy between Tezcuco and the two neighbouring friendly cities of Mexico and Tlacopan, by which they bound themselves severally to assist each other when attacked, and to carry on wars conjointly. In this strange alliance Tezcuco was the principal member, as being confessedly the most powerful state; Mexico stood next; and lastly, Tlacopan, as being inferior to the other two.

Nezahualcoyotl died in 1440, and was succeeded on the Tezcucan throne by his son Nezahualpilli. During his reign the Tezcucans fell from their position as the first member of the triple confederacy which his father had formed, and gave place to the Aztecs, or Mexicans. These Aztecs had been gradually growing in consequence since their first arrival in the valley. Decidedly inferior to the Tezcucans in culture, and professing a much more bloody and impure worship, they excelled them in certain qualities, and possessed, on the whole, a firmer and more compact character. If the Tezcucans were the Greeks, the Aztecs were the Romans of the New World. Under a series of able princes they had increased in importance, till now, in the reign of Nezahualpilli, they were the rivals of their allies, the Tezcucans, for the sovereignty of Anahuac.

In the year 1502 a vacancy occurred in the throne of Tenochtitlan, or Mexico. The election fell on Montezuma II, the nephew of the deceased monarch, a young man who had already distinguished himself as a soldier and a priest or sage, and who was noted, as his name—Montezuma (sorrowful man)—implied, for a certain gravity and sad severity of manner. The first years of Montezuma's reign were spent in war. Carrying his victorious arms as far as Nicaragua and Honduras in the south, and to the shores of the

[1502-1518 A.D.]

Mexican gulf in the east, he extended the sovereignty of the triple confederacy of which he was a member, over an immense extent of territory. Distal provinces he compelled to pay him tribute, and the wealth of Anahuac flowed from all directions towards the valley of Mexico. Haughty and severe his disposition, and magnificent in his tastes, he ruled like an oriental despot over the provinces which he had conquered; and the least attempt at rebellion was fearfully punished, captives being dragged in hundreds to the capital to be slaughtered on the stone of human sacrifice in the great war temple. Nor did Montezuma's own natural-born subjects stand less in dread of him. Wise, liberal, and even generous in his government, his inflexible and relentless justice, and his lordly notions of his own dignity, made him an object less of affection than of awe and reverence. In his presence his nobles spoke in whispers; in his palace he was served with a slavish homage; and when he appeared in public his subjects veiled their faces as unworthy to gaze upon his person. The death of Nezahualpilli, in 1516, made him absolute sovereign in Anahuac. On the death of that king, two of his sons, Cacama and Ixtlilxochitl, contended for the throne of Tezcuco. Montezuma sided with Cacama; and the dispute was at length ended by compromise between the two brothers, by which the kingdom was divided into two parts—Cacama obtaining the southern half with the city of Tezcuco, and Ixtlilxochitl the northern half.

Thus, at the period of the arrival of the Spaniards, Montezuma was absolute sovereign of nearly the whole of that portion of Central America which lies between the Gulf of Mexico and the Pacific Ocean—the kings of Tezcuco and Tlacopan being nominally his confederates and counsellors, according to the ancient treaty of alliance between the three states, but in reality his dependents.^b

THE COMING OF THE SPANIARDS

Hitherto the Spaniards had done little more than to enlarge their discoveries upon the continent of America; they had visited most of the islands in the Gulf of Mexico and off the coast of the mainland, and had discovered the great Southern Ocean, which opened extensive prospects and unbounded expectations in that quarter.

But although the settlements at Hispaniola and Cuba had become considerably flourishing and important, and afforded great facilities for enterprise on the continent, no colony had been maintained there, except the feeble and languishing one at Darien, and nothing had been attempted towards the conquest of the extensive country which had been discovered. The ferocity and courage of the natives, with the other obstacles attending such an enterprise, had discouraged the adventurers who had explored the continent, and they returned contented with the discoveries they had made, and the taking possession of the country, without attempting to maintain any foothold in it. This was the state of Spanish affairs in America in the year 1518, twenty-six years after the discovery of the country by Columbus. But at this period a new era commenced, and the astonishing genius and almost incredible exertions of one man conquered a powerful and populous nation, which, compared with those tribes with which the Spaniards had hitherto been acquainted

^b Besides the ordinary sacrifice, in which the victim's heart was cut out and laid on the altar, there was a gladiatorial sacrifice, where the victim contended with a succession of warriors before being offered up.

were a civilised people, understanding the arts of life, and were settled in towns, villages, and even large and populous cities.

Intelligence of the important discoveries made by Grijalva was no sooner communicated to Velasquez, than, prompted by ambition, he conceived the plan of fitting out a large armament for the conquest and occupation of the country; and so great was his ardour that, without waiting for the authority of his sovereign or the return of Grijalva, the expedition was prepared and ready to sail about the time the latter entered the port of Santiago de Cuba. Velasquez was ambitious of the glory which he expected would attend the expedition, yet, being sensible that he had neither the courage nor capacity to command it himself, he was greatly embarrassed in selecting a person who suited his views; as he wanted a man of sufficient courage, talents, and experience to command, but who at the same time would be a passive instrument in his hands. At length two of the secretaries of Velasquez recommended Hernando Cortes as a man suitable for his purpose; and, happily for his country but fatally for himself, he immediately fell in with the proposition. Cortes was one of the adventurers who came out to Hispaniola in the year 1504, when the island was under the governorship of Ovando, who was a kinsman of his; from which circumstance he was immediately employed in several lucrative and honourable stations; but not being satisfied with these, he accompanied Velasquez in his expedition to Cuba, and distinguished himself in its conquest.

So great and unremitted were his exertions in forwarding the expedition that he sailed from Santiago de Cuba on the 18th day of November, in the year 1518, a short time after he received his commission. Velasquez, who had been jealous of Cortes before he sailed, was confirmed in his suspicions of his fidelity as soon as he was no longer in his power, and immediately despatched orders to Trinidad to deprive him of his commission. But he had already acquired the confidence of his officers and men in such a degree as to be able to intimidate the chief magistrate of the place and depart without molestation. Velasquez, irritated and mortified at the failure of his first attempt to deprive Cortes of his commission, despatched a confidential friend to this place, with peremptory orders to Pedro Barba, his lieutenant-governor in that colony, instantly to arrest Cortes and send him, under a strong guard, a prisoner to Santiago, and to countermand the sailing of the fleet. Cortes having obtained information of the designs of Velasquez before his messenger arrived, immediately took measures to counteract them.

The fleet consisted of eleven vessels, one of a hundred tons, three of seventy or eighty, and the residue small open barks. There were on board five hundred and eight soldiers and one hundred and nine seamen and artificers, making in all six hundred and seventeen men. A part of the men had firearms, the rest crossbows, swords, and spears. They had only sixteen horses, and ten small field-pieces. With this force Cortes was about to commence war, with a view of conquest, upon a nation whose dominions were more extensive than all the kingdoms subject to the Spanish crown, and which was filled with people considerably advanced in civilisation. Although this expedition was undertaken for the purpose of aggression, and for plunder and conquest, upon the Spanish standards a large cross was displayed, with this inscription, "Let us follow the cross, for under this sign we shall conquer!"

The expedition touched at the several places which had been visited by Grijalva, and continued its course to the westward until it arrived at San Juan de Ulua, where a large canoe filled with people, two of whom appeared to be persons of distinction, approached the fleet with signs of friendship,

[1518-1519 A.D.]

and came on board without any symptoms of fear or distrust. By means of a female Indian, who had previously been taken on board and was afterwards known by the name of Donna Marina, and who understood the Aztec, or Mexican, language, Cortes ascertained that the two persons of distinction were deputies despatched by the two governors of the province, and that they acknowledged the authority of a great monarch, whom they called Montezuma, who was sovereign of the whole country; and that they were sent to inquire what his object was in visiting their shores, and to offer him any assistance he might stand in need of in order to continue his voyage. Cortes informed them that he had visited their country with no other than the most friendly intentions, and for an object of very great importance to their king and country.

The next morning, without waiting an answer, the Spaniards landed; and the natives, like the man who warmed the frozen snake, which, reviving, bit his child to death, assisted them with great alacrity, little suspecting that they were introducing into their peaceful borders the invaders and despoilers of their country. In the course of the day Teutile and Pilpatoe, the two governors of the province, entered the camp of Cortes with a numerous retinue, and were received with much ceremony and apparent respect. Cortes informed them that he came as ambassador from Don Carlos, king of Castile, the most powerful monarch of the East, and that the object of his embassy was of such vast moment that he could communicate it to no one but Montezuma himself, and therefore requested that they would conduct him into the presence of the emperor. The Mexican officers were astonished at so extraordinary a proposition, and attempted to dissuade Cortes from it; but he insisted upon a compliance with his request, in a peremptory and almost authoritative manner. In the mean time he observed some of the natives delineating, on white cotton cloth, figures of the ships, horses, artillery, soldiers, firearms, and other objects which attracted their attention; and being informed that these were to be conveyed to Montezuma, he wished to fill their emperor with the greatest possible awe of the irresistible power of his strange guests. He instantly ordered the troops formed in order of battle; various martial movements and evolutions were performed; the horse exhibited a specimen of their agility and impetuosity; and the field-pieces were discharged into the wood, which made dreadful havoc among the trees. The Mexicans looked on in silent amazement, until the cannon were fired, when some fled, others fell on the ground, and all were filled with consternation and dismay, and were confounded at the sight of men who seemed to command the thunder of heaven, and whose power appeared so nearly to resemble that of the Great Spirit.

Messengers were immediately despatched to Montezuma, and returned in a few days, although Mexico, where he resided, was one hundred and eighty miles from San Juan de Ulua, where Cortes was. This despatch was in consequence of an improvement in police, which had not then been introduced into Europe; couriers were stationed at given distances along the principal roads, and, being trained to the business, they conveyed intelligence with great despatch. Teutile and Pilpatoe were empowered to deliver the answer of their master to Cortes; but previous to which, agreeably to their instructions, and with the mistaken hope of conciliating his favour, they offered to him the presents which had been sent by the emperor. These were introduced with great ceremony, by a train of one hundred Indians, each loaded with the presents of his sovereign. They were deposited on mats so placed as to show them to the greatest advantage, and consisted of the manufactures

of the country, such as fine cotton stuffs, so splendid as to resemble rich silks; pictures of animals, and other national objects, formed of feathers of various hues with such wonderful art and skill as to rival the works of the pencil. But what most attracted the attention of the Spaniards, whose avidity for the precious metals knew no bounds, were the manufactures of gold and silver. Among the bracelets, collars, rings, and trinkets of gold, were two large plates of a circular form, one of massive gold, representing the sun, the other of silver, an emblem of the moon. These specimens of the riches of the country, instead of conciliating the favour of the Spaniards and inducing them to quit the country, had the effect of oil cast upon fire with the view to extinguish it; they inflamed their cupidity for gold to such a pitch that they could hardly be restrained in their ardour to become masters of a country affording such riches.

The Mexican monarch and his counsellors were greatly embarrassed and alarmed, and knew not what measures to adopt to expel from their country such bold and troublesome intruders. Their fears were increased by the influence of superstition, there having long prevailed a tradition that their country would be invaded and overrun by a formidable race of men, who would come from the regions towards the rising of the sun. Montezuma and his advisers, dreading the consequences of involving their country in war with enemies who seemed to be of a higher order of beings, and to command and direct the elements, sent to Cortes a more positive command to leave the country, and most preposterously accompanied this with a rich present, which rendered the Spaniards the more bent on becoming masters of a country that appeared to be filled with the precious metals. This terminated all friendly intercourse between the natives and the Spaniards, and hostilities were immediately expected.

At this crisis the situation of Cortes was rendered more alarming by disaffection among his men, which had been produced by the danger of their situation and the exertions of some of the officers who were friendly to Velasquez. Diego de Ordaz, the leader of the malcontents, presented a remonstrance to Cortes, demanding, with great boldness, to be conducted immediately back to Cuba. Cortes listened with attention to the remonstrance, and, in compliance with it, immediately gave orders for the fleet to be in readiness to sail the next day. This was no sooner known than it produced the effect Cortes had foreseen. The whole camp was in confusion, and almost in mutiny. All demanded to see their leader; and when Cortes appeared, they asked whether it was worthy Castilian courage to be daunted by the first appearance of danger, and to fly before the enemy appeared. They insisted on pursuing the enterprise, the value of which had vastly increased from what they had seen, and declared that they would follow him with alacrity through every danger, to the possession and conquest of those rich countries, of which they had seen such satisfactory evidence. Cortes, delighted with their ardour, declared that his views were the same as their own. As the first step towards planting a colony, Cortes assembled the principal men of his party, who proceeded to elect a council of magistrates, in whom its government was to be vested. As he had arranged this matter with his friends in the council, the resignation of Cortes was accepted, and immediately he was chosen, by their unanimous voice, captain-general of the army and chief justice of the colony; his commission was made out in the king's name, with the most ample powers, and was to continue in force until the royal pleasure might be ascertained. Before accepting this appointment the troops were consulted, and they unanimously confirmed the choice, and

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the air resounded with Cortes' name, and all swore to shed the last drop of their blood in support of his authority. Some of the adherents of Velasquez exclaimed against these illegal proceedings, but Cortes, by a prompt exercise of authority, and by arresting and putting in chains several of the leaders of the malcontents, suppressed a faction which, had it not been timely checked, might have endangered all his hopes. Cortes was now placed in a situation which he had long desired, having rendered himself entirely independent of the governor of Cuba.

Having employed some of his officers to survey the coast, he resolved to remove about forty miles to the northward, where there was a more commodious harbour, the soil more fertile, and in other respects a more eligible spot for a settlement. He immediately marked out the ground for a town, and, as avarice and religious fanaticism were the two principles which governed the conduct of all the Spanish adventurers in America, he named the town Villa Rica, de la Vera Cruz—the rich town of the true cross. In proceeding to this place the Spaniards had passed through the country of Cempoala and had an interview with several of the caciques of that nation, and learned, with much satisfaction, that they were unfriendly to Montezuma and anxious to throw off his yoke; he also learned many particulars concerning that monarch; that he was a great tyrant, and oppressed his subjects; and Cortes soon succeeded in persuading the caciques to acknowledge themselves, in a formal manner, to be the vassals of the Spanish monarch. Their example was followed by several other tribes. At this period Cortes despatched a vessel to Spain with a highly coloured description of the country he had discovered, confirmed by many of the specimens of wealth they had received from the natives, with an account of the progress he had made in establishing the Spanish authority over it; he attempted to justify his throwing off the authority of Velasquez and setting up for himself, and requested a confirmation of his authority from the crown.

Disaffection again appeared amongst the men, of a more alarming character than what had existed before, which, though promptly suppressed, filled the mind of Cortes with disquietude and concern, and led him to adopt one of the boldest measures of which history affords any account. After reflecting on the subject with deep solicitude, he resolved on destroying the fleet, which would place the Spaniards in a situation that they must conquer or perish; and, by the most plausible and artful representations, he succeeded in persuading his men to acquiesce in this desperate measure. With universal consent the ships were drawn on shore, and after being stripped of their sails, rigging, and everything of value, they were broken to pieces. His influence must have been unbounded, to be able to persuade his men to an act which is unparalleled in the annals of man; six hundred men voluntarily cut off their means of returning, and shut themselves up in a hostile country filled with warlike and ferocious inhabitants, whose savage mode of warfare spared their prisoners only for the torture or to be offered in sacrifice to their angry deities.

ADVANCE INTO THE INTERIOR

Cortes now felt prepared to enter upon a career of victory and conquest in some measure suited to his ambition and rapacity. Having advanced to Cempoala, his zeal for religion led him to overturn the idols in the temples, and to place a crucifix and an image of the Virgin Mary in their stead; which rash step came near blasting all his hopes in the bud. The natives were

filled with horror, and were excited to arms by their priests; but Cortes had such an ascendancy over them that he finally pacified them and restored harmony. He marched from Cempoala on the 16th of August, with five hundred men, fifteen horse, and six field-pieces, with the intention of penetrating into the heart of a great and powerful nation. The residue of his men, most of whom were unfit for service, were left as a garrison at Vera Cruz.^c

The Tlaxcalans assembled their troops, in order to oppose those unknown invaders. Cortes, after waiting some days, in vain, for the return of his ambassadors, advanced into the Tlaxcalan territories. As the resolutions of people who delight in war are executed with no less promptitude than they are formed, he found troops in the field ready to oppose him. They attacked him with great intrepidity, and, in the first encounter, wounded some of the

Spaniards and killed two horses—a loss, in their situation, of great moment, because it was irreparable. From this specimen of their courage Cortes saw the necessity of proceeding with caution. His army marched in close order; he chose the stations where he halted with attention, and fortified every camp with extraordinary care. During fourteen days he was exposed to almost uninterrupted assaults, the Tlaxcalans advancing with numerous armies and renewing the attack in various forms, with a degree of valour and perseverance to which the Spaniards had seen nothing parallel in the New World.

When they perceived, in the subsequent engagements, that, notwithstanding all the efforts of their own valour, of which they had a very high opinion, not one of the Spaniards was slain or taken, they began to conceive them to be a superior order of beings, against whom human power could not avail. In this extremity they had recourse to their priests, requiring them to reveal the mysterious causes of such ex-



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traordinary events, and to declare what new means they should employ in order to repulse those formidable invaders. The priests, after many sacrifices and incantations, delivered this response: That these strangers were the offspring of the sun, procreated by his animating energy in the regions of the East; that by day, while cherished with the influence of his parental beams, they were invincible; but by night, when his reviving heat was withdrawn, their vigour declined and faded like the herbs in the field, and they dwindled down into mortal men. But Cortes had greater vigilance and discernment than to be deceived by the rude stratagems of an Indian army. The sentinels at his outposts, observing some extraordinary movement among the Tlaxcalans, gave the alarm. In a moment the troops were under arms, and, sallying out, dispersed the party with great slaughter, without allowing it to approach the camp. The Tlaxcalans being convinced by sad experience that their priests had deluded them, and satisfied that they attempted in vain either to deceive or to vanquish their enemies, their fierceness abated, and they began to incline seriously to peace.

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They were at a loss, however, in what manner to address the strangers, what idea to form of their character, and whether to consider them as beings of a gentle or of a malevolent nature. There were circumstances in their conduct which seemed to favour each opinion. On the one hand, as the Spaniards constantly dismissed the prisoners whom they took, not only without injury but often with presents of European toys, and renewed their offers of peace after every victory, this lenity amazed people who, according to the exterminating system of war known in America, were accustomed to sacrifice and devour without mercy all the captives taken in battle, and disposed them to entertain favourable sentiments of the humanity of their new enemies. But, on the other hand, as Cortes had seized fifty of their countrymen who brought provisions to his camp, and, supposing them to be spies, had cut off their hands, this bloody spectacle, added to the terror occasioned by the firearms and horses, filled them with dreadful impressions of the ferocity of their invaders. This uncertainty was apparent in their mode of addressing the Spaniards: "If," said they, "you are divinities of a cruel and savage nature, we present to you five slaves, that you may drink their blood and eat their flesh. If you are mild deities, accept an offering of incense and variegated plumes. If you are men, here are meat, and bread, and fruit to nourish you." The peace which both parties now desired with equal ardour was soon concluded. The Tlaxcalans yielded themselves as vassals to the crown of Castile, and engaged to assist Cortes in all his future operations. He took the republic under his protection, and promised to defend their persons and possessions from injury or violence.^d

His troops being recruited, the Spanish general commenced his march towards Mexico, with six thousand Tlaxcalan warriors added to his force. He directed his route to Cholula, a considerable town fifteen miles distant, celebrated for its vast pyramid or temple, and as being regarded as the seat of their gods. Here, although they had entered the town without opposition and with much apparent respect, the Spaniards soon discovered a deep plot laid for their destruction, and, having obtained satisfactory proof, Cortes determined to make such an example as would inspire his enemies with terror. He drew his forces up in the centre of the town, and sent for most of the magistrates and chief citizens, under various pretences, who at a given signal were seized, and then the troops and the Tlaxcalans fell on the people, who, being deprived of their leaders and filled with astonishment, dropped their arms and remained motionless, without making the least effort to defend themselves. The slaughter was dreadful; the streets were filled with the dead and covered with blood. The priests and some of the chief families took refuge in the temples. These were set on fire and all consumed together. This scene of carnage continued for two days, during which six thousand of the natives perished, without the loss of a single individual of their destroyers.

MEETING WITH MONTEZUMA

From Cholula it was but sixty miles to Mexico, and Cortes marched directly towards the capital; through every place he passed he was received as a deliverer, and heard the grievances of the inhabitants, all of which he promised to redress. He was highly gratified on perceiving that the seeds of discontent were scattered through the empire, and not confined to the remote provinces. As the Spaniards approached the capital, the unhappy monarch was distracted with hopes and fears, and knew not what to do.

One day he sent orders inviting them to advance; the next, commanding them to retire and leave the country. As the Spaniards drew near to the city, one thousand persons of distinction came out to meet them, clad in mantles of fine cotton and adorned with plumes; each, in his order, passed by and saluted Cortes in the manner deemed most respectful in their country. At length they announced the approach of the emperor himself. His retinue consisted of two hundred persons, dressed in uniform, with plumes and feathers, who marched two and two, barefooted, with their eyes fixed on the ground; to these succeeded a higher rank, with more showy apparel. Montezuma followed in a litter, or chair, richly ornamented with gold and feathers, borne on the shoulders of four of his favourites; a canopy of curious workmanship was supported over his head; three officers walked before him with gold rods, which at given intervals they raised as a signal for the people to bow their heads and hide their faces, as unworthy to behold so august a sovereign. As he approached Cortes, the latter dismounted and advanced in the most respectful manner; Montezuma at the same time alighted, and, leaning on two of his attendants, approached with a slow and stately pace, cotton cloth being strewed on the ground, that he might not touch the earth. Cortes saluted him with profound reverence, according to the European fashion, and Montezuma returned the salutation in the manner of his country: he touched with his hand the ground, and then kissed it. This being the mode of salutation of an inferior to a superior, the Mexicans viewed with astonishment this act of condescension in their monarch, whom they had been accustomed to consider as exalted above all mortals and related to the gods. Montezuma, having conducted the Spaniards to the quarters provided for them, on retiring addressed Cortes as follows: "You are now with your brothers, in your own house; refresh yourselves after your fatigue, and be happy until I return." The Spaniards were lodged in an ancient palace surrounded with a wall, with towers at proper distances which would serve for defence; the accommodations were not only sufficient for the Spaniards, but likewise for their Indian allies.^c

Mexico was situated in a great salt lake communicating with a freshwater lake. It was approached by three principal causeways of great breadth, constructed of solid masonry, which, to use the picturesque language of the Spaniards, were two lances in breadth. The length of one of these causeways was two leagues, and that of another a league and a half; and these two ample causeways united in the middle of the city, where stood the great temple. At the ends of these causeways were wooden drawbridges, so that communication could be cut off between the causeways and the town, which would thus become a citadel. There was also an aqueduct which communicated with the mainland, consisting of two separate lines of work in masonry, in order that if one should need repair the supply of water for the city might not be interrupted.

The streets were the most various in construction that have ever been seen in any city in the world. Some were of dry land, others wholly of water, and others, again, had pathways of pavement, while in the centre there was room for boats. The foot-passengers could talk with those in the boats. It may be noticed that a city so constructed requires a circumspect and polite population.

Palaces are commonplace things to describe, but the abodes of the Mexican kings were not like the petty palaces of northern princes. One of the most observant of those Spaniards who first saw these wonders speaks of a palace of Montezuma's in which there was a room where three thousand persons

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could be well accommodated, and on the terrace-like roof of which a splendid tournament might have been given. There was a market-place twice as large as that of the city of Salamanca, surrounded with porticoes, in which there was room for fifty thousand people to buy and sell.

The great temple of the city maintained its due proportion of magnificence. In the plan of the city of Mexico, which is to be found in a very early edition of the *Letters of Cortes*, published at Nuremberg, and which is supposed to be the one that Cortes sent to Charles V, the space allotted to the temple is twenty times as great as that allotted to the market-place. Indeed, the sacred inclosure was in itself a town; and Cortes, who seldom stops in his terrible narrative to indulge in praise or in needless description, says that no human tongue could explain the grandeur and the peculiarities of this temple. Cortes uses the word "temple," but it might rather be called a sacred city, as it contained many temples, and the abodes of all the priests and virgins who ministered at them; also a university and an arsenal. It was inclosed by lofty stone walls, and was entered by four portals surmounted by fortresses. No less than twenty truncated pyramids, probably cased with porphyry, rose up from within that inclosure. High over them all towered the great temple dedicated to the god of war. This, like the rest, was a truncated pyramid, with ledges round it, and with two small towers upon the highest surface, in which were placed the images of the great god of war (Huitzilopochtli) and of the principal deity of all (Tezcatlipuk), the Mexican Jupiter. It is sad to own that an entrance into these fair-seeming buildings would have gone far to dissipate the admiration which a traveller—if we may imagine one preceding Cortes—would up to this moment have felt for Mexico. The temples and palaces, the polished, glistening towers, the aviaries, the terraces, the gardens on the housetops (many-coloured, for they were not like those at Damascus, where only the rose and the jasmine are to be seen)—in a word, the bright, lively, and lovely city would have been forgotten in the vast disgust that would have filled the mind of the beholder when he saw the foul, blood-besmeared idols, with the palpitating hearts of that day's victims lying before them, and the black-clothed, filthy, unkempt priest ministering to these hideous compositions of paste and human blood.^e

MONTEZUMA MADE PRISONER

The Spaniards soon became alarmed for their safety, as it was apparent that by breaking down the bridges their retreat would be cut off, and they would be shut up in a hostile city, where all their superiority in arms could not prevent their being overwhelmed by the multitude of their enemies. Reflecting with deep concern on his situation, Cortes resolved on a measure scarcely less bold and desperate than that of destroying his ships; this was, to seize the sovereign of a great empire in his own capital, surrounded by his subjects, and retain him as a prisoner in the Spanish quarters. When he first proposed this measure to his officers, most of them were startled with its audacity; but he convinced them that it was the only step that could save them from destruction, and they agreed instantly to make the attempt. At his usual hour of visiting Montezuma, Cortes repaired to the palace with five of his bravest officers, and as many trusty soldiers; thirty chosen men followed at some distance, and appeared to be sauntering along the street. The rest of the troops and their allies were prepared to sally out at the first alarm. As the Spaniards entered, the Mexican officers retired, and

Cortes addressed the monarch in a very different tone from what he had been accustomed to do, and accused him of being the instigator of the attack made on his garrison left at Vera Cruz, in which several Spaniards were killed, and demanded reparation. The monarch, filled with astonishment and indignation, asserted his innocence with great warmth, and, as a proof of it, ordered the officer who attacked the Spaniards to be brought to Mexico as a prisoner. Cortes pretended that he was satisfied with this declaration, but said that his soldiers would never be convinced that Montezuma did not entertain hostile intentions towards them, unless he repaired to the Spanish quarters, as a mark of confidence, where he would be served and honoured as became a great monarch.

The first mention of so strange and alarming a proposal almost bereft the unhappy monarch of his senses; he remonstrated and protested against it; the altercation became warm, and continued for several hours, when Velasquez de Leon, a daring and impetuous young officer, exclaimed with great vehemence: "Why waste more words or time in vain? Let us seize him instantly, or stab him to the heart." The audacity of this declaration, accompanied with fierce and threatening looks and gestures, intimidated Montezuma, who submitted to his fate and agreed to comply with their request. Montezuma now called in his officers and informed them of his determination; they heard it with astonishment and grief, but made no reply. He was accordingly carried to the Spanish quarters with great parade, but bathed in tears. We consult history in vain for any parallel to this transaction, whether we consider the boldness and temerity of the measure or the success with which it was executed.

Quilopocca, the commander who attacked the garrison at Vera Cruz, his son, and six of his principal officers were delivered to Cortes, to be punished as he deemed proper; and after a mock trial before a Spanish court-martial, they were condemned to be burned alive, which infamous and wicked sentence was carried into execution amidst vast multitudes of their astonished countrymen, who viewed the scene with silent horror.

Montezuma remained in the quarters of the Spaniards for six months, was treated with apparent respect and served by his own officers, but strictly watched and kept in "durance vile." During this period, Cortes, having possession of the sovereign, governed the empire in his name; his commissions and orders were issued as formerly and strictly obeyed, although it was known that the monarch was a prisoner in the hands of the invaders of the country. The Spaniards made themselves acquainted with the country, visited the remote provinces, displaced some officers whom they suspected of unfriendly designs, and appointed others more obsequious to their will; and so completely was the spirit of Montezuma subdued that at length Cortes induced him to acknowledge himself as tributary, and a vassal of the king of Castile. This last and most humiliating condition to which a proud and haughty monarch, accustomed to independent and absolute power, could be reduced, overwhelmed him with the deepest distress. He called together the chief men of the empire and informed them of his determination, but was scarcely able to speak, being frequently interrupted with tears and groans flowing from a heart filled with anguish.

Cortes had deprived Montezuma of his liberty, of his wealth, and of his empire; he wished now to deprive him of his religion. But though the unhappy monarch had submitted to every other demand, this he would not yield to; and Cortes, enraged at his obstinacy, had the rashness to order the idols of the temples thrown down by force; but the priests taking arms in their

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defence, and the people rallying in crowds to support them, Cortes was obliged to desist from an act which the inhabitants viewed as the highest sacrilege. This rash step excited the bitter enmity of the priests against the Spaniards, who regarded them as the enemies of the gods, who would avenge the insult which had been offered to them. They roused the leading men, and from this moment the Mexicans began to reflect on the means of destroying or expelling such audacious and impious invaders. They held frequent consultations with one another and with their captive prince. Being unwilling to have recourse to arms, if it could be avoided, Montezuma called Cortes into his presence and informed him that now all the objects of his mission were fulfilled, and it was the will both of the gods and of his people that the Spaniards should instantly depart from the empire, and if he did not comply with this request inevitable destruction would overtake them. Cortes, thinking it prudent not to appear to oppose the wishes of the Mexicans, informed Montezuma that he was expecting soon to leave the country, and had begun to make preparations for his departure.

Whilst Cortes was deeply anxious as to his situation, in consequence of the evident designs of the Mexicans, a more alarming danger threatened him from another quarter. Velasquez, governor of Cuba, having obtained intelligence of Cortes' proceedings—that he had renounced all dependence on his authority, was attempting to establish an independent colony, and had applied to the king to confirm his acts—was filled with indignation, and resolved to be avenged on the man who had so basely betrayed his confidence and usurped his authority. He engaged with great ardour in preparing an expedition which was destined to New Spain to arrest Cortes, bring him home in irons, and then to prosecute and complete the conquest of the country in his own name. The armament consisted of eighteen vessels, having on board eight hundred foot soldiers and eighty horsemen, with a train of twelve pieces of cannon. The command of this expedition was intrusted to Narvaez, with instructions to seize Cortes and his principal officers, and then complete the conquest of the country. The fatal experience of Velasquez had neither inspired him with wisdom nor courage, for he still intrusted to another what he ought to have executed himself.^c

It was time for Cortes to appear upon the scene of greatest danger; and accordingly, quitting Mexico with but seventy of his own men, he commended those whom he left and his treasures to Montezuma's good offices, as to one who was a faithful vassal to the king of Spain. This parting speech seems most audacious, but plenary audacity was part of the wisdom of Cortes. At Cholula he came up with his lieutenant, Juan Velasquez, and his men, joined company with them, and pushed on towards Cempoala. When he approached the town he prepared to make an attack by night on the position which Narvaez occupied, and which was no other than the great temple at Cempoala.

In the encounter Narvaez lost an eye; he was afterwards sent as a prisoner to Vera Cruz. His men, not without resistance on the part of some of them, ultimately ranged themselves under the banner of Cortes, and thus was a great danger turned into a welcome succour. Cortes received the conquered troops in the most winning manner, and created an enthusiasm in his favour.^e

REVOLT OF MEXICANS

A few days after the discomfiture of Narvaez a courier arrived with an account that the Mexicans had taken arms, and, having seized and destroyed the two brigantines which Cortes had built in order to secure the command

of the lake and attacked the Spaniards in their quarters, had killed several of them and wounded more, had reduced to ashes their magazine of provisions, and carried on hostilities with such fury that, though Alvarado and his men defended themselves with undaunted resolution, they must either be soon cut off by famine or sink under the multitude of their enemies. This revolt was excited by motives which rendered it still more alarming. On the departure of Cortes for Cempoala, the Mexicans flattered themselves that the long-expected opportunity of restoring their sovereign to liberty, and of vindicating their country from the odious dominion of strangers, was at length arrived; that while the forces of their oppressors were divided, and the arms of one party turned against the other, they might triumph with greater facility over both. Consultations were held and schemes formed with this intention.

The Spaniards in Mexico, conscious of their own feebleness, suspected and dreaded those machinations. Alvarado, though a gallant officer, possessed neither that extent of capacity nor dignity of manners by which Cortes had acquired such an ascendant over the minds of the Mexicans as never allowed them to form a just estimate of his weakness or of their own strength. Alvarado fell upon them, unarmed and unsuspecting of any danger, and massacred a great number, none escaping but such as made their way over the battlements of the temple. An action so cruel and treacherous filled not only the city but the whole empire with indignation and rage. All called aloud for vengeance; and regardless of the safety of their monarch, whose life was at the mercy of the Spaniards, or of their own danger in assaulting an enemy who had been so long the object of their terror, they committed all those acts of violence of which Cortes received an account.

To him the danger appeared so imminent as to admit neither of deliberation nor delay. He set out instantly with all his forces, and returned from Cempoala with no less rapidity than he had advanced thither. At Tlaxcala he was joined by two thousand chosen warriors. On entering the Mexican territories, he found that disaffection to the Spaniards was not confined to the capital. The principal inhabitants had deserted the towns through which he passed, no person of note appearing to meet him with the usual respect. But uninstructed by their former error in admitting a formidable enemy into their capital, instead of breaking down the causeways and bridges, by which they might have inclosed Alvarado and his party, and have effectually stopped the career of Cortes, they again suffered him to march into the city without molestation, and to take quiet possession of his ancient station.

Cortes behaved on this occasion neither with his usual sagacity nor attention. He not only neglected to visit Montezuma, but embittered the insult by expressions full of contempt for that unfortunate prince and his people.

Later the Mexicans attacked a considerable body of Spaniards who were marching towards the great square in which the public market was held, and compelled them to retire with some loss. Emboldened by this success, and delighted to find that their oppressors were not invincible, they advanced next day, with extraordinary martial pomp, to assault the Spaniards in their quarters. Their number was formidable, and their undaunted courage still more so. Though the artillery pointed against their numerous battalions, crowded together in narrow streets, swept off multitudes at every discharge, though every blow of the Spanish weapons fell with mortal effect upon their naked bodies, the impetuosity of the assault did not abate. Fresh men rushed forward to occupy the places of the slain, and, meeting with the same fate, were succeeded by others no less intrepid and eager for vengeance.

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The utmost efforts of Cortes' abilities and experience, seconded by the disciplined valour of his troops, were hardly sufficient to defend the fortifications that surrounded the post where the Spaniards were stationed, into which the enemy were more than once on the point of forcing their way.

Cortes beheld with wonder the implacable ferocity of a people who seemed at first to submit tamely to the yoke, and had continued so long passive under it. The soldiers of Narvaez, who fondly imagined that they followed Cortes to share in the spoils of a conquered empire, were astonished to find that they were involved in a dangerous war, with an enemy whose vigour was still unbroken, and loudly execrated their own weakness in giving such easy credit to the delusive promises of their new leader. But surprise and complaints were of no avail. Some immediate and extraordinary effort was requisite to extricate themselves out of their present situation. As soon as the approach of evening induced the Mexicans to retire, in compliance with their national custom of ceasing from hostilities with the setting sun, Cortes began to prepare for a sally next day, with such a considerable force as might either drive the enemy out of the city, or compel them to listen to terms of accommodation.

He conducted in person the troops destined for this important service. Every invention known in the European art of war, as well as every precaution suggested by his long acquaintance with the Indian mode of fighting, was employed to insure success. But he found an enemy prepared and determined to oppose him. The force of the Mexicans was greatly augmented by fresh troops, which poured in continually from the country, and their animosity was in no degree abated. They were led by their nobles, inflamed by the exhortations of their priests, and fought in defence of their temples and families, under the eye of their gods and in presence of their wives and children. Notwithstanding their numbers, and enthusiastic contempt of danger and death, wherever the Spaniards could close with them the superiority of their discipline and arms obliged the Mexicans to give way. But in narrow streets, and where many of the bridges of communication were broken down, the Spaniards could seldom come to a fair encounter with the enemy, and, as they advanced, were exposed to showers of arrows and stones from the tops of the houses. After a day of incessant exertion, though vast numbers of the Mexicans fell and part of the city was burned, the Spaniards, weary with the slaughter and harassed by multitudes which successively relieved each other, were obliged at length to retire, with the mortification of having accomplished nothing so decisive as to compensate the unusual calamity of having twelve soldiers killed and above sixty wounded. Another sally, made with greater force, was not more effectual, and in it the general himself was wounded in the hand.

DEATH OF MONTEZUMA; LA NOCHE TRISTE

Cortes now perceived, too late, the fatal error into which he had been betrayed by his own contempt of the Mexicans, and was satisfied that he could neither maintain his present station in the centre of a hostile city nor retire from it without the most imminent danger. One resource still remained—to try what effect the interposition of Montezuma might have to soothe or overawe his subjects.^d

Accordingly, the next morning, when the Mexicans advanced to the attack, the wretched prince, made the instrument of his own disgrace and of the

enslavement of his subjects, was constrained to ascend the battlement, clad in his royal robes, and to address his subjects and attempt to allay their rage and dissuade them from hostilities. As he came in sight of the Mexicans their weapons dropped from their hands, and they prostrated themselves on the earth; but when he stopped speaking, a deep and sullen murmur arose and spread through the ranks; reproaches and threats followed, and the feelings of the people swelling in a moment like a sudden rush of waters, volleys of arrows, stones, and every missile were poured upon the ramparts, so suddenly and with such violence that before the Spanish soldiers, appointed to protect Montezuma, could cover him with their bucklers, he was wounded by the arrows and struck by a stone on the temple, which felled him to the ground. His fall occasioned a sudden transition in the feelings of the multitude; being horror-struck with the crime they had committed, they threw down their arms and fled with precipitation.

Montezuma was removed to his apartments by the Spaniards, but his proud spirit could not brook this last mortification, and perceiving that he was not only the prisoner and tool of his enemies, but the object of the vengeance and contempt of his subjects, he tore the bandages from his wounds in a transport of feeling, and persisted in a refusal to take any nourishment with a firmness that neither entreaties nor threats could overcome, and thus terminated his wretched existence. He obstinately refused, to the last, all the solicitations, accompanied with all the terrors of future punishment, to embrace the Christian faith.

With the death of Montezuma ended all hopes of pacifying the Mexicans, and Cortes was sensible that his salvation depended on a successful retreat. The morning following the fall of their prince the Mexicans renewed the assault with redoubled fury, and succeeded in taking possession of a high temple which overlooked the Spanish quarters and greatly exposed them to the missiles of the enemy. A detachment of chosen men ordered to dislodge them was twice repulsed, when Cortes, taking the command himself, rushed into the thickest of the combat with a drawn sword, and by his presence and example, after a dreadful carnage, the Spaniards made themselves masters of the tower and set fire to it. Cortes was determined to retreat from the city, but was at a loss in what way to attempt it, when a private soldier, who from a smattering of learning sustained the character of an astrologer, advised him to undertake it in the night, and assured him of complete success. Cortes the more readily fell in with this plan, as he knew it was a superstitious principle with the Mexicans not to attack an enemy in the night.^c

They began to move, towards midnight, in three divisions. They marched in profound silence along the causeway which led to Tacuba. They reached the first breach in it without molestation, hoping that their retreat was undiscovered. But the Mexicans, unperceived, had not only watched all their motions with attention, but had made proper dispositions for a most formidable attack. While the Spaniards were intent upon placing their bridge in the breach, and occupied in conducting their horses and artillery along it, they were suddenly alarmed with a tremendous sound of warlike instruments and a general shout from an innumerable multitude of enemies; the lake was covered with canoes; flights of arrows and showers of stones poured in upon them from every quarter; the Mexicans rushing forward to the charge with fearless impetuosity, as if they hoped in that moment to be avenged for all their wrongs. Unfortunately, the wooden bridge, by the weight of the artillery, was wedged so fast into the stones and mud that it was impos-

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sible to remove it. Dismayed at this accident, the Spaniards advanced with precipitation towards the second breach. The Mexicans hemmed them in on every side, and though they defended themselves with their usual courage, yet, crowded together as they were on a narrow causeway, their discipline and military skill were of little avail, nor did the obscurity of the night permit them to derive great advantage from their firearms or the superiority of their other weapons.

All Mexico was now in arms; and so eager were the people in the destruction of their oppressors that they who were not near enough to annoy them in person, impatient of the delay, pressed forward with such ardour as drove on their countrymen in the front with irresistible violence. Fresh warriors instantly filled the places of such as fell. The Spaniards, weary with slaughter, and unable to sustain the weight of the torrent that poured in upon them, began to give way. In a moment the confusion was universal; horse and foot, officers and soldiers, friends and enemies, were mingled together; and while all fought, and many fell, they could hardly distinguish from what hand the blow came.

Cortes, with about a hundred foot-soldiers and a few horse, forced his way over the two remaining breaches in the causeway, the bodies of the dead serving to fill up the chasms, and reached the mainland. Having formed them as soon as they arrived, he returned with such as were yet capable of service, to assist his friends in their retreat, and to encourage them, by his presence and example, to persevere in the efforts requisite to effect it. He met with part of his soldiers who had broken through the enemy, but found many more overwhelmed by the multitude of their aggressors, or perishing in the lake, and heard the piteous lamentations of others, whom the Mexicans, having taken alive, were carrying off in triumph to be sacrificed to the god of war. Before day, all who had escaped assembled at Tacuba. But the morning dawned, and discovered to the view of Cortes his shattered battalion, reduced to less than half its number, the survivors dejected, and most of them covered with wounds.

All the artillery, ammunition, and baggage were lost; the greater part of the horses, and above two thousand Tlaxcalans, were killed, and only a very small portion of the treasure which they had amassed was saved. This, which had been always their chief object, proved a great cause of their calamity; for many of the soldiers, having so overloaded themselves with bars of gold as rendered them unfit for action and retarded their flight, fell ignominiously, the victims of their own inconsiderate avarice. Amidst so many disasters, it was some consolation to find that Aguilar and Marina, whose function as interpreters was of such essential importance, had made their escape.^d

RETREAT OF THE SPANIARDS

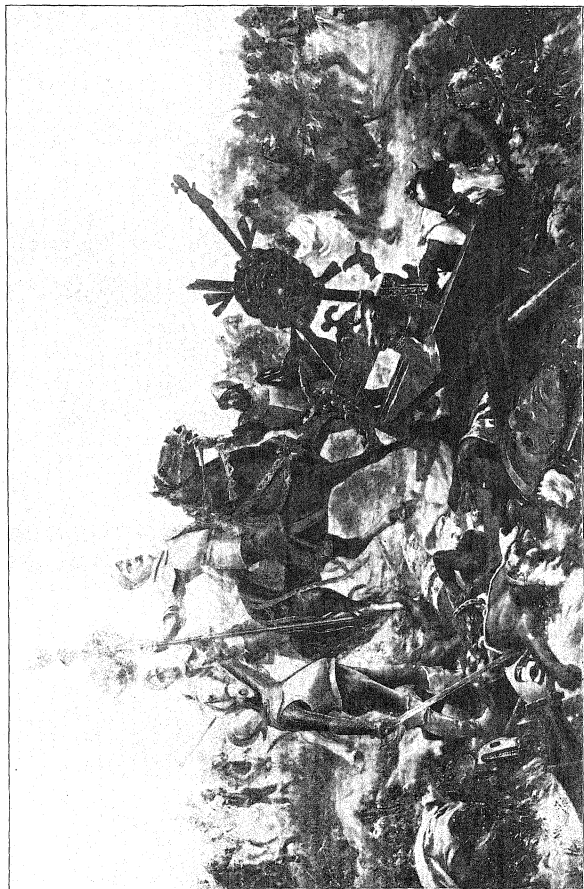
The Spaniards now commenced their march for Tlaxcala, and for six days continued it without respite, through swamps and over mountains, harassed by the Mexicans at a distance, and sometimes closely attacked. On the sixth day they approached near to Otumba, and discovered numerous parties moving in various directions. Their interpreter informed them that they often exclaimed, with exultation: "Go on, robbers; go to the place where you shall quickly meet with the fate due to your crimes." The Spaniards continued their march until they reached the summit of a mountain, when an extensive valley opened to their astonished visions, covered with an innu-

merable multitude, which explained the meaning of what they had just seen and heard. The vast number of their enemies, and the suddenness with which they had appeared, appalled the stoutest hearts, and despair was depicted in every countenance. But Cortes, who alone was unshaken, informed them that there remained but two alternatives, to conquer or to perish, and immediately led them to the charge. The Mexicans waited their approach with courage; but so great is the superiority of discipline and military science over brute force, that the small battalion of the Spaniards made an irresistible impression, and forced its way through the armed multitude. Although the Mexicans were dispersed, and obliged to give way wherever the Spaniards approached, yet as they retreated in one quarter they advanced in another; so that the Spaniards were constantly surrounded, and had become nearly exhausted by their own carnage. At this crisis, Cortes, observing the standard of the Mexican Empire, and recollecting to have heard that on the fate of that depended the success of a battle, assembled some of his bravest officers and rushed with great impetuosity through the crowd, and by the stroke of a lance wounded the general who held it and threw him to the ground; whereupon one of his officers dismounted, stabbed him to the heart, and secured the imperial standard. The fall of their leader and standard had an instantaneous and magical effect; every tie which held them together seemed dissolved; a universal panic prevailed; their weapons dropped from their hands, and they all fled with precipitation to the mountains, leaving everything behind them. The spoil which the Spaniards collected compensated them, in some measure, for their loss in retreating from the Mexican capital.

The next day they entered with joy the territories of Tlaxcala, and, notwithstanding their dreadful calamities, they were kindly received by their allies, whose fidelity was not at all shaken by the declining condition of the Spanish power. Notwithstanding all his misfortunes, Cortes did not abandon his plan of conquering the Mexican Empire. He obtained some ammunition and three field-pieces from Vera Cruz, and despatched four of the vessels of Narvaez's fleet to Hispaniola and Jamaica, to obtain ammunition and military stores and procure adventurers. Sensible that he could do nothing against Mexico without the command of the lake, he set about preparing the timber and other materials for twelve brigantines, which were to be carried by land to the lake in pieces and there put together and launched. These measures, which disclosed his intentions, occasioned disaffection again to appear among his troops; which with his usual address, but not without difficulty, he succeeded in suppressing.

SECOND MARCH UPON MEXICO

Whilst anxiously waiting for the return of his ships, two vessels, which had been sent out by Velasquez to reinforce Narvaez, were decoyed into Vera Cruz, and the crews and troops induced to follow the fortunes of Cortes; and soon after several vessels put in there, and the seamen and soldiers on board were also persuaded to join the Spanish adventurer, by which means Cortes received a reinforcement of one hundred and eighty men and twenty horses. He now dismissed such of Narvaez's men as served with reluctance, after which he mustered five hundred and fifty foot-soldiers and forty horsemen, and possessed a train of nine field-pieces. With this force, and ten thousand Tlaxcalans and other friendly Indians, he set out once more for the



VICTORY OF CORTES OVER THE AZTECS AT OTUMBA

(From the painting by Manuel Ramirez)

[1521 A.D.]

conquest of the Mexican Empire. He began his march towards the capital on the 28th of December, 1520, six months after his disastrous retreat.^c

Nor did he advance to attack an enemy unprepared to receive him. Upon the death of Montezuma, the Mexican chiefs, in whom the right of electing the emperor was vested, had instantly raised his brother, Quetlavaca, to the throne. His avowed and inveterate enmity to the Spaniards would have been sufficient to gain their suffrages, although he had been less distinguished for courage and capacity. He had an immediate opportunity of showing that he was worthy of their choice, by conducting in person those fierce attacks which compelled the Spaniards to abandon his capital; and as soon as their retreat afforded him any respite from action, he took measures for preventing their return to Mexico, with prudence equal to the spirit which he had displayed in driving them out of it.

But while Quetlavaca was arranging his plan of defence, with a degree of foresight uncommon in an American, his days were cut short by the small-pox. This distemper, which raged at that time in New Spain with fatal malignity, was unknown in that quarter of the globe until it was introduced by the Europeans, and may be reckoned amongst the greatest calamities brought upon it by its invaders. In his stead the Mexicans raised to the throne Guatemotzin, nephew and son-in-law of Montezuma, a young man of such high reputation for abilities and valour that, in this dangerous crisis, his countrymen were greatly encouraged and with one voice called him to the supreme command.

As soon as Cortes entered the enemy's territories he discovered various preparations to obstruct his progress. But his troops forced their way with little difficulty, and took possession of Tezcuco, the second city of the empire, situated on the banks of the lake about twenty miles from Mexico. Here he determined to establish his headquarters, as the most proper station for launching his brigantines as well as for making his approaches to the capital. In order to render his residence there more secure, he deposed the cacique, or chief, who was at the head of that community, under pretext of some defect in his title, and substituted in his place a person whom a faction of the nobles pointed out as the right heir of that dignity. Attached to him by this benefit, the new cacique and his adherents served the Spaniards with inviolable fidelity.^d

Tezcuco stood about half a league from the lake. It would be necessary to open a communication with it, so that the brigantines, when put together in the capital, might be launched upon its waters. It was proposed, therefore, to dig a canal, reaching from the gardens of Nezahualcoyotl, as they were called from the old monarch who planned them, to the edge of the basin. A little stream or rivulet which flowed in that direction was to be deepened sufficiently for the purpose; and eight thousand Indian labourers were forthwith employed on this great work, under the direction of the young Ixtlilxochitl.

Meanwhile Cortes received messages from several places in the neighbourhood, intimating their desire to become the vassals of his sovereign and to be taken under his protection. The Spanish commander required, in return, that they should deliver up every Mexican who should set foot in their territories. Some noble Aztecs, who had been sent on a mission to these towns, were consequently delivered into his hands. He availed himself of it to employ them as bearers of a message to their master, the emperor.

It was the plan of Cortes, on entering the valley, to commence operations by reducing the subordinate cities before striking at the capital itself. The first point of attack which he selected was the ancient city of Iztapalapan,

a place containing fifty thousand inhabitants, according to his own account. In a week after his arrival at his new quarters, Cortes, leaving the command of the garrison to Sandoval, marched against this Indian city, at the head of two hundred Spanish foot, eighteen horse, and between three and four thousand Tlaxcalans. The barbarians showed their usual courage, but after some hard fighting were compelled to give way before the steady valour of the Spanish infantry, backed by the desperate fury of the Tlaxcalans, whom the sight of an Aztec seemed to inflame almost to madness. The enemy retreated in disorder, closely followed by the Spaniards. When they had arrived within half a league of Iztapalapan, they observed a number of canoes filled with Indians, who appeared to be labouring on the mole which hemmed in the waters of the salt lake. Swept along in the tide of pursuit, they gave little heed to it, but, following up the chase, entered pell-mell with the fugitives into the city.

The houses stood some of them on dry ground, some on piles in the water. Cortes, supported by his own men, and by such of the allies as could be brought to obey his orders, attacked the enemy in this last place of their retreat. Both parties fought up to their girdles in the water. A desperate struggle ensued, as the Aztec fought with the fury of a tiger driven to bay by the huntsmen. It was all in vain. The enemy was overpowered in every quarter. The citizen shared the fate of the soldier, and a pitiless massacre succeeded, without regard to sex or age. Cortes endeavoured to stop it; but it would have been as easy to call away the starving wolf from the carcass he was devouring, as the Tlaxcalan who had once tasted the blood of an enemy. More than six thousand, including women and children, according to the conqueror's own statement, perished miserably in the unequal conflict. While engaged in this work of devastation, a murmuring sound was heard as of the hoarse rippling of waters, and a cry soon arose amongst the Indians that the dikes were broken. Cortes now comprehended the business of the men whom he had seen in the canoes at work on the mole which fenced in the great basin of Lake Tezcuco. It had been pierced by the desperate Indians, who thus laid the country under an inundation, by suffering the waters of the salt lake to spread themselves over the lower level, through the opening. Greatly alarmed, the general called his men together and made all haste to evacuate the city. Had they remained three hours longer, he says, not a soul could have escaped. They came staggering under the weight of booty, wading with difficulty through the water, which was fast gaining upon them. For some distance their path was illumined by the glare of the burning buildings. But as the light faded away in the distance, they wandered with uncertain steps, sometimes up to their knees, at others up to their waists, in the water, through which they floundered on with the greatest difficulty. As they reached the opening in the dike the stream became deeper, and flowed out with such a current that the men were unable to maintain their footing. The Spaniards, breasting the flood, forced their way through; but many of the Indians, unable to swim, were borne down by the waters. All the plunder was lost. The powder was spoiled; the arms and clothes of the soldiers were saturated with the brine, and the cold night wind, as it blew over them, benumbed their weary limbs till they could scarcely drag them along. At dawn they beheld the lake swarming with canoes full of Indians, who had anticipated their disaster, and who now saluted them with showers of stones, arrows, and other deadly missiles. Bodies of light troops hovering in the distance disquieted the flanks of the army in like manner. The Spaniards had no desire to close with the enemy. They only

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wished to regain their comfortable quarters in Tezcuco, where they arrived on the same day, more disconsolate and fatigued than after many a long march and hard-fought battle.

The close of the expedition, so different from its brilliant commencement, greatly disappointed Cortes. His numerical loss had, indeed, not been great, but this affair convinced him how much he had to apprehend from the resolution of a people who, with a spirit worthy of the ancient Hollanders, were prepared to bury their country under water rather than to submit. Still the enemy had little cause for congratulation; since, independently of the number of slain, they had seen one of their most flourishing cities sacked, and in part, at least, laid in ruins—one of those, too, which in its public works displayed the nearest approach to civilisation. Such are the triumphs of war!

The expedition of Cortes, notwithstanding the disasters which checkered it, was favourable to the Spanish cause. The fate of Iztapalapan struck a terror throughout the valley. The consequences were soon apparent in the deputations sent by the different places eager to offer their submission, and, could they do so with safety, to throw off the Mexican yoke. But he was in no situation to comply with their request. He now felt, more sensibly than ever, the incompetency of his means to his undertaking. "I assure your majesty," he writes in his letter to the emperor, "the greatest uneasiness which I feel, after all my labours and fatigues, is from my inability to succour and support our Indian friends, your majesty's loyal vassals." Far from having a force competent to this, he had scarcely enough for his own protection. His Indian allies were in deadly feud with these places, whose inhabitants had too often fought under the Aztec banner not to have been engaged in repeated wars with the people beyond the mountains. Cortes set himself earnestly to reconcile these differences. His arguments finally prevailed, and the politic general had the satisfaction to see the high-spirited and hostile tribes forego their long-cherished rivalry, and, resigning the pleasures of revenge so dear to the barbarian, embrace one another as friends and champions in a common cause. To this wise policy the Spanish commander owed quite as much of his subsequent successes as to his arms.

Thus the foundations of the Mexican Empire were hourly loosening, as the great vassals around the capital, on whom it most relied, fell off one after another from their allegiance. The Aztecs, properly so called, formed but a small part of the population of the valley. This was principally composed of cognate tribes, members of the same great family of the Nahuatlacs, who had come upon the plateau at nearly the same time. They were mutual rivals, and were reduced one after another by the more warlike Mexican, who held them in subjection, often by open force, always by fear. Fear was the great principle of cohesion which bound together the discordant members of the monarchy, and this was now fast dissolving before the influence of a power more mighty than that of the Aztec. This, it is true, was not the first time that the conquered races had attempted to recover their independence; but all such attempts had failed for want of concert. It was reserved for the commanding genius of Cortes to extinguish their old hereditary feuds, and, combining their scattered energies, to animate them with a common principle of action.

While these occurrences were passing, Cortes received the welcome intelligence that the brigantines were completed and waiting to be transported to Tezcuco. He detached a body for the service, consisting of two hundred Spanish foot and fifteen horse, which he placed under the command of Sandoval.

There were thirteen vessels in all, of different sizes. They had been constructed under the direction of the experienced shipbuilder Martin Lopez, aided by three or four Spanish carpenters and the friendly natives, some of whom showed no mean degree of imitative skill. The brigantines, when completed, had been fairly tried on the waters of the Zahuapan. They were then taken to pieces, and as Lopez was impatient of delay, the several parts, the timbers, anchors, ironwork, sails, and cordage, were placed on the shoulders of the *tamanes*, and under a numerous military escort were thus far advanced on the way to Tezcuco. Sandoval dismissed a part of the Indian convoy as superfluous.

Twenty thousand warriors he retained, dividing them into two equal bodies for the protection of the *tamanes* in the centre. His own little body of Spaniards he distributed in like manner.

"It was a marvellous thing," exclaims the conqueror, in his letters, "that few have seen—or even heard of—this transportation of thirteen vessels of war on the shoulders of men, for nearly twenty leagues across the mountains!" It was, indeed, a stupendous achievement, and not easily matched in ancient or modern story; one which only a genius like that of Cortes could have devised, or a daring spirit like his have so successfully executed. Little did he foresee, when he ordered the destruction of the fleet which first brought him to the country, and with his usual foresight commanded the preservation of the ironwork and rigging—little did he foresee the important uses for which they were to be reserved. So important, that on their preservation may be said to have depended the successful issue of his great enterprise.

He greeted his Indian allies with the greatest cordiality, testifying his sense of their services by those honours and attentions which he knew would be most grateful to their ambitious spirits. "We come," exclaimed the hardy warriors, "to fight under your banner; to avenge our common quarrel, or to fall by your side"; and with their usual impatience they urged him to lead them at once against the enemy. "Wait," replied the general, bluntly, "till you are rested, and you shall have your hands full."

CONSPIRACY AGAINST CORTES

At the very time when Cortes was occupied with reconnoitring the valley, preparatory to his siege of the capital, a busy faction in Castile was labouring to subvert his authority and defeat his plans of conquest altogether. The fame of his brilliant exploits had spread not only through the isles, but to Spain and many parts of Europe, where a general admiration was felt for the invincible energy of the man, who with his single arm, as it were, could so long maintain a contest with the powerful Indian empire. The absence of the Spanish monarch from his dominions, and the troubles of the country, can alone explain the supine indifference shown by the government to the prosecution of this great enterprise. To the same causes it may be ascribed that no action was taken in regard to the suits of Velasquez and Narvaez, backed, as they were, by so potent an advocate as Bishop Fonseca, president of the council of the Indies. The reins of government had fallen into the hands of Adrian of Utrecht, Charles' preceptor, and afterwards pope—a man of learning, and not without sagacity, but slow and timid in his policy, and altogether incapable of that decisive action which suited the bold genius of his predecessor, Cardinal Ximenes.

In the spring of 1521, however, a number of ordinances passed the council

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of the Indies which threatened an important innovation in the affairs of New Spain. It was decreed that the royal audience of Hispaniola should abandon the proceedings already instituted against Narvaez for his treatment of the commissioner Ayllon; that that unfortunate commander should be released from his confinement at Vera Cruz; and that an arbitrator should be sent to Mexico, with authority to investigate the affairs and conduct of Cortes, and to render ample justice to the governor of Cuba. There were not wanting persons at court who looked with dissatisfaction on these proceedings, as an unworthy requital of the services of Cortes, and who thought the present moment, at any rate, not the most suitable for taking measures which might discourage the general, and perhaps render him desperate. But the arrogant temper of the bishop of Burgos overruled all objections; and the ordinances, having been approved by the Regency, were signed by that body, April 11th, 1521. A person named Tapia, one of the functionaries of the audience at Santo Domingo, was selected as the new commissioner to be despatched to Vera Cruz. Fortunately circumstances occurred which postponed the execution of the design for the present, and permitted Cortes to go forward unmolested in his career of conquest.

But while thus allowed to remain, for the present at least, in possession of authority, he was assailed by a danger nearer home, which menaced not only his authority, but his life. This was a conspiracy in the army, of a more dark and dangerous character than any hitherto formed there. It was set on foot by a common soldier named Antonio Villafañá, a native of Old Castile, of whom nothing is known but his share in this transaction. He was one of the troop of Narvaez, that leaven of disaffection which had remained with the army, swelling with discontent on every light occasion, and ready at all times to rise into mutiny. They had voluntarily continued in the service, after the secession of their comrades at Tlaxcala; but it was from the same mercenary hopes with which they had originally embarked in the expedition, and in these they were destined still to be disappointed. They had little of the true spirit of adventure which distinguished the old companions of Cortes, and they found the barren laurels of victory but a sorry recompense for all their toils and suffering.

With these men were joined others, who had causes of personal disgust with the general; and others, again, who looked with distrust on the result of the war. The gloomy fate of their countrymen who had fallen into the enemy's hands filled them with dismay. They felt themselves the victims of a chimerical spirit in their leader, who with such inadequate means was urging to extremity so ferocious and formidable a foe; and they shrunk with something like apprehension from thus pursuing the enemy into his own haunts, where he could gather tenfold energy from despair.

These men would have willingly abandoned the enterprise and returned to Cuba, but how could they do it? Cortes had control over the whole route from the city to the seacoast, and not a vessel could leave its ports without his warrant. Even if he were put out of the way, there were others, his principal officers, ready to step into his place and avenge the death of their commander. It was necessary to embrace these also in the scheme of destruction; and it was proposed, therefore, together with Cortes, to assassinate Sandoval, Olid, Alvarado, and two or three others most devoted to his interests. The conspirators would then raise the cry of liberty, and doubted not that they should be joined by the greater part of the army, or enough, at least, to enable them to work their own pleasure. They proposed to offer the command, on Cortes' death, to Francisco Verdugo, a brother-in-law of

Velasquez. He was an honourable cavalier, and not privy to their design. But they had little doubt that he would acquiesce in the command thus in a manner forced upon him, and this would secure them the protection of the governor of Cuba, who, indeed, from his own hatred of Cortes, would be disposed to look with a lenient eye on their proceedings.

The conspirators even went so far as to appoint the subordinate officers, an *alguacil mayor* in place of Sandoval, a quartermaster-general to succeed Olid, and some others. The time fixed for the execution of the plot was soon after the return of Cortes from his expedition. A parcel, pretended to have come by a fresh arrival from Castile, was to be presented to him whilst at table, and when he was engaged in breaking open the letters the conspirators were to fall on him and his officers and despatch them with their poniards. Such was the iniquitous scheme devised for the destruction of Cortes and the expedition. But a conspiracy, to be successful, especially when numbers are concerned, should allow but little time to elapse between its conception and its execution.

On the day previous to that appointed for the perpetration of the deed, one of the party, feeling a natural compunction at the commission of the crime, went to the general's quarters and solicited a private interview with him. He threw himself at his commander's feet, and revealed all the particulars relating to the conspiracy, adding that in Villafañá's possession a paper would be found containing the names of his accomplices. Cortes, thunder-struck at the disclosure, lost not a moment in profiting by it. He sent for Alvarado, Sandoval, and one or two other officers marked out by the conspirators, and after communicating the affair to them, went at once with them to Villafañá's quarters, attended by four *alguacils*.

They found him in conference with three or four friends, who were instantly taken from the apartment and placed in custody. Villafañá, confounded at this sudden apparition of his commander, had barely time to snatch a paper containing the signatures of the confederates from his bosom and attempt to swallow it. But Cortes arrested his arm and seized the paper. As he glanced his eye rapidly over the fatal list, he was much moved at finding there the names of more than one who had some claim to consideration in the army. He tore the scroll in pieces, and ordered Villafañá to be taken into custody. He was immediately tried by a military court hastily got together, at which the general himself presided. There seems to have been no doubt of the man's guilt. He was condemned to death, and after allowing him time for confession and absolution, the sentence was executed by hanging him from the window of his own quarters.

Those ignorant of the affair were astonished at the spectacle; and the remaining conspirators were filled with consternation when they saw that their plot was detected, and anticipated a similar fate for themselves. But they were mistaken. Cortes pursued the matter no further. A little reflection convinced him that to do so would involve him in the most disagreeable and even dangerous perplexities. And however much the parties implicated in so foul a deed might deserve death, he could ill afford the loss even of the guilty, with his present limited numbers. He resolved, therefore, to content himself with the punishment of the ringleader.

He called his troops together and briefly explained to them the nature of the crime for which Villafañá had suffered. He had made no confession, he said, and the guilty secret had perished with him. He then expressed his sorrow that any should have been found in their ranks capable of so base

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an act, and stated his own unconsciousness of having wronged any individual among them; but if he had done so, he invited them frankly to declare it, as he was most anxious to afford them all the redress in his power. But there was no one of his audience, whatever might be his grievances, who cared to enter his complaint at such a moment; least of all were the conspirators willing to do so, for they were too happy at having, as they fancied, escaped detection, to stand forward now in the ranks of the malcontents. The affair passed off, therefore, without further consequences. The conduct of Cortes in this delicate conjuncture shows great coolness and knowledge of human nature. Had he suffered his detection, or even his suspicion, of the guilty parties to appear, it would have placed him in hostile relations with them for the rest of his life.

As it was, the guilty soldiers had suffered too serious apprehensions to place their lives hastily in a similar jeopardy. They strove, on the contrary, by demonstrations of loyalty and the assiduous discharge of their duties, to turn away suspicion from themselves. Cortes, on his part, was careful to preserve his natural demeanour, equally removed from distrust and—what was perhaps more difficult—that studied courtesy which intimates, quite as plainly, suspicion of the party who is the object of it. To do this required no little address. Yet he did not forget the past. Cortes kept his eye on all their movements, and took care to place them in no situation, afterwards, where they could do him injury.

LAUNCHING OF BRIGANTINES

As was stated previously, the brigantines being completed, the canal also, after having occupied eight thousand men for nearly two months, was finished. It was a work of great labour, for it extended half a league in length, was twelve feet wide and as many deep. The sides were strengthened by palisades of wood or solid masonry. At intervals, dams and locks were constructed, and part of the opening was through the hard rock. By this avenue the brigantines might now be safely introduced on the lake.

Cortes was resolved that so auspicious an event should be celebrated with due solemnity. On the 28th of April the troops were drawn up under arms, and the whole population of Tezcuco assembled to witness the ceremony. Mass was performed, and every man in the army, together with the general, confessed and received the sacrament. Prayers were offered up by Father Olmedo, and a benediction invoked on the little navy, the first—worthy of the name—ever launched on American waters.

The general's next step was to muster his forces in the great square of the capital. He found they amounted to eighty-seven horse and eight hundred and eighteen foot, of whom one hundred and eighteen were arquebusiers and crossbow-men. He had three large field-pieces of iron, and fifteen lighter guns or falconets of brass. The heavier cannon had been transported from Vera Cruz to Tezcuco, a little while before, by the faithful Tlaxcalans. He was well supplied with shot and balls, with about ten hundred weight of powder, and fifty thousand copper-headed arrows, made after a pattern furnished by him to the natives. The number and appointments of the army much exceeded what they had been at any time since the flight from Mexico, and showed the good effects of the late arrivals from the islands.

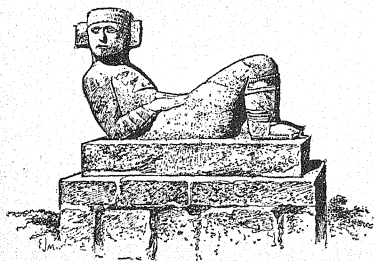
He had already sent to his Indian confederates, announcing his purpose

of immediately laying siege to Mexico, and called on them to furnish their promised levies within the space of ten days at farthest. The Tlaxcalans arrived within the time prescribed. They came fifty thousand strong, according to Cortes, making a brilliant show with their military finery, and marching proudly forward under the great national banner, emblazoned with a spread eagle, the arms of the republic. With as blithe and manly a step as if they were going to the battle-ground, they defiled through the gates of the capital, making its walls ring with the friendly shouts of "Castile and Tlaxcala!"

The siege of Mexico was full of picturesque incidents, in which the Spanish genius for fighting barbarians won a gradual success on sea and land. At length, after the brigantines had gained a complete victory over a swarm of canoes, and Cortes had reduced three-fourths of the city of Mexico to ashes, he forced his way into the central square. Guatemotzin, attempting to escape across the lake, was taken captive, and brought before Cortes.^a

Cortes came forward with a dignified and studied courtesy to receive him. The Aztec monarch probably knew the person of his conqueror, for he first broke silence by saying, "I have done all that I could to defend myself and my people. I am now reduced to this state. You will deal with me, Malinche,

as you list." Then, laying his hand on the hilt of a poniard stuck in the general's belt, he added, with vehemence, "Better despatch me with this, and rid me of life at once." Cortes was filled with admiration at the proud bearing of the young barbarian, showing in his reverses a spirit worthy of an ancient Roman. "Fear not," he replied, "you shall be treated with all honour. You have defended your capital like a brave warrior. A Spaniard knows how to respect valour even in an



CHAC MOOL STATUE, MEXICO
(Aztec Antiquity)

enemy." He then inquired of him where he had left the princess, his wife; and being informed that she still remained under protection of a Spanish guard on board the brigantine, the general sent to have her escorted to his presence. He invited his royal captives to partake of the refreshments which their exhausted condition rendered so necessary. Meanwhile the Spanish commander made his dispositions for the night, ordering Sandoval to escort the prisoners to Cojohuacan, whither he proposed himself immediately to follow. The other captains, Olid and Alvarado, were to draw off their forces to their respective quarters. It was impossible for them to continue in the capital, where the poisonous effluvia from the unburied carcasses loaded the air with infection. A small guard only was stationed to keep order in the wasted suburbs. It was the hour of vespers when Guatemotzin surrendered, and the siege might be considered as then concluded. The evening set in dark and the rain began to fall before the several parties had evacuated the city.

During the night a tremendous tempest, such as the Spaniards had rarely witnessed, and such as is known only within the tropics, burst over the Mexican valley. The thunder, reverberating from the rocky amphitheatre of

[1521 A.D.]

hills, bellowed over the waste of waters, and shook the *teocallis* and crazy tenements of Tenochtitlan—the few that yet survived—to their foundations. The lightning seemed to cleave asunder the vault of heaven, as its vivid flashes wrapped the whole scene in a ghastly glare for a moment, to be again swallowed up in darkness. The war of elements was in unison with the fortunes of the ruined city. It seemed as if the deities of Anahuac, scared from their ancient abodes, were borne along shrieking and howling in the blast, as they abandoned the fallen capital to its fate.

EVACUATION OF THE CITY

On the day following the surrender Guatemotzin requested the Spanish commander to allow the Mexicans to leave the city, and to pass unmolested into the open country. To this Cortes readily assented, as, indeed, without it he could take no steps for purifying the capital. He gave his orders accordingly for the evacuation of the place, commanding that no one, Spaniard or confederate, should offer violence to the Aztecs, or in any way obstruct their departure. The whole number of these is variously estimated at from thirty to seventy thousand, besides women and children, who had survived the sword, pestilence, and famine. It is certain they were three days in defiling along the several causeways—a mournful train; husbands and wives, parents and children, the sick and the wounded, leaning on one another for support, as they feebly tottered along, squalid, and but half covered with rags, that disclosed at every step hideous gashes, some recently received, others festering from long neglect, and carrying with them an atmosphere of contagion. Their wasted forms and famine-stricken faces told the whole history of the siege; and as the straggling files gained the opposite shore they were observed to pause from time to time, as if to take one more look at the spot so lately crowned by the imperial city once their pleasant home, and endeared to them by many a glorious recollection.

On the departure of the inhabitants, measures were immediately taken to purify the place, by means of numerous fires kept burning day and night, especially in the infected quarter of Tlatelolco, and by collecting the heaps of dead which lay mouldering in the streets and consigning them to the earth. Of the whole number who perished in the course of the siege it is impossible to form any probable computation. The accounts range widely from one hundred and twenty thousand, the lowest estimate, to two hundred and forty thousand. The number of the Spaniards who fell was comparatively small, but that of the allies must have been large, if the historian of Tezcuco is correct in asserting that thirty thousand perished of his own countrymen alone. That the number of those destroyed within the city was immense cannot be doubted, when we consider that, besides its own redundant population, it was thronged with that of the neighbouring towns, who, distrusting their strength to resist the enemy, sought protection within its walls.

The booty found there—that is, the treasures of gold and jewels, the only booty of much value in the eyes of the Spaniards—fell far below their expectations. It did not exceed, according to the general's statement, a hundred and thirty thousand *castellanos* of gold, including the sovereign's share, which, indeed, taking into account many articles of curious and costly workmanship, voluntarily relinquished by the army, greatly exceeded his legitimate fifth. Yet the Aztecs must have been in possession of a much larger

treasure, if it were only the wreck of that recovered from the Spaniards on the night of the memorable flight from Mexico. Some of the spoil may have been sent away from the capital, some spent in preparations for defence, and more of it buried in the earth or sunk in the water of the lake. Their menaces were not without a meaning. They had, at least, the satisfaction of disappointing the avarice of their enemies.

Cortes had no further occasion for the presence of his Indian allies. He assembled the chiefs of the different squadrons, thanked them for their services, noticed their valour in flattering terms, and, after distributing presents among them, with the assurance that his master, the emperor, would recompense their fidelity yet more largely, dismissed them to their own homes. They carried off a liberal share of the spoils of which they had plundered the dwellings—not of a kind to excite the cupidity of the Spaniards—and returned in triumph—short-sighted triumph!—at the success of their expedition and the downfall of the Aztec dynasty.

PRESCOTT ON THE FALL OF THE AZTECS

Thus, after a siege of nearly three months' duration, unmatched in history for the constancy and courage of the besieged, seldom surpassed for the severity of its sufferings, fell the renowned capital of the Aztecs. Unmatched, it may be truly said, for constancy and courage, when we recollect that the door of capitulation on the most honourable terms was left open to them throughout the whole blockade, and that, sternly rejecting every proposal of their enemy, they, to a man, preferred to die rather than surrender. More than three centuries had elapsed since the Aztecs, a poor and wandering tribe from the far northwest, had come on the plateau. There they built their miserable collection of huts on the spot—as tradition tells us—prescribed by the oracle. Their conquests, at first confined to their immediate neighbourhood, gradually covered the valley, then, crossing the mountains, swept over the broad extent of the table-land, descended its precipitous sides, and rolled onwards to the Mexican gulf and the distant confines of Central America. Their wretched capital, meanwhile, keeping pace with the enlargement of territory, had grown into a flourishing city filled with buildings, monuments of art, and a numerous population, that gave it the first rank among the capitals of the western world. At this crisis came over another race from the remote East, strangers like themselves, whose coming had also been predicted by the oracle, and, appearing on the plateau, assailed them in the very zenith of their prosperity, and blotted them out from the map of nations forever! The whole story has the air of fable rather than of history—a legend of romance—a tale of the genii.

Yet we cannot regret the fall of an empire which did so little to promote the happiness of its subjects or the real interests of humanity. Notwithstanding the lustre thrown over its latter days by the glorious defence of its capital, by the mild munificence of Montezuma, by the dauntless heroism of Guatemotzin, the Aztecs were emphatically a fierce and brutal race, little calculated, in their best aspects, to excite our sympathy and regard. Their civilisation, such as it was, was not their own, but reflected, perhaps imperfectly, from a race whom they had succeeded in the land. It was, in respect to the Aztecs, a generous graft on a vicious stock, and could have brought no fruit to perfection. They ruled over their wide domains with a sword instead of a sceptre. They did nothing to ameliorate the condition, or in

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any way promote the progress, of their vassals. Their vassals were serfs, used only to minister to their pleasure, held in awe by armed garrisons, ground to the dust by imposts in peace, by military conscriptions in war. They did not, like the Romans, whom they resembled in the nature of their conquests, extend the rights of citizenship to the conquered. They did not amalgamate them into one great nation, with common rights and interests. They held them as aliens—even those who in the valley were gathered round the very walls of the capital. The Aztec metropolis, the heart of the monarchy, had not a sympathy, not a pulsation, in common with the rest of the body politic. It was a stranger in its own land.

The Aztecs not only did not advance the condition of their vassals, but, morally speaking, they did much to degrade it. How can a nation where human sacrifices prevail, and especially when combined with cannibalism, further the march of civilisation? How can the interests of humanity be consulted where man is levelled to the rank of the brutes that perish? The influence of the Aztecs introduced their gloomy superstition into lands before unacquainted with it, or where, at least, it was not established in any great strength. The example of the capital was contagious. As the latter increased in opulence, the religious celebrations were conducted with still more terrible magnificence, in the same manner as the gladiatorial shows of the Romans increased in pomp with the increasing splendour of the capital. Men became familiar with scenes of horror and the most loathsome abominations. Women and children—the whole nation—became familiar with and assisted at them. The heart was hardened, the manners were made ferocious, the feeble light of civilisation, transmitted from a milder race, was growing fainter and fainter, as thousands and thousands of miserable victims throughout the empire were yearly fattened in its cages, sacrificed on its altars, dressed and served at its banquets. The whole land was converted into a vast human shambles. The empire of the Aztecs did not fall before its time.

Whether these unparalleled outrages furnish a sufficient plea to the Spaniards for their invasion, whether we are content to find a warrant for it in the natural rights and demands of civilisation, or, on the one or the other of which grounds the conquests by most Christian nations in the East and the West have been defended, it is unnecessary to discuss. It is more material to inquire whether, assuming the right, the conquest of Mexico was conducted with a proper regard to the claims of humanity. And here we must admit that, with all allowance for the ferocity of the age and the laxity of its principles, there are passages which every Spaniard who cherishes the fame of his countrymen would be glad to see expunged from their history; passages not to be vindicated on the score of self-defence, or of necessity of any kind, and which must forever leave a dark spot on the annals of the conquest. And yet, taken as a whole, the invasion, up to the capture of the capital, was conducted on principles less revolting to humanity than most, perhaps than any, of the other conquests of the Castilian crown in the New World.

Whatever may be thought of the conquest in a moral view, regarded as a military achievement it must fill us with astonishment. That a handful of adventurers, indifferently armed and equipped, should have landed on the shores of a powerful empire inhabited by a fierce and warlike race, and, in defiance of the reiterated prohibitions of its sovereign, have forced their way into the interior; that they should have done this without knowledge of the language or of the land, without chart or compass to guide them, without any idea of the difficulties they were to encounter, totally uncertain

whether the next step might bring them on a hostile nation or on a desert, feeling their way along in the dark, as it were; that, though nearly overwhelmed by their first encounter with the inhabitants, they should have still pressed on to the capital of the empire, and, having reached it, thrown themselves unhesitatingly into the midst of their enemies; that, so far from being daunted by the extraordinary spectacle there exhibited of power and civilisation, they should have been but the more confirmed in their original design; that they should have seized the monarch, have executed his ministers before the eyes of his subjects, and, when driven forth with ruin from the gates, have gathered their scattered wreck together, and after a system of operations, pursued with consummate policy and daring, have succeeded in overturning the capital and establishing their sway over the country—that all this should have been so effected by a mere handful of indigent adventurers, is a fact little short of the miraculous, too startling for the probabilities demanded by fiction, and without a parallel in the pages of history.

Yet this must not be understood too literally; for it would be unjust to the Aztecs themselves, at least to their military prowess, to regard the conquest as directly achieved by the Spaniards alone. This would indeed be to arm the latter with the charmed shield of Ruggiero and the magic lance of Astolfo, overturning its hundreds at a touch. The Indian empire was in a manner conquered by Indians. The first terrible encounter of the Spaniards with the Tlaxcalans, which had nearly proved their ruin, did in fact insure their success. It secured to them a strong native support on which to retreat in the hour of trouble, and round which they could rally the kindred races of the land for one great and overwhelming assault. The Aztec monarchy fell by the hands of its own subjects, under the direction of European sagacity and science. Had it been united, it might have bidden defiance to the invaders. As it was, the capital was dis severed from the rest of the country, and the bolt, which might have passed off comparatively harmless had the empire been cemented by a common principle of loyalty and patriotism, now found its way into every crack and crevice of the ill-compacted fabric, and buried it in its own ruins. Its fate may serve as a striking proof that a government which does not rest on the sympathies of its subjects cannot long abide; that human institutions when not connected with human prosperity and progress must fall—if not before the increasing light of civilisation, by the hand of violence; by violence from within if not from without. And who shall lament their fall??

MEXICO AFTER THE CONQUEST

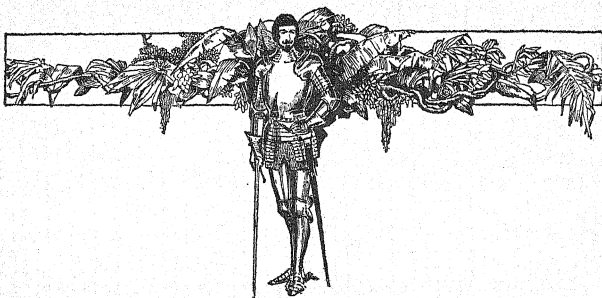
The accounts of Cortes' victories and conquests which were sent to Spain filled his countrymen with admiration, and excited the highest expectations with the people and the government. Charles V, who had succeeded to the throne, appointed Cortes captain-general of New Spain; and even before he had received any legal sanction, he assumed the power of governor, and adopted measures to secure the vast country he had conquered to his sovereign as a colony of Spain. He determined to rebuild the capital, and there to establish the seat of his government, and on an extended plan laid the foundations of the most magnificent city in the New World.

The Mexicans, conquered and degraded as they were, did not quietly submit to their new masters; but aroused by oppression or despair, they often, with more courage than discretion, rushed to arms, and were not only

[1521 A.D.]

defeated in every contest, but the Spaniards, regarding these attempts to regain their liberty as rebellion against their lawful sovereign, put the caciques and nobles who fell into their hands to death, and reduced the common people to the most humiliating and degrading servitude. The massacres and cruelties of the Spaniards are almost incredible. "In almost every district of the Mexican Empire," says Robertson,^d "the progress of the Spanish arms is marked with blood. In the country of Panuco, sixty caciques or leaders and four hundred nobles were burned at one time; and, to complete the horror of the scene, the children and relations of the wretched victims were assembled and compelled to be spectators of their dying agonies." This sanguinary scene was succeeded by another, if possible still more revolting and horrible to the natives. On suspicion, or pretence, that Guatemotzin had conspired against the Spanish authority and excited his former subjects to take up arms, the unhappy monarch, with the caciques of Tezcucuo and Tacuba, the two most distinguished personages in the empire, without even the formality of a trial, were brought to a public and ignominious execution, and hanged on a gibbet in the presence of their countrymen, who witnessed the scene with indescribable horror, as they had long been accustomed to reverence their sovereign with homage and awe.

For all his toils and sufferings, his splendid achievements, his extensive conquests, and all the cruelties and crimes he committed for his sovereign, Cortes received the reward which usually attends those who perform great services for their country: he was envied, calumniated, suspected, recalled, deprived of his authority and of all benefit from his exertions, except the glory of being the conqueror of Mexico and the oppressor and destroyer of a great and once prosperous and happy nation.^e



CHAPTER II

THE CONQUEST OF PERU

OF the numerous nations which occupied the great American continent at the time of its discovery by the Europeans, the two most advanced in power and refinement were undoubtedly those of Mexico and Peru. But, though resembling one another in extent of civilisation, they differed widely as to the nature of it; and the philosophical student of his species may feel a natural curiosity to trace the different steps by which these two nations strove to emerge from the state of barbarism, and place themselves on a higher plane in the scale of humanity.

The empire of Peru, at the period of the Spanish invasion, stretched along the Pacific from about the second degree north to the thirty-seventh degree of south latitude; a line, also, which describes the western boundaries of the modern republics of Ecuador, Peru, Bolivia, and Chili. Its breadth cannot so easily be determined; for, though bounded everywhere by the great ocean on the west, towards the east it spread out, in many parts, considerably beyond the mountains, to the confines of barbarous states, whose exact position is undetermined, or whose names are effaced from the map of history. It is certain, however, that its breadth was altogether disproportioned to its length.

By a judicious system of canals and subterraneous aqueducts, the waste places on the coast were refreshed by copious streams, that clothed them in fertility and beauty. Terraces were raised upon the steep sides of the Cordillera; and, as the different elevations had the effect of difference of latitude, they exhibited in regular gradation every variety of vegetable form, from the stimulated growth of the tropics, to the temperate products of a northern clime; while flocks of llamas — the Peruvian sheep — wandered with their shepherds over the broad, snow-covered wastes on the crests of the sierra, which rose beyond the limits of cultivation. An industrious population settled along the lofty regions of the plateaus, and towns and hamlets, clustering amidst orchards and wide-spreading gardens, seemed suspended in the air far above the ordinary elevation of the clouds.

[—1480 A.D.]

On Lake Titicaca extensive ruins exist at the present day, which the Peruvians themselves acknowledge to be of older date than the pretended advent of the incas, and to have furnished them with the models of their architecture. The date of their appearance, indeed, is manifestly irreconcilable with their subsequent history. No account assigns to the inca dynasty more than thirteen princes before the conquest. But this number is altogether too small to have spread over four hundred years, and would not carry back the foundations of the monarchy, on any probable computation, beyond two centuries and a half — an antiquity not incredible in itself, and which, it may be remarked, does not precede by more than half a century the alleged foundation of the capital of Mexico. The fiction of Manco Capac and his sister-wife was devised, no doubt, at a later period, to gratify the vanity of the Peruvian monarchs, and to give additional sanction to their authority by deriving it from a celestial origin.

We may reasonably conclude that there existed in the country a race advanced in civilisation before the time of the incas; and, in conformity with nearly every tradition, we may derive this race from the neighbourhood of Lake Titicaca; a conclusion strongly confirmed by the imposing architectural remains which still endure, after the lapse of so many years, on its borders. Who this race were, and whence they came, may afford a tempting theme for inquiry to the speculative antiquarian. But it is a land of darkness that lies far beyond the domain of history.

EMPIRE OF THE INCAS

The same mists that hang round the origin of the incas continue to settle on their subsequent annals; and, so imperfect were the records employed by the Peruvians, and so confused and contradictory their traditions, that the historian finds no firm footing on which to stand till within a century of the Spanish conquest. At first, the progress of the Peruvians seems to have been slow, and almost imperceptible. By their wise and temperate policy, they gradually won over the neighbouring tribes to their dominion, as these latter became more and more convinced of the benefits of a just and well regulated government.

As they grew stronger, they were enabled to rely more directly on force; but, still advancing under cover of the same beneficent pretexts employed by their predecessors, they proclaimed peace and civilisation at the point of the sword. The rude nations of the country, without any principle of cohesion among themselves, fell one after another before the victorious arm of the incas. Yet it was not till the middle of the fifteenth century that the famous Topa Inca Yupanqui, grandfather of the monarch who occupied the throne at the coming of the Spaniards, led his armies across the terrible desert of Atacama, and, penetrating to the southern region of Chili, fixed the permanent boundary of his dominions at the river Maule. His son, Huayna Capac, possessed of ambition and military talent fully equal to his father's, marched along the Cordillera towards the north, and, pushing his conquests across the equator, added the powerful kingdom of Quito to the empire of Peru.

The ancient city of Cuzco, meanwhile, had been gradually advancing in wealth and population, till it had become the worthy metropolis of a great and flourishing monarchy.

Towards the north, on the sierra or rugged eminence already noticed, rose a strong fortress, the remains of which at the present day, by their vast size, excite the admiration of the traveller.

The nobility of Peru consisted of two orders, the first and by far the most important of which was that of the incas, who, boasting a common descent with their sovereign, lived, as it were, in the reflected light of his glory. As the Peruvian monarchs availed themselves of the right of polygamy to a very liberal extent, leaving behind them families of one or even two hundred children, the nobles of the blood royal, though comprehending only their descendants in the male line, came in the course of years to be very numerous.

The other order of nobility was the *curacas*, the caciques of the conquered nations, or their descendants. They were usually continued by the government in their places, though they were required to visit the capital occasionally, and to allow their sons to be educated there as the pledges of their loyalty.

It was the inca nobility, indeed, who constituted the real strength of the Peruvian monarchy. Attached to their prince by ties of consanguinity, they had common sympathies and, to a considerable extent, common interests with him. Distinguished by a peculiar dress and insignia, as well as by language and blood, from the rest of the community, they were never confounded with the other tribes and nations who were incorporated into the great Peruvian monarchy. After the lapse of centuries, they still retained their individuality as a peculiar people. They were to the conquered races of the country what the Romans were to the barbarous hordes of the empire, or the Normans to the ancient inhabitants of the British Isles. Clustering around the throne, they formed an invincible phalanx, to shield it alike from secret conspiracy and open insurrection. Though living chiefly in the capital, they were also distributed throughout the country in all its high stations and strong military posts, thus establishing lines of communication with the court, which enabled the sovereign to act simultaneously and with effect on the most distant quarters of his empire. They possessed, moreover, an intellectual pre-eminence which, no less than their station, gave them authority with the people. Indeed, it may be said to have been the principal foundation of their authority. The crania of the inca race show a decided superiority over the other races of the land in intellectual power; and it cannot be denied that it was the fountain of that peculiar civilisation and social polity, which raised the Peruvian monarchy above every other state in South America. Whence this remarkable race came, and what was its early history, are among those mysteries that meet us so frequently in the annals of the New World, and which time and the antiquary have as yet done little to explain.^b

EARLY HISTORY OF ECUADOR

Whether all the tribes who populated this country were of the same race is unknown, also what kings and what number of them reigned over the land; mention only is made of Quito, the last king, more powerful than his predecessors, who appears to have given his name to this kingdom situated in the centre of more than fifty provinces, larger or lesser states, nearly all independent.

This was their condition for some centuries, when a strange tribe called the Cara tribe, whose king was named Shyri Caran (lord or king of the Caras), came up from the shores of the Pacific Ocean (their country) by the valley of the river Esmeraldas, and took possession of the kingdom of Quito, about the year 280 of the Christian era. In the three hundred and twenty years preceding the year 1300, eleven shyris succeeded one another as kings of the land.

Three other shyris reigned over the land until 1450, and extended the dominion of their ancestors either by conquest or alliance. The fame of this

[1475-1525 A.D.]

country excited the envy of the incas of Peru, and Tupac Yupanqui, then the reigning inca, made several conquests in the kingdom of Quito and advanced as far as Mocha in 1460, where his progress was checked by the stubborn resistance of this province. Hualcopo Duchisela, the fourteenth shyri, was reigning at the period.

Hualcopo's son Cacha, the fifteenth shyri, ascended the throne, and regained the province of Puruhu (Chimborazo), which as we have said had been usurped by the conqueror Tupac Yupanqui; but that of Cacha remained under the dominion of the incas. Upon the death of his father Tupac Yupanqui, the inca Huainacapac, called the Great or the Conqueror, ascended the throne, raised an army, and in 1475 set his troops of Cuzco in movement, to undertake the conquest of the kingdom of Quito. He personally conducted the march, and after partial victories and advantages, by which he became master of nearly the whole kingdom, he completed his conquest of it by the celebrated battle of Hatuntaqui in which Cacha, the fifteenth shyri, was killed. Huainacapac believed that this victory would leave him in peaceful possession of the kingdom, and observed with surprise that the nobles and the army proclaimed Pacha, legitimate daughter of Cacha, queen. Foreseeing that this proclamation would lead to fresh annoyances and difficulties, he adopted the measure of marrying Pacha, the lawful shyri, which enabled him to legally add to the crown the emerald, emblem of the kings of Quito. Huainacapac never returned to the capital of Cuzco, but made Quito his residence, and governed the whole empire for thirty-eight years. This was the most brilliant and flourishing period in the history of the kingdom of Quito.

By his wife Pacha, Huainacapac had a son, the beloved Atahualpa, another son having previously been born to him in Cuzco, fruit of his first marriage with Rava Oello. Huainacapac died in 1525, after residing thirty-eight years in Quito, and left the kingdom divided between his two sons.

The inca Huascar came into the empire of Cuzco, such as it was when governed by his paternal ancestors, and the shyri Atahualpa inherited the kingdom of Quito, as possessed by his maternal ancestors.^c It was about this time that the Spaniards arrived in Peru, and, as the history of the Spanish conquest of that country is closely connected with that of Quito, the two may be considered together.

EARLY HISTORY OF CHILI

The story of the Spanish conquest of Peru includes also that of Chili.^a Before the arrival of the Spaniards in Chili, the country was inhabited by the Moluches, or warriors; though speaking the same tongue, they were divided into different groups. The Huilliches inhabited the country now comprised between Chiloé and Valdivia. The Pehuenches lived more to the north, reaching as far as the Moule or Napel. The Pehuenches were the strongest and most numerous, and among them were the warlike Aucas or Araucanos. This celebrated tribe eventually gave its name to all the native inhabitants to the south of Biobio, divided into four groups or *butalmapus*. The name *pehuenches* still exists, and is principally applied to those inhabiting the eastern skirts and valleys of the Andes to the north. Each group was formed of various tribes, and each tribe of different families united by common interests. Each tribe obeyed an ulmen or chief warrior, whom the Spaniards called a *cacique*. Occasionally in times of war several tribes formed an alliance, and then they recognised the supreme authority of a chief called a *toqui*.

More than half a century before the Spaniards arrived for the first time in Chili the country had been invaded by the army of the inca Yupanqui. The invaders entered by Tucuman, and subjected all the territory between Copiapo and the Maule, but to the south of this river they met with stout resistance from the valiant Promaucaes and Araucanians. After fierce fighting the Peruvians were compelled to retreat to the north of the Maule or Rapel and Cachapoal, where they defended themselves with extensive fortifications. The northern territory, converted into a tributary state of the incas, greatly benefited by the Peruvians' advanced civilisation. Their government was mild and paternal, they perfected agriculture and different industries, and made canals for irrigation, and also bridges and roads. When the Spaniards arrived prepared for conquest, the Indians of the north and centre of Chili had already acquired habits of peace and labour.^d

EXPEDITION OF PIZARRO

The success of Cortes, and other Spanish adventurers in America, stimulated the ambition of their countrymen, and gave additional impulse to the spirit of enterprise and discovery, which was the prevailing passion of the day. The discoveries and conquests which had been made, and the settlements that had been established, served both as incentives and facilities to new and bolder enterprises. The settlement at Panama, on the western coast of the isthmus of Darien, greatly facilitated the plans of adventurers in that quarter, and became, in some measure, the parent of most of the early settlements on the coast of the Southern Ocean.

Soon after the conquest of Mexico, about the year 1524, three obscure individuals, residing at Panama, formed a plan for discovering and conquering the rich countries to the eastward of that colony, which had long attracted the attention of adventurers. These individuals were Francisco Pizarro, the natural son of a Spanish gentleman, a soldier, and one of the early adventurers to the New World; Diego de Almagro, also a soldier, and whose origin was equally humble with that of his associate, one being a bastard and the other a foundling; and Hernando Luque, an ecclesiastic, who was employed in the double capacity of priest and schoolmaster at Panama. The last, by some means not known, had acquired considerable wealth, but his two associates possessed but little; each, however, was to embark his whole fortune in the enterprise, together with all his hopes. The contract between them was solemnised by religious sanctions, although its object was rapine and murder.

With all their united means and exertions they were enabled only to fit out one small vessel, with one hundred and twelve men, Pedrarias [Pedro Arias de Avila], the governor of Panama, having first authorised the expedition. This was commanded by Pizarro, and afterward Almagro sailed with seventy men more as a re-inforcement. Such were the men, and such the means, by which one of the most extensive empires on the globe was to be conquered — an empire where civilisation and the arts had made great progress, and whose government was not only established on divine authority, but its sovereign claimed relationship with the gods, and was venerated by his subjects accordingly.

Their first expedition was productive of little more advantage than the discovery of the opulent country of which they were in pursuit, whose existence had become a matter of doubt, in consequence of the failure of several attempts at discovery. After having touched at various places, and suffered incredible hardships, they discovered the coast of Chili, and landed at Tacamez, where

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they beheld with pleasure a fertile and inviting country, very different from any they had discovered in the Southern Ocean. The country was cultivated, and the natives were clad in garments of white cotton stuffs, and adorned with trinkets of gold and silver. Although delighted with these appearances, the adventurers did not presume to invade so populous a country with a handful of men, worn out with hardships and wasted by disease. They stopped at the island of Gallo, and Almagro returned to Panama to obtain re-inforcements, leaving Pizarro with part of the men.

Pedro de los Rios, having succeeded Pedrarias as governor of the colony, and apprehending that the settlement of Panama would be weakened, and even exposed, by sending off adventurers in a distant and uncertain enterprise, he prohibited Almagro from raising more recruits, and despatched a vessel to bring back Pizarro and his followers, who were left behind. When the vessel arrived, Pizarro, inflexibly bent on his purposes, peremptorily refused to obey the orders of the governor, and used every persuasion to induce his men to remain with him. He drew a line on the sand with his sword, and informed his followers that those who wished to abandon their leader and the glorious enterprise, would pass over: thirteen only remained to share the fortune of their commander. This small and dauntless band removed to the island of Gorgona, as being a more safe situation, where they remained for more than five months, constantly tortured with hopes and fears, and suffering everything, short of death, from an unhealthy climate and the want of provisions. At length a vessel arrived from the governor, to convey them to Panama, which occasioned such excessive joy, such a sudden transition of feeling, that not only his followers, but the crew of the vessel, agreed to follow Pizarro, and, instead of returning to Panama, they bore away to the southeast, and had the good fortune to discover the coast of Peru.

After touching at several places, they landed at Tumbez, situated about three degrees south of the equatorial line; here was a magnificent temple, and a palace of the incas, or sovereigns of the empire. The fertility of the country, the improvements, civilisation, and wealth of the inhabitants, was now, for the first time, fully unfolded to the view of the Spaniards; the rich stuffs, in which many of the inhabitants were clad, the ornaments of gold and silver which adorned their persons, and the more massy and splendid ornaments of the precious metals which enriched their temples, and even the common utensils, composed of gold and silver, attracted their enraptured vision, convinced them that their fondest dreams were realised, and that at last they had discovered the land of Ophir — the country of gold. They feasted their eyes and their hopes on these inviting objects; and gazed until they almost imagined themselves masters of the country, and possessed of all the wealth they saw and coveted. But, with his small force, Pizarro did not attempt anything against the country, and contented himself with sailing along the coast, and trading with the inhabitants; he procured several llamas, vessels of silver and gold, and several curious specimens of their manufactures, to be exhibited as memorials of the opulent country he had discovered and explored. He also brought off two native youths, under the pretence of instructing them in the Castilian language, but with the real intention of employing them as interpreters.

But the flattering accounts which Pizarro gave of the opulence of the country, supported by the specimens he had brought with him, did not change the inflexible resolution of the governor of Panama; he still refused to authorise, or even countenance, the scheme of Pizarro and his two associates; in consequence of which, they determined to apply directly to their sovereign.

Having agreed among themselves that Pizarro should be governor, Almagro adelantado, or lieutenant-governor, and Luque bishop of the country they might conquer, Pizarro set sail for Spain, and succeeded beyond the utmost extent of his hopes. He obtained the appointment of captain-general and adelantado of the country he had discovered, described to extend six hundred miles along the coast south of the river Santiago; but his unbounded ambition led him to grasp everything for himself, and to disregard the rights of Almagro; yet as the views of Luque did not interfere with his own, he obtained for him the expected appointment. When Pizarro arrived at Panama he found Almagro so exasperated at his conduct, that he was exerting all his influence to embarrass and frustrate his plans, and at the same time to fit out an expedition himself, on his own account. Alarmed at the consequences of an opposition from one who had been connected with him in the enterprise, Pizarro exerted himself to effect a reconciliation; and, by offering to relinquish to Almagro the office of adelantado, a reunion among the confederates was established.

The confederates now exerted themselves to fit out an armament for the conquest of the country: but with all their united efforts, aided by the alluring accounts of the country, three small vessels, with one hundred and eight men, was the extent of the force which they could raise, and with this Pizarro did not hesitate to invade an extensive country, filled with people. He landed in the bay of St. Matthew, and advancing toward the south, in the province of Coaque they plundered the inhabitants of gold and silver to the amount of \$40,000, a large portion of which they remitted in one of their vessels to Almagro, at Panama, to enable him to procure recruits; and despatched another vessel to Nicaragua. This display of the riches of the country, and the wealth they had already acquired, had a most happy influence on the cause, and procured several small re-inforcements. Pizarro continued his march along the coast, and met with little resistance from the inhabitants, who, surprised and terrified at the sudden appearance of such formidable invaders, either deserted their habitations and fled, or sued for peace and favour. He proceeded to Tumbez, and from thence to the river Piura, near the mouth of which, at a favourable site, he planted the first colony in Peru, which he called St. Michael.^e

STATE OF PERU AT COMING OF SPANIARDS

When the Spaniards first visited the coast of Peru, in the year 1526, Huana Capac, the twelfth monarch from the founder of the state, was seated on the throne. He is represented as a prince distinguished not only for the pacific virtues peculiar to the race, but eminent for his martial talents. By his victorious arms the kingdom of Quito was subjected, a conquest of such extent and importance as almost doubled the power of the Peruvian empire. He was fond of residing in the capital of that valuable province which he had added to his dominions; and [as we have already seen], notwithstanding the ancient and fundamental law of the monarchy against polluting the royal blood by any foreign alliance, he married the daughter of the vanquished monarch of Quito. She bore him a son named Atahualpa, whom, on his death at Quito, which seems to have happened about the year 1529, he appointed his successor in that kingdom, leaving the rest of his dominions to Huascar, his eldest son, by a mother of the royal race.

Greatly as the Peruvians revered the memory of a monarch who had reigned with greater reputation and splendour than any of his predecessors,

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the destination of Huana Capac concerning the succession appeared so repugnant to a maxim coeval with the empire, and founded on authority deemed sacred, that it was no sooner known at Cuzco than it excited general disgust. Encouraged by those sentiments of his subjects, Huascar required his brother to renounce the government of Quito, and to acknowledge him as his lawful superior. But it had been the first care of Atahualpa to gain a large body of troops which had accompanied his father to Quito. These were the flower of the Peruvian warriors, to whose valour Huana Capac had been indebted for all his victories. Relying on their support, Atahualpa first eluded his brother's demand, and then marched against him in hostile array.

Thus the ambition of two young men, the title of the one founded on ancient usage, and that of the other asserted by the veteran troops, involved Peru in civil war, a calamity to which, under a succession of virtuous princes, it had hitherto been a stranger. In such a contest the issue was obvious. The force of arms triumphed over the authority of laws. Atahualpa remained victorious, and made a cruel use of his victory. Conscious of the defect in his own title to the crown, he attempted to exterminate the royal race, by putting to death all the children of the sun descended from Manco Capac, whom he could seize either by force or stratagem. From a political motive, the life of his unfortunate rival Huascar, who had been taken prisoner in a battle which decided the fate of the empire, was prolonged for some time, that, by issuing orders in his name, the usurper might more easily establish his own authority.

When Pizarro landed in the bay of St. Matthew, this civil war raged between the two brothers in its greatest fury. Had he made any hostile attempt in his former visit to Peru in the year 1527, he must then have encountered the force of a powerful state, united under a monarch, possessed of capacity as well as courage, and unembarrassed with any care that could divert him from opposing his progress. But at this time, the two competitors, though they received early accounts of the arrival and violent proceedings of the Spaniards, were so intent upon the operations of a war, which they deemed more interesting, that they paid no attention to the motions of an enemy, too inconsiderable in number to excite any great alarm, and to whom, it would be easy, as they imagined, to give a check when more at leisure.

PIZARRO'S MARCH INTO THE INTERIOR

By this fortunate coincidence of events, whereof Pizarro could have no foresight, and of which, from his defective mode of intercourse with the people of the country, he remained long ignorant, he was permitted to carry on his operations unmolested, and advanced to the centre of a great empire before one effort of its power was exerted to stop his career. During their progress, the Spaniards had acquired some imperfect knowledge of this struggle between the two contending factions. The first complete information with respect to it, they received from messengers whom Huascar sent to Pizarro, in order to solicit his aid against Atahualpa, whom he represented as a rebel and an usurper.

Pizarro perceived at once the importance of this intelligence, and foresaw so clearly all the advantages which might be derived from this divided state of the kingdom, which he had invaded, that, without waiting for the re-inforcement which he expected from Panama, he determined to push forward, while intestine discord put it out of the power of the Peruvians to attack him with their whole force, and while, by taking part, as circumstances should incline him, with one of the competitors, he might be enabled with greater ease to

crush both. Enterprising as the Spaniards of that age were in all their operations against Americans, and distinguished as Pizarro was among his countrymen for daring courage, we can hardly suppose, that, after having proceeded hitherto slowly, and with much caution, he would have changed at once his system of operation, and have ventured upon a measure so hazardous, without some new motive or prospect to justify it.

As he was obliged to divide his troops, in order to leave a garrison in St. Michael, sufficient to defend a station of equal importance as a place of retreat in case of any disaster, and as a port for receiving any supplies which should come from Panama, he began his march with a very slender and ill-accoutred train of followers. They consisted of sixty-two horsemen, and a hundred and two foot-soldiers, of whom twenty were armed with cross-bows, and three with muskets. He directed his course towards Caxamalca, a small town at the distance of twelve days' march from St. Michael, where Atahualpa was encamped with a considerable body of troops. Before he had proceeded far, an officer despatched by the inca met him with a valuable present from that prince, accompanied with a proffer of his alliance, and assurances of a friendly reception at Caxamalca. Pizarro, according to the usual artifice of his countrymen in America, pretended to come as the ambassador of a very powerful monarch, and declared that he was now advancing with an intention to offer Atahualpa his aid against those enemies who disputed his title to the throne.

As the object of the Spaniards in entering their country was altogether incomprehensible to the Peruvians, they had formed various conjectures concerning it, without being able to decide whether they should consider their new guests as beings of a superior nature, who had visited them from some beneficent motive, or as formidable avengers of their crimes, and enemies to their repose and liberty. The continual professions of the Spaniards that they came to enlighten them with the knowledge of truth, and lead them in the way of happiness, favoured the former opinion; the outrages which they committed, their rapaciousness and cruelty, were awful confirmations of the latter.

While in this state of uncertainty, Pizarro's declaration of his pacific intentions so far removed all the inca's fears, that he determined to give him a friendly reception. In consequence of this resolution, the Spaniards were allowed to march in tranquillity across the sandy desert between St. Michael and Motupè, where the most feeble effort of an enemy, added to the unavoidable distresses which they suffered in passing through that comfortless region, must have proved fatal to them. From Motupè they advanced towards the mountains which encompassed the low country of Peru, and passed through a defile so narrow and inaccessible, that a few men might have defended it against a numerous army. But here, likewise, from the same inconsiderate credulity of the inca, the Spaniards met with no opposition, and took quiet possession of a fort erected for the security of that important station. As they now approached near to Caxamalca, Atahualpa renewed his professions of friendship; and, as an evidence of their sincerity, sent them presents of greater value than the former.

On entering Caxamalca, Pizarro took possession of a large court, on one side of which was a house which the Spanish historians call a palace of the inca, and on the other a temple of the Sun, the whole surrounded with a strong rampart or wall of earth. When he had posted his troops in this advantageous station, he despatched his brother Ferdinand and Hernando de Soto to the camp of Atahualpa, which was about a league distant from the town. He instructed them to confirm the declaration which he had formerly made of his

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pacific disposition, and to desire an interview with the inca, that he might explain more fully the intention of the Spaniards in visiting his country.

They were treated with all the respectful hospitality usual among the Peruvians in the reception of their most cordial friends, and Atahualpa promised to visit the Spanish commander next day in his quarters. The decent deportment of the Peruvian monarch, the order of his court, and the reverence with which his subjects approached his person and obeyed his commands, astonished those Spaniards, who had never met in America with anything more dignified than the petty cacique of a barbarous tribe. But their eyes were still more powerfully attracted by the vast profusion of wealth which they observed in the inca's camp. The rich ornaments worn by him and his attendants, the vessels of gold and silver in which the repast offered to them was served up, the multitude of utensils of every kind formed of those precious metals, opened prospects far exceeding any idea of opulence that an European of the sixteenth century could form.

CAPTURE OF THE INCA

On their return to Caxamalca, while their minds were yet warm with admiration and desire of the wealth which they had beheld, they gave such a description of it to their countrymen, as confirmed Pizarro in a resolution which he had already taken. From his own observation of American manners during his long service in the New World, as well as from the advantages which Cortes had derived from seizing Montezuma, he knew of what consequence it was to have the inca in his power. For this purpose he formed a plan as daring as it was perfidious. Notwithstanding the character that he had assumed of an ambassador from a powerful monarch, who courted an alliance with the inca, and in violation of the repeated offers which he had made to him of his own friendship and assistance, he determined to avail himself of the unsuspecting simplicity with which Atahualpa relied on his professions, and to seize the person of the inca during the interview to which he had invited him. He prepared for the execution of his scheme with the same deliberate arrangement, and with as little compunction, as if it had reflected no disgrace on himself or his country. He divided his cavalry into three small squadrons, under the command of his brother Ferdinand, Soto, and Benalcazar; his infantry were formed in one body, except twenty of most tried courage, whom he kept near his own person to support him in the dangerous service which he reserved for himself; the artillery, consisting of two field-pieces, and the cross-bowmen, were placed opposite to the avenue by which Atahualpa was to approach. All were commanded to keep within the square, and not to move until the signal for action was given.

Early in the morning the Peruvian camp was all in motion. But as Atahualpa was solicitous to appear with the greatest splendour and magnificence in his first interview with the strangers, the preparations for this were so tedious, that the day was far advanced before he began his march. Even then, lest the order of the procession should be deranged, he moved so slowly that the Spaniards became impatient, and apprehensive that some suspicion of their intention might be the cause of this delay. In order to remove this, Pizarro despatched one of his officers with fresh assurances of his friendly disposition. At length the inca approached. First of all appeared four hundred men, in a uniform dress, as harbingers to clear the way before him. He himself, sitting on a throne or couch adorned with plumes of various colours, and almost covered with plates of gold and silver enriched with

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precious stones, was carried on the shoulders of his principal attendants. Behind him came some chief officers of his court, carried in the same manner. Several bands of singers and dancers accompanied this calvacade; and the whole plain was covered with troops, amounting to more than thirty thousand men.

As the inca drew near the Spanish quarters, Father Vincent Valverde, chaplain to the expedition, advanced with a crucifix in one hand, and a breviary in the other, and in a long discourse explained to him the doctrine of the creation, the fall of Adam, the incarnation, the sufferings and resurrection of Jesus Christ, the appointment of St. Peter as God's vice-gerent on earth, the transmission of his apostolic power by succession to the popes, the donation made to the king of Castile by Pope Alexander of all the regions of the New World. In consequence of all this, he required Atahualpa to embrace the Christian faith, to acknowledge the supreme jurisdiction of the pope, and to submit to the king of Castile, as his lawful sovereign; promising, if he complied instantly with this requisition, that the Castilian monarch would protect his dominions, and permit him to continue in the exercise of his royal authority; but if he should impiously refuse to obey this summons, he denounced war against him in his master's name, and threatened him with the most dreadful effects of his vengeance.

This strange harangue, unfolding deep mysteries, and alluding to unknown facts, of which no power of eloquence could have conveyed at once a distinct idea to an American, was so lamely translated by an unskilful interpreter, little acquainted with the idiom of the Spanish tongue, and incapable of expressing himself with propriety in the language of the inca, that its general tenor was altogether incomprehensible to Atahualpa. Some parts in it, of more obvious meaning, filled him with astonishment and indignation. His reply, however, was temperate. He began with observing, that he was lord of the dominions over which he reigned by hereditary succession; and added, that he could not conceive how a foreign priest should pretend to dispose of territories which did not belong to him; that if such a preposterous grant had been made, he, who was the rightful possessor, refused to confirm it; that he had no inclination to renounce the religious institutions established by his ancestors; nor would he forsake the service of the Sun, the immortal divinity whom he and his people revered, in order to worship the God of the Spaniards, who was subject to death; that with respect to other matters contained in his discourse, as he had never heard of them before, and did not now understand their meaning, he desired to know where the priest had learned things so extraordinary. "In this book," answered Valverde, reaching out to him his breviary. The inca opened it eagerly, and turning over the leaves, lifted it up to his ear: "This," says he, "is silent; it tells me nothing"; and threw it with disdain to the ground. The enraged monk, running towards his countrymen, cried out, "To arms, Christians, to arms; the word of God is insulted; avenge this profanation on those impious dogs."

Pizarro, who, during this long conference, had with difficulty restrained his soldiers, eager to seize the rich spoils of which they had now so near a view, immediately gave the signal of assault. At once the martial music struck up, the cannon and muskets began to fire, the horse sallied out fiercely to the charge, the infantry rushed on sword in hand. The Peruvians, astonished at the suddenness of an attack which they did not expect, and dismayed with the destructive effect of the fire-arms, and the irresistible impression of the cavalry, fled with universal consternation on every side, without attempting either to annoy the enemy, or to defend themselves. Pizarro, at the head of

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his chosen band, advanced directly towards the inca; and though his nobles crowded around him with officious zeal, and fell in numbers at his feet, while they vied one with another in sacrificing their own lives, that they might cover the sacred person of their sovereign, the Spaniards soon penetrated to the royal seat; and Pizarro, seizing the inca by the arm, dragged him to the ground, and carried him as a prisoner to his quarters. The fate of the monarch increased the precipitate flight of his followers. The Spaniards pursued them towards every quarter, and with deliberate and unrelenting barbarity continued to slaughter wretched fugitives, who never once offered to resist. The carnage did not cease until the close of day. Above four thousand Peruvians were killed. Not a single Spaniard fell, nor was wounded but Pizarro himself, whose hand was slightly hurt by one of his own soldiers, while struggling eagerly to lay hold on the inca.

The plunder of the field was rich beyond any idea which the Spaniards had yet formed concerning the wealth of Peru; and they were so transported with the value of the acquisition, as well as the greatness of their success, that they passed the night in the extravagant exultation natural to the indigent adventurers on such an extraordinary change of fortune.

At first the captive monarch could hardly believe a calamity which he so little expected to be real. But he soon felt all the misery of his fate, and the dejection into which he sunk was in proportion to the height of grandeur from which he had fallen. Pizarro, afraid of losing all the advantages which he hoped to derive from the possession of such a prisoner, laboured to console him with professions of kindness and respect, that corresponded ill with his actions. By residing among the Spaniards, the inca quickly discovered their ruling passion, which, indeed, they were nowise solicitous to conceal, and, by applying to that, made an attempt to recover his liberty. He offered as a ransom what astonished the Spaniards, even after all they now knew concerning the opulence of his kingdom. The apartment in which he was confined was twenty-two feet in length and sixteen in breadth; he undertook to fill it with vessels of gold as high as he could reach. Pizarro closed eagerly with this tempting proposal, and a line was drawn upon the walls of the chamber, to mark the stipulated height to which the treasure was to rise.

DEATH OF THE INCA

Atahualpa, transported with having obtained some prospect of liberty, took measures instantly for fulfilling his part of the agreement, by sending messengers to Cuzco, Quito, and other places, where gold had been amassed in largest quantities, either for adorning the temples of the gods, or the houses of the inca, to bring what was necessary for completing his ransom directly to Caxamalca.

The Peruvians, accustomed to obey implicitly the mandates of their sovereign, flocked in, from all parts of the empire, loaded with the precious metals, so that in a short period the greater part of the stipulated quantity was produced, and Atahualpa assured Pizarro that the residue would arrive as soon as there was sufficient time to convey it from the remote provinces. But such piles of gold so inflamed the avarice of a needy soldiery, that they could no longer be restrained, and Pizarro was obliged to order the whole melted down, and divided among his followers. The captive monarch, having performed his part of the contract, now demanded to be set at liberty; but the perfidious Spanish leader had no such intention, his only object being to secure the plunder; and he even meditated taking the life of his credulous

captive, at the very time the latter was employed in amassing the treasures for his ransom. Atahualpa was subjected to a mock trial, and condemned to be burned: his last moments were embittered by the friar Valverde, who, although he had used his influence to procure his condemnation, and sanctioned the sentence with his own signature, attempted to console him in his awful situation, and to convert him to Christianity. The only argument that had any influence on the trembling victim was that of mitigating his punishment; and on the promise of being strangled, instead of consumed by a slow fire, he consented to be baptised, by the hand of one of his murderers, who exercised the holy functions of priest.

After the death of Atahualpa, Pizarro invested one of his sons with the ensigns of royalty; Manco Capac, a brother of Huascar, was also declared sovereign at Cuzco, and the governors of many of the provinces assumed independent authority, so that the empire was torn to pieces by intestine dissensions.

The intelligence of the immense wealth acquired by Pizarro and his followers, which those who had returned had conveyed to Panama, Nicaragua, and Guatemala, confirmed by a display of the treasures, produced such an electric effect, that it was with difficulty the governors of those places could restrain their people from abandoning their possessions and embarking for Peru, as adventurers. Numerous reinforcements arrived from various quarters, which enabled Pizarro to force his way into the heart of the country, and take possession of Cuzco, the capital of the empire. The gold and silver found here, after all that had been removed, exceeded what had been received as the ransom of Atahualpa.

REVOLT OF PERUVIANS

Whilst the Spanish commander was thus employed, Benalcazar, who had been left in command at St. Michael, having received some reinforcements, left a garrison at that place, and set out with the rest of the troops under his command for the conquest of Quito. After a long and difficult march, over mountains and rivers, exposed to the fierce attacks of the natives, he entered the city of Quito. The tranquillity of the interior, and the arrival of Ferdinand Pizarro, brother of the commander-in-chief, with considerable reinforcements, induced the latter to march back to the seacoast, where, in the year 1534, he laid the foundation of the city of Lima, distinguished in after times for its wealth and earthquakes. In the mean time, Amalgro set out on an expedition for the conquest of Chili; and several parties were ordered by Pizarro into distant provinces, which had not been subjugated. These various enterprises had reduced the troops at Cuzco to a small number. The Peruvians, aware of this circumstance, and being now persuaded that the Spaniards would not voluntarily retire from their country, but intended to establish themselves in it, were at last aroused from their inactivity, and seemed determined to expel their rapacious invaders.

Preparations, through the whole empire, were carried on with such secrecy and despatch, as to elude the utmost vigilance of the Spaniards; and Manco Capac, who was acknowledged by all as sovereign at this time, having made his escape from the Spaniards at Cuzco, where he had been detained as a prisoner, the standard of war was immediately raised; troops assembled from all parts of the empire, and, according to the Spanish writers of that period, two hundred thousand men laid siege to Cuzco, which was defended for nine months by one hundred and seventy Spaniards. A numerous army also

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invested Lima, and all communication between the two cities was cut off. The Peruvians not only displayed the utmost bravery, but, imitating the discipline of their enemies, large bodies were marshalled in regular order: some of their bravest warriors were armed with swords and spears; others appeared with muskets, obtained from the Spaniards, and a few of the boldest, at the head of whom was the inca himself, were mounted on horses, which they had taken from their invaders, and charged like Spanish cavaliers. All the exertions of the Spanish garrison, directed by the two brothers of the commander-in-chief, and rendered desperate from their situation, could not resist the incessant attacks of the Peruvians; they recovered possession of one half of their capital; and the Spaniards, worn out with uninterrupted service, suffering for the want of provisions, and ignorant as to their brethren in other stations, and the number of their enemies daily increasing, were ready to despair; the stoutest hearts sunk under such accumulated, such appalling difficulties and dangers.

At this hour of darkness, when the lamp of hope emitted but a glimmering ray, Almagro appeared at Cuzco. But even this event the Pizarros hardly knew whether to regard as auspicious or calamitous, as they knew not whether he had come as a friend or foe. Whilst in Chili, he had received a patent from the crown, constituting him governor of Chili, and defining its limits, which, by his own construction, included the city of Cuzco; and being informed of the revolt of the Peruvians, he marched back to prevent the place from falling into the possession of the natives, and also to rescue it from the hands of the Pizarros. Almagro was, therefore, the enemy of both parties, and both attempted to negotiate with him. The inca, knowing his situation and pretensions, at first attempted to make terms with him; but soon being convinced that no faith could be had with a Spaniard, he fell suddenly upon him, with a numerous body of his bravest troops. The discipline and good fortune of the Spaniards once more prevailed, and the Peruvians were defeated with an immense slaughter, and their whole army dispersed. Almagro's attention was now directed against the garrison; and having surprised the sentinels, he entered the town by night, surrounded the house where the two Pizarros quartered, and compelled the garrison to surrender at discretion. Francisco Pizarro, having defeated and driven off the Peruvians who invested Lima, sent a detachment of five hundred men to Cuzco to the relief of his brothers, in case they had not already fallen into the hands of the Peruvians. On their arrival they were astonished to find an enemy in their own countrymen, which was the first knowledge they had of the events that had occurred at Cuzco. After first attempting, without success, to seduce Alvarado, their commander, Almagro surprised and fell upon them in the night in their camp, took Alvarado and his principal officers prisoners, and completely routed the party.

CONFLICT BETWEEN ALMAGRO AND PIZARRO

Pizarro, alarmed for the safety of his two brothers, as well as for the security of his possessions, opened a negotiation with Almagro; and having artfully prolonged the same for several months, and by deception and perfidy procured the liberation of his brothers, threw off all disguise, abandoned the negotiation, and prepared to settle the dispute in the field; and seven hundred men, ready to march to Cuzco, attested the rapidity of his preparations. The command of these troops he gave to his two brothers, who anxious for victory, and thirsting for revenge, penetrated through the defiles of one branch of the Andes, and appeared on the plain before Cuzco. Almagro had five hundred

men, veteran soldiers, and a greater number of cavalry than his enemy: being worn out by services and fatigues, too great for his advanced age, he was obliged to entrust the command to Orgognez, who, though an officer of much merit, had not the same ascendancy over the troops as their chief, whom they had long been accustomed to follow in the career of victory. Pizarro had a superiority in numbers, and an advantage from two companies armed with muskets, and disciplined to their use. Whilst countrymen and brethren, who had made common cause in plundering and massacring the natives, were drawn up in hostile array, and under the same banners, to shed each other's blood, the Indians, like distant clouds, covered the mountains, and viewed with astonishment, but with pleasure, that rapacity and violence of which they had been the victims, about to recoil on the heads of their invaders, and to be inflicted by their own hands. They were prepared to fall on the victorious party, who, exhausted by the contest, might be an easy prey, and thus appropriate the victory to themselves.

The conflict was fierce and tremendous; for "when Greek meets Greek then comes the tug of war"; for a considerable time the result was doubtful, but Orgognez, having received a dangerous wound, his party was completely routed, himself slain in cold blood, one hundred and forty killed, and the rest fell into the hands of the victors. Almagro, who had witnessed the action from a litter with the deepest emotions, attempted to escape, but was made a prisoner. After being detained in custody for several months, he was subjected to a mock trial, and sentenced to death.^e

The Indians, instead of executing the resolution which they had formed, retired quietly after the battle was over; and in the history of the New World there is not a more striking instance of the wonderful ascendant which the Spaniards had acquired over its inhabitants, than that, after seeing one of the contending parties ruined and dispersed, and the other weakened and fatigued, they had not courage to fall upon their enemies, when fortune presented an opportunity of attacking them with such advantage.

Cuzco was pillaged by the victorious troops, who found there a considerable booty, consisting partly of the gleanings of the Indian treasures, and partly of the wealth amassed by their antagonists from the spoils of Peru and Chili. But so far did this, and whatever the bounty of their leader could add to it, fall below the ideas of the recompense which they conceived to be due to their merit, that Ferdinand Pizarro, unable to gratify such extravagant expectations, had recourse to the same expedient which his brother had employed on a similar occasion, and endeavoured to find occupation for this turbulent assuming spirit, in order to prevent it from breaking out into open mutiny. With this view, he encouraged his most active officers to attempt the discovery and reduction of various provinces which had not hitherto submitted to the Spaniards. To every standard erected by the leaders who undertook any of those new expeditions, volunteers resorted, with the ardour and hope peculiar to the age. Several of Almagro's soldiers joined them; and thus Pizarro had the satisfaction of being delivered both from the importunity of his discontented friends, and the dread of his ancient enemies.

DELIBERATIONS IN SPAIN CONCERNING PERU

As, during the civil dissensions in Peru, all intercourse with Spain was suspended, the detail of the extraordinary transactions there did not soon reach the court. Unfortunately for the victorious faction, the first intelligence was brought thither by some of Almagro's officers, who left the country

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upon the ruin of their cause; and they related what had happened, with every circumstance unfavourable to Pizarro and his brothers. Their ambition, their breach of the most solemn engagements, their violence and cruelty, were painted with all the malignity and exaggeration of party hatred. Ferdinand Pizarro, who arrived soon after, and appeared in court with extraordinary splendour, endeavoured to efface the impression which their accusations had made, and to justify his brother and himself by representing Almagro as the aggressor. The emperor and his ministers, though they could not pronounce which of the contending factions was most criminal, clearly discerned the fatal tendency of their dissensions. It was obvious that while the leaders, entrusted with the conduct of two infant colonies, employed the arms which should have been turned against the common enemy in destroying one another, all attention to the public good must cease; and there was reason to dread that the Indians might improve the advantage which the disunion of the Spaniards presented to them, and extirpate both the victors and vanquished. But the evil was more apparent than the remedy. Where the information which had been received was so defective and suspicious, and the scene of action so remote, it was almost impossible to chalk out the line of conduct that ought to be followed; and before any plan that should be approved of in Spain could be carried into execution, the situation of the parties, and the circumstances of affairs, might alter so entirely as to render its effects extremely pernicious.

Nothing therefore remained but to send a person to Peru, vested with extensive and discretionary power, who, after viewing deliberately the posture of affairs with his own eyes, and inquiring upon the spot into the conduct of the different leaders, should be authorised to establish the government in that form which he deemed most conducive to the interest of the parent state, and the welfare of the colony. The man selected for this important charge was Christoval Vaca de Castro, a judge in the court of royal audience at Valladolid, and his abilities, integrity, and firmness, justified the choice. His instructions; though ample, were not such as to fetter him in his operations. According to the different aspect of affairs, he had power to take upon him different characters. If he found the governor still alive, he was to assume only the title of judge, to maintain the appearance of acting in concert with him, and to guard against giving any just cause of offence to a man who had merited so highly of his country. But if Pizarro were dead, he was entrusted with a commission that he might then produce, by which he was appointed his successor in the government of Peru. This attention to Pizarro, however, seems to have flowed rather from dread of his power, than from any approbation of his measures; for, at the very time that the court seemed so solicitous not to irritate him, his brother Ferdinand was arrested at Madrid, and confined in a prison, where he remained above twenty years.

While Vaca de Castro was preparing for his voyage, events of great moment happened in Peru. The governor, considering himself, upon the death of Almagro, as the unrivalled possessor of that vast empire, proceeded to parcel out its territories among the conquerors; and had this division been made with any degree of impartiality, the extent of country which he had to bestow was sufficient to have gratified his friends, and to have gained his enemies. But Pizarro conducted this transaction, not with the equity and candour of a judge attentive to discover and to reward merit, but with the illiberal spirit of a party leader. Large districts, in parts of the country most cultivated and populous, were set apart as his own property, or granted to his brothers, his adherents, and favourites. To others, lots less valuable and inviting were

assigned. The followers of Almagro, amongst whom were many of the original adventurers to whose valour and perseverance Pizarro was indebted for his success, were totally excluded from any portion of those lands, towards the acquisition of which they had contributed so largely. As the vanity of every individual set an immoderate value upon his own services, and the idea of each concerning the recompense due to them rose gradually to a more exorbitant height in proportion as their conquests extended, all who were disappointed in their expectations exclaimed loudly against the rapaciousness and partiality of the governor. The partisans of Almagro murmured in secret, and meditated revenge.

EXPEDITION OF GONZALO PIZARRO

Rapid as the progress of the Spaniards in South America had been since Pizarro landed in Peru, their avidity of dominion was not yet satisfied. The officers to whom Ferdinand Pizarro gave the command of different detachments, penetrated into several new provinces, and though some of them were exposed to great hardships in the cold and barren regions of the Andes, and others suffered distress not inferior amidst the woods and marshes of the plains, they made discoveries and conquests which not only extended their knowledge of the country, but added considerably to the territories of Spain in the New World.

One of these territories was that part of Peru which is now known as Bolivia. At the time of the coming of the Spaniards it formed a part of the empire of the incas, but ruins of buildings found in the country show traces of a much older civilisation. Almagro passed through Bolivia on his way to Chili, and afterwards the Pizarro brothers established their authority on the high plateau. In 1545 the silver mines of Potosi were discovered. According to Mr. Dawson, *g* "the discovery of Potosi revolutionised Upper Peru — as Bolivia was then called." He thinks it probable that the high and relatively inaccessible plateau would long have escaped Spanish settlement had it not been for the appeal that the mines made to Spanish cupidity. It is well known that Pizarro's followers came as conquerors and not as settlers. They cared only for the gold that had been accumulated by the civilised natives, and when they had secured that, there was nothing to induce them to remain in Bolivia. As soon, however, as it became known that there were seemingly inexhaustible deposits of silver at Potosi, Bolivia was seen to be the greatest source of that metal in the known world, and its importance to the Castilian king was proportionately enhanced. Dawson declares that a single mountain had produced two billion ounces of silver. Little wonder, then, that the supply seemed inexhaustible.

Pedro de Valdivia re-assumed Almagro's scheme of invading Chili, and, notwithstanding the fortitude of the natives in defending their possessions, made such progress in the conquest of the country, that he founded the city of Santiago, and gave a beginning to the establishment of the Spanish dominion in that province. But of all the enterprises undertaken about this period, that of Gonzalo Pizarro was the most remarkable. The governor, who seems to have resolved that no person in Peru should possess any station of distinguished eminence or authority but those of his own family, had deprived Benalcazar, the conqueror of Quito, of his command in that kingdom, and appointed his brother Gonzalo to take the government of it. He instructed him to attempt the discovery and conquest of the country to the east of the Andes, which, according to the information of the Indians, abounded with cinnamon and

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other valuable spices. Gonzalo, not inferior to any of his brothers in courage, and no less ambitious of acquiring distinction, eagerly engaged in this difficult service. He set out from Quito at the head of three hundred and forty soldiers, nearly one half of whom were horsemen; with four thousand Indians to carry their provisions. In forcing their way through the defiles, or over the ridges of the Andes, excess of cold and fatigue, to neither of which they were accustomed, proved fatal to the greater part of their wretched attendants.

The Spaniards, though more robust, and inured to a variety of climates, suffered considerably, and lost some men; but when they descended into the low country, their distress increased. During two months it rained incessantly, without any interval of fair weather long enough to dry their clothes. The immense plains upon which they were now entering, either altogether without inhabitants, or occupied by the rudest and least industrious tribes in the new world, yielded little subsistence. They could not advance a step but as they cut a road through woods, or made it through marshes. Such incessant toil, and continual scarcity of food, seem more than sufficient to have exhausted and dispirited any troops. But the fortitude and perseverance of the Spaniards in the sixteenth century were insuperable. Allured by frequent but false accounts of rich countries before them, they persisted in struggling on, until they reached the banks of the Coca or Napo, one of the large rivers whose waters pour into the Marañon [Amazon], and contribute to its grandeur. There, with infinite labour, they built a bark, which they expected would prove of great utility, in conveying them over rivers, in procuring provisions, and in exploring the country. This was manned with fifty soldiers, under the command of Francisco de Orellana, the officer next in rank to Pizarro. The stream carried them down with such rapidity, that they were soon far ahead of their countrymen, who followed slowly and with difficulty by land.

INDEPENDENT VOYAGE OF ORELLANA

At this distance from his commander, Orellana, a young man of an aspiring mind, began to fancy himself independent, and transported with the predominant passion of the age, he formed the scheme of distinguishing himself as a discoverer, by following the course of the Marañon, until it joined the ocean, and by surveying the vast regions through which it flows. This scheme of Orellana's was as bold as it was treacherous. For, if he be chargeable with the guilt of having violated his duty to his commander, and with having abandoned his fellow-soldiers in a pathless desert, where they had hardly any hopes of success, or even of safety, but what were founded on the service which they expected from the bark; his crime is, in some measure, balanced by the glory of having ventured upon a navigation of near two thousand leagues, through unknown nations, in a vessel hastily constructed, with green timber, and by very unskilful hands, without provisions, without a compass, or a pilot. But his courage and alacrity supplied every defect. Committing himself fearlessly to the guidance of the stream, the Napo bore him along to the South, until he reached the great channel of the Marañon. Turning with it towards the coast, he held on his course in that direction. He made frequent descents on both sides of the river, sometimes seizing by force of arms the provisions of the fierce savages seated on its banks; and sometimes procuring a supply of food by a friendly intercourse with more gentle tribes. After a long series of dangers, which he encountered with amazing fortitude, and of distresses which he supported with no less magnanimity, he reached the ocean, where new perils

awaited him. These he likewise surmounted, and got safe to the Spanish settlement in the island of Cubagua; from thence he sailed to Spain.

The vanity natural to travellers who visit regions unknown to the rest of mankind, and the art of an adventurer, solicitous to magnify his own merit, concurred in prompting him to mingle an extraordinary proportion of the marvellous in the narrative of his voyage. He pretended to have discovered nations so rich, that the roofs of their temples were covered with plates of gold; and described a republic of women so warlike and powerful, as to have extended their dominion over a considerable tract of the fertile plains which he had visited. Extravagant as those tales were, they gave rise to an opinion, that a region abounding with gold, distinguished by the name of *El Dorado*, and a community of Amazons, were to be found in this part of the New World. and such is the propensity of mankind to believe what is wonderful, that it has been slowly and with difficulty that reason and observation have exploded those fables. The voyage, however, even when stripped of every romantic embellishment, deserves to be recorded, not only as one of the most memorable occurrences in that adventurous age, but as the first event which led to any certain knowledge of the extensive countries that stretch eastward from the Andes to the ocean.

No words can describe the consternation of Pizarro, when he did not find the bark at the confluence of the Napo and Marañon, where he had ordered Orellana to wait for him. He would not allow himself to suspect that a man, whom he had entrusted with such an important command, could be so base and so unfeeling, as to desert him at such a juncture. But imputing his absence from the place of rendezvous to some unknown accident, he advanced above fifty leagues along the banks of the Marañon, expecting every moment to see the bark appear with a supply of provisions. At length he came up with an officer whom Orellana had left to perish in the desert, because he had the courage to remonstrate against his perfidy. From him he learned the extent of Orellana's crime, and his followers perceived at once their own desperate situation, when deprived of their only resource. The spirit of the stoutest-hearted veteran sunk within him, and all demanded to be led back instantly.

Pizarro, though he assumed an appearance of tranquillity, did not oppose their inclination. But he was now twelve hundred miles from Quito; and in that long march the Spaniards encountered hardships greater than those which they had endured in their progress outward, without the alluring hopes which then soothed and animated them under their sufferings. Hunger compelled them to feed on roots and berries, to eat all their dogs and horses, to devour the most loathsome reptiles, and even to know the leather of their saddles and sword-belts. Four thousand Indians, and two hundred and ten Spaniards, perished in this wild disastrous expedition, which continued near two years; and, as fifty men were aboard the bark with Orellana, only fourscore got back to Quito. These were naked like savages, and so emaciated with famine, or worn out with fatigue, that they had more the appearance of spectres than of men.

CONSPIRACY AGAINST FRANCISCO PIZARRO

But, instead of returning to enjoy the repose which his condition required, Pizarro, on entering Quito, received accounts of a fatal event that threatened calamities more dreadful to him than those through which he had passed. From the time that his brother made that partial division of his conquests which has been mentioned, the adherents of Almagro, considering themselves

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as proscribed by the party in power, no longer entertained any hope of bettering their condition. Great numbers in despair resorted to Lima, where the house of young Almagro was always open to them, and the slender portion of his father's fortune, which the governor allowed him to enjoy, was spent in affording them subsistence. The warm attachment with which every person who had served under the elder Almagro devoted himself to his interests, was quickly transferred to his son, who was now grown up to the age of manhood, and possessed all the qualities which captivate the affections of soldiers. Of a graceful appearance, dexterous at all martial exercises, bold, open, generous, he seemed to be formed for command; and as his father, conscious of his own inferiority, from the total want of education, had been extremely attentive to have him instructed in every science becoming a gentleman; the accomplishments which he had acquired heightened the respect of his followers, as they gave him distinction and eminence among illiterate adventurers. In this young man the Almagrians found a point of union which they wanted, and, looking up to him as their head, were ready to undertake any thing for his advancement.

Nor was affection for Almagro their only incitement; they were urged on by their own distresses. Many of them, destitute of common necessities, and weary of loitering away life, a burden to their chief, or to such of their associates as had saved some remnant of their fortune from pillage and confiscation, longed impatiently for an occasion to exert their activity and courage, and began to deliberate how they might be avenged on the author of all their misery. Their frequent cabals did not pass unobserved; and the governor was warned to be on his guard against men who meditated some desperate deed, and had resolution to execute it. But, either from the native intrepidity of his mind, or from contempt of persons whose poverty seemed to render their machinations of little consequence, he disregarded the admonitions of his friends. "Be in no pain," said he carelessly, "about my life; it is perfectly safe, as long as every man in Peru knows that I can in a moment cut off any head which dares to harbour a thought against it." This security gave the Almagrians full leisure to digest and ripen every part of their scheme; and Juan de Rada, an officer of great abilities, who had the charge of Almagro's education, took the direction of their consultations, with all the zeal which this connection inspired, and with all the authority which the ascendant that he was known to have over the mind of his pupil gave him.

On the day appointed, Rada and his companions met in Almagro's house, and waited with anxiety for the hour when the governor should issue from the church. But great was their consternation when they learned that he was not there, but was detained at home, as currently reported, by illness. Little doubting that their design was discovered, they felt their own ruin to be the inevitable consequence, and that, too, without enjoying the melancholy consolation of having struck the blow for which they had incurred it. Greatly perplexed, some were for disbanding, in the hope that Pizarro might, after all, be ignorant of their design. But most were for carrying it into execution at once, by assaulting him in his own house. The question was summarily decided by one of the party, who felt that in this latter course lay their only chance of safety. Throwing open the doors, he rushed out, calling on his comrades to follow him, or he would proclaim the purpose for which they had met. There was no longer hesitation, and the cavaliers issuing forth, with Rada at their head, shouting, as they went, "Long live the king! Death to the tyrant!"

It was the hour of dinner, which, in this primitive age of the Spanish

colonies, was at noon. Yet numbers, roused by the cries of the assailants, came out into the square to inquire the cause. "They are going to kill the marquis," some said very coolly; others replied, "It is Picado." No one stirred in their defence. The power of Pizarro was not seated in the hearts of his people. As the conspirators traversed the *plaza*, one of the party made a circuit to avoid a little pool of water that lay in their path. "What!" exclaimed Rada, "afraid of wetting your feet, when you are to wade up to your knees in blood!" And he ordered the man to give up the enterprise and go home to his quarters. The anecdote is characteristic.

The governor's palace stood on the opposite side of the square. It was approached by two courtyards. The entrance to the outer one was protected by a massive gate, capable of being made good against a hundred men or more. But it was left open, and the assailants, hurrying through to the inner court, still shouting their fearful battle-cry, were met by two domestics loitering in the yard. One of these they struck down. The other, flying in all haste towards the house, called out, "Help, help! the men of Chili are all coming to murder the marquis!"

DEATH OF PIZARRO

Pizarro at this time was at dinner, or, more probably, had just dined. He was surrounded by a party of friends, who had dropped in, it seems, after mass, to inquire after the state of his health, some of whom had remained to partake of his repast. Among these was Don Francisco de Alcantara, Pizarro's half-brother by the mother's side, the judge Velasquez, the bishop-elect of Quito, and several of the principal cavaliers in the place, to the number of fifteen or twenty. Some of them, alarmed by the uproar in the courtyard, left the saloon, and, running down to the first landing on the stairway, inquired into the cause of the disturbance. No sooner were they informed of it by the cries of the servant, than they retreated with precipitation into the house; and, as they had no mind to abide the storm unarmed, or at best imperfectly armed, as most of them were, they made their way to a corridor that overlooked the gardens, into which they easily let themselves down without injury. Velasquez, the judge, the better to have the use of his hands in the descent, held his rod of office in his mouth, thus taking care, says a caustic old chronicler, not to falsify his assurance that "no harm should come to Pizarro while the rod of justice was in his hands!"

Meanwhile, the marquis, learning the nature of the tumult, called out to Francisco de Chaves, an officer high in his confidence, and who was in the outer apartment opening on the staircase, to secure the door, while he and his brother Alcantara buckled on their armour. Had this order, coolly given, been as coolly obeyed, it would have saved them all, since the entrance could easily have been maintained against a much larger force, till the report of the cavaliers who had fled had brought support to Pizarro. But unfortunately Chaves, disobeying his commander, half opened the door, and attempted to enter into a parley with the conspirators. The latter had now reached the head of the stairs, and cut short the debate by running Chaves through the body, and tumbling his corpse down into the area below. For a moment they were kept at bay by the attendants of the slaughtered cavalier, but these too, were quickly despatched; and Rada and his companions, entering the apartment, hurried across it, shouting out, "Where is the marquis? Death to the tyrant!"

Alcantara, who in the adjoining room was assisting his brother to buckle

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on his mail, no sooner saw that the entrance to the antechamber had been gained, than he sprang to the doorway of the apartment, and, assisted by two young men, pages of Pizarro, and by one or two cavaliers in attendance, endeavoured to resist the approach of the assailants. A desperate struggle now ensued. Blows were given on both sides, some of which proved fatal, and two of the conspirators were slain, while Alcantara and his brave companions were repeatedly wounded.

At length Pizarro, unable in the hurry of the moment to adjust the fastenings of his cuirass, threw it away, and enveloping one arm in his cloak with the other seized his sword, and sprang to his brother's assistance. It was too late; for Alcantara was already staggering under the loss of blood, and soon fell to the ground. Pizarro threw himself on his invaders, like a lion roused in his lair, and dealt his blows with as much rapidity and force as if age had no power to stiffen his limbs. "What ho!" he cried, "traitors! have you come to kill me in my own house?" The conspirators drew back for a moment, as two of their body fell under Pizarro's sword; but they quickly rallied, and, from their superior numbers, fought at great advantage by relieving one another in the assault.

Still, the passage was narrow, and the struggle lasted for some minutes, till both of Pizarro's pages were stretched by his side, when Rada, impatient of the delay, called out, "Why are we so long about it? Down with the tyrant!" and taking one of his companions, Narvaez, in his arms, he thrust him against the marquis. Pizarro, instantly grappling with his opponent, ran him through with his sword. But at that moment he received a wound in the throat, and reeling he sank to the floor, while the swords of Rada and several of the conspirators were plunged into his body. "Jesu!" exclaimed the dying man, and, tracing a cross with his finger on the bloody floor, he bent down his head to kiss it, when a stroke, more friendly than the rest, put an end to his existence.

The conspirators, having accomplished their bloody deed, rushed into the street, and, brandishing their dripping weapons, shouted out, "The tyrant is dead! The laws are restored! Long live our master the emperor, and his governor, Almagro!" The men of Chili, roused by the cheering cry, now flocked in from every side to join the banner of Rada, who soon found himself at the head of nearly three hundred followers, all armed and prepared to support his authority. A guard was placed over the houses of the principal partisans of the late governor, and their persons were taken into custody. Pizarro's house, and that of his secretary Picado, were delivered up to pillage, and a large booty in gold and silver was found in the former. Picado himself took refuge in the dwelling of Riquelme, the treasurer; but his hiding place was detected — betrayed, according to some accounts, by the looks, though not the words, of the treasurer himself — and he was dragged forth and committed to a secure prison.

The whole city was thrown into consternation, as armed bodies hurried to and fro on their several errands, and all who were not in the faction of Almagro trembled lest they should be involved in the proscription of their enemies. So great was the disorder that the Brothers of Mercy, turning out in a body, paraded the streets in solemn procession, with the host elevated in the air, in hopes by the presence of the sacred symbol to calm the passions of the multitude.

But no other violence was offered by Rada and his followers than to apprehend a few suspected persons, and to seize upon horses and arms wherever they were to be found. The municipality was then summoned to recognise the

authority of Almagro; the refractory were ejected without ceremony from their offices, and others of the Chili faction were substituted. The claims of the new aspirant were fully recognised; and young Almagro, parading the streets on horseback, and escorted by a well-armed body of cavaliers, was proclaimed by sound of trumpet governor and captain-general of Peru.

Meanwhile, the mangled bodies of Pizarro and his faithful adherents were left weltering in their blood. Some were for dragging forth the governor's corpse to the market-place, and fixing his head upon a gibbet. But Almagro was secretly prevailed on to grant the entreaties of Pizarro's friends, and allow his interment. This was stealthily and hastily performed, in the fear of momentary interruption. A faithful attendant and his wife, with a few black domestics, wrapped the body in a cotton cloth and removed it to the cathedral. A grave was hastily dug in an obscure corner, the services were hurried through, and, in secrecy, and in darkness dispelled only by the feeble glimmering of a few tapers furnished by these humble menials, the remains of Pizarro, rolled in their bloody shroud, were consigned to their kindred dust. Such was the miserable end of the conqueror of Peru—of the man who but a few hours before had lorded it over the land with as absolute a sway as was possessed by its hereditary incas. Cut off in the broad light of day, in the heart of his own capital, in the very midst of those who had been his companions-in-arms and shared with him his triumphs and his spoils, he perished like a wretched outcast. "There was none even," in the expressive language of the chronicler, "to say, God forgive him!"

A few years later, when tranquillity was restored to the country, Pizarro's remains were placed in a sumptuous coffin and deposited under a monument in a conspicuous part of the cathedral. And in 1607, when time had thrown its friendly mantle over the past, and the memory of his errors and his crimes was merged in the consideration of the great services he had rendered to the crown by the extension of her colonial empire, his bones were removed to the new cathedral, and allowed to repose side by side with those of Mendoza, the wise and good viceroy of Peru.

PRESCOTT'S ESTIMATE OF PIZARRO

Pizarro was eminently perfidious. Yet nothing is more opposed to sound policy. One act of perfidy fully established becomes the ruin of its author. The man who relinquishes confidence in his good faith gives up the best basis for future operations. Who will knowingly build on a quicksand? By his perfidious treatment of Almagro, Pizarro alienated the minds of the Spaniards. By his perfidious treatment of Atahualpa, and subsequently of the inca Manco, he disgusted the Peruvians. The name of Pizarro became a by-word for perfidy. Almagro took his revenge in a civil war; Manco in an insurrection which nearly cost Pizarro his dominion. The civil war terminated in a conspiracy which cost him his life. Such were the fruits of his policy.

But Pizarro's ruling motives, so far as they can be scanned by human judgment, were avarice and ambition. The good missionaries, indeed, followed in his train, and the Spanish government, as usual, directed its beneficent legislation to the conversion of the natives. But the moving power with Pizarro and his followers was the lust of gold. This was the real stimulus to their toil, the price of perfidy, the true guerdon of their victories. This gave a base and mercenary character to their enterprise; and when we contrast the ferocious cupidity of the conquerors with the mild and inoffensive manners

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of the conquered, our sympathies, the sympathies even of the Spaniards, are necessarily thrown into the scale of the Indian.

But as no picture is without its lights, we must not, in justice to Pizarro, dwell exclusively on the darker features of his portrait. There was no one of her sons to whom Spain was under larger obligations for extent of empire; for his hand won for her the richest of the Indian jewels that once sparkled in her imperial diadem. When we contemplate the perils he braved, the sufferings he patiently endured, the incredible obstacles he overcame, the magnificent results he effected with his single arm, as it were, unaided by the government — though neither a good nor a great man in the highest sense of that term, it is impossible not to regard him as a very extraordinary one.^b

APPOINTMENT OF NEW GOVERNORS

The shocking dissensions in Peru being known at the court of Castile, Vaca de Castro received a royal commission, appointing him governor of Peru, for the purpose of quieting the existing disturbances, and establishing the authority of the Spanish government. Having landed at Quito, he immediately, and with great energy, adopted measures to suppress the insurrection, and bring the daring conspirators to punishment. He marched toward Cuzco, whither Almagro had retired; the hostile parties met at Chupaz, about two hundred miles from Cuzco, and both determined to decide the contest at once. The action was bloody and decisive, and characterised by that fierceness, impetuosity, and vindictive spirit, which the deadly animosities of both parties, and desperate situation of one, were calculated to inspire; and the slaughter was in proportion to the maddening fury of the combatants. Of fourteen hundred men, the whole number engaged on both sides, more than one thousand lay dead and wounded on the field of battle. Superiority of numbers prevailed, and young Almagro and his party, or all who escaped the sword, fell into the hands of the victors. And although they were countrymen and fellow-Christians, the tender mercies of their conquerors were cruelties; forty were executed as rebels; many were banished, and young Almagro, their leader, was publicly beheaded at Cuzco. These events occurred in 1542. At length the torch of civil dissension, if not extinguished, ceased to burn; and a short period of repose was restored to a country whose history hitherto was but a succession of carnage and bloodshed.

But tranquillity in Peru was not of long continuance; new regulations having been framed for the government of the Spanish possessions in America, which greatly alarmed the settlers, by depriving them of their oppressive power over the natives, and Nuñez Vela being sent out to Peru as governor, to enforce them, the elements of dissension were again brought into action, and the gathering clouds threatened another storm of civil war. The rashness and violence of the new governor increased the disorders, and spread the disaffection throughout the provinces. The malcontents from all quarters looked to Gonzalo Pizarro as their leader and deliverer; and, having taken the field, he soon found himself at the head of one thousand men, with which he moved toward Lima. But before he arrived there a revolution had taken place; the governor and the judges of the court of Audience, had long been in contention, and finally the latter, gaining the ascendancy, seized the governor, and sent him prisoner to a desert island on the coast.

Pizarro, finding things in this state of disorder, beheld the supreme authority within his reach, and compelled the judges of the royal audience to appoint him governor and captain-general of Peru. He had scarcely possessed him-

self of his usurped authority, before he was called to defend it, against a formidable opponent. Nugñez Vela, the governor, being set at liberty by the officer entrusted with conducting him to Spain, landed at Tumbes, raised the royal standard, and resumed his functions as viceroy of the province. Many distinguished individuals declared in his favour, and, from the violence of Pizarro's administration, he soon found himself at the head of a considerable force. Pizarro immediately prepared to meet him, and to decide, by the umpirage of the sword, the validity of their respective pretensions. But Vela, being inferior in the number of his forces, and unwilling to stake his power and his life on the issue of an engagement, retreated toward Quito, and was pursued with great celerity by Pizarro.

Not being able to defend Quito, the viceroy continued his march into the province of Popayan, where he received so considerable reinforcements that he determined to march back to Quito, and decide the contest. Pizarro, confiding in the known bravery of his troops, rejoiced at an opportunity to meet him; the conflict, as usual, was sharp, fierce, and bloody; Pizarro was victorious, and the viceroy, who fell covered with wounds, had his head cut off and placed on a gibbet in Quito, whilst the conquerors made a triumphal entry into the city. All opposition to the authority of the victor ceased, and Pizarro now found himself supreme master of Peru, and of the South Sea, as he possessed a fleet which had captured Panama, and commanded the ocean.

These alarming dissensions gave great concern to the government of Spain, and led to the appointment of Pedro de la Gasca, with unlimited authority to suppress them, and restore tranquillity and the power of the parent country. He came without troops, and almost without attendants; his conduct was directly the reverse of Vela, his predecessor; he was truly the minister of peace; it was his object to reclaim, not to subdue: and by his conciliatory conduct, and mild and judicious measures, he effected more than he could have done by the sword. Several of Pizarro's officers declared in his favour, and from the contagion of example, and the oblivion which he proclaimed to all past offences, and a promise of redressing grievances, his adherents daily and rapidly increased. Pizarro, as is the case of all usurpers, when their power is in danger, was filled with apprehension and rage. He sent deputies to bribe Gasca, and if that could not be done, to cut him off by assassination or poison; but his messengers, instead of executing his diabolical orders, joined Gasca themselves. Irritated at the disaffection of his officers and men, he prepared to decide the dispute in the field; and Gasca, perceiving that it would become necessary to employ force, took steps to assemble troops in Peru, and collect them from other colonies. Pizarro marched rapidly to Cuzco, and attacked Centeno, who had joined Gasca, and although he had but half the number of men, he obtained a signal victory, attended with immense slaughter.

This good fortune was probably the cause of his ruin, as it elevated his hopes so high as inclined him to refuse all terms of accommodation, although Gasca continued to the last extremely moderate in his demands, and seemed more desirous to reclaim than to conquer. Gasca having tried, without success, every means of avoiding the distressing alternative of imbruing his hands in the blood of his countrymen, at length, at the head of sixteen hundred men, moved toward Cuzco; and Pizarro, with one thousand more experienced veterans, confident of victory, suffered him to advance to within four leagues of the capital, when he marched out, eager to meet him. He chose his ground, drew up his men in line of battle, and at the very moment he expected the action to commence, some of his principal officers galloped off and surrendered themselves to the enemy: their example was followed by others, and this ex-

[1549 A.D.]

traordinary conduct spread distrust and amazement from rank to rank; one company after another threw down their arms, and went over to the royalists. Pizarro, and some of his officers who remained faithful, attempted to stop them by entreaties and threats, but it was all in vain; they soon found themselves deserted of nearly their whole army. Pizarro fell into the hands of Gasca, and was beheaded the next day; several of his most distinguished and notorious followers shared the same fate; Carvajal, at the advanced age of fourscore, and who had long been accustomed to scenes of carnage and peril, on being informed of his sentence, carelessly replied: "Well, a man can die but once."

Gasca, as moderate and just after victory as before, pardoned all the rest, and exerted himself to soothe the feelings of the remaining malcontents; he simplified the collection of the revenue, re-established the administration of justice, and provided for the protection and bettering the condition of the Indians; and having accomplished every object of his mission, he returned to Spain, in 1549, as poor as he left it, but universally admired for his talents, virtues, and important services. He entrusted the government of Peru to the court of Audience. For several years after this the machinations and rapacity of several ambitious chiefs distracted the Peruvian states with civil contentions; but at length the authority of Spain was completely and firmly established over the whole of that extensive and valuable portion of America.^e



CHAPTER III

SPANISH DOMINION IN AMERICA

THAT part of the southern continent of America, stretching to the eastward of Darien, comprising the provinces of Cartagena and Santa Martha, was discovered by Roderigo de Bastigas, in the year 1520, and was subjugated by Pedro de Heredia, in the year 1532. As early as the year 1544, Cartagena had become a considerable town, and its harbour was the safest and best fortified of any in the Spanish territories in the new world. Its situation is favourable for commerce, and it was selected as the port at which the Spanish galleons should first begin to trade, on their arrival from Europe, and to which they were to return, in order to prepare for their homeward voyage. The province of Venezuela was first visited by Ojeda, in the year 1499, in his voyage of discovery, which has before been noticed. Observing an Indian village, built on piles, to raise it above the stagnant water, the Spaniards, from their propensity to discover resemblances between America and Europe bestowed on it the name of Venezuela, or Little Venice.

Charles V, to obtain a large loan of the Velsers of Augsburg, then the wealthiest merchants in Europe, granted to them the province of Venezuela, to be held as an hereditary fief, on condition that they were to subjugate the natives, and plant a colony in the territory. The proprietors sent out some German adventurers, who, instead of establishing a colony, wandered about the country in search of mines, and to plunder the natives. In a few years their avarice and rapacity desolated the province, instead of settling it, and the proprietors, despairing of succeeding in the enterprise, relinquished their grant, and the occupation of the country, when the Spaniards again took possession of it; but notwithstanding its natural advantages, it long remained one of their most unpromising settlements.

The new kingdom of Granada, as it was called, is an interior region, and was subjugated to the authority of Spain, in 1536, by Benalcazar, who invaded it from Quito, where he was in command under Pizarro and Quesada. The natives being more improved than any in America, not excepting the Peruvians and Mexicans, defended themselves with resolution, bravery, and persever-

[1536-1728 A.D.]

ance; but here, as everywhere else, discipline and science prevailed over barbarian force. The Indians in New Granada, not having been subjected to the same services of working in mines, which in other parts of America have wasted that miserable race, continued more populous in this colony than in any other. Gold was found here, not by digging into the bowels of the earth, but mixed with the soil near the surface, on the more elevated tracts. One of the governors of Santa Fé carried to Spain a lump of pure gold, found in one of the provinces of New Granada, valued at more than \$3,000.

The kingdom of New Granada was first established in 1547, and was under the government of a captain-general and royal audience: the seat of government was fixed at Santa Fé de Bogota. In 1718 it was erected into a viceroyalty, together with several other provinces; but this government was annulled in 1724, and restored in 1740, and continued an independent government until the breaking out of the revolution, when it was incorporated into the republic of Colombia.

The provinces of Caracas and Cumana lie to the eastward of Venezuela, and, together with Cartagena and Santa Martha, formed what was anciently called the kingdom of Terra Firma, and all are now included in the republic of Colombia. These two provinces were, for a long period, principally known and distinguished for the cultivation and commerce in the nuts of the cocoa-tree, which, next to those produced in Guatemala, on the South Sea, are the best in America. A paste, formed from the nut or almond of the cocoa-tree, compounded with certain ingredients, constitutes chocolate, the manufacture and use of which the Spaniards first learned from the Mexicans; and being a palatable and wholesome beverage, it was soon introduced into use in Europe, and became an important article of commerce.

From the contiguity of the settlements of the Dutch to the coast of Caracas, on the island of Curaçao, and their superior enterprise in traffic, they engrossed most of the cocoa trade from Caracas, and Spain itself was obliged to receive the article from foreigners, at an exorbitant price, although the product of their own colonies. To remedy an evil, not more detrimental to the interests than disgraceful to the enterprise of Spain, in the year 1728 Philip V granted to a company of merchants an entire and exclusive monopoly of the commerce with Caracas and Cumana. This association, sometimes called the Company of Caracas, restored to Spain this branch of the commerce of America, greatly extended it, as the consumption of the article increased, and being subjected to proper regulations, to counteract the effects of the monopoly, advanced the growth and progress of the settlement.

VICEROYALTIES OF MEXICO AND PERU

Mexico, or New Spain, and Peru were at first regarded by the Spaniards as the most important and valuable portions of America; not so much on account of their fertility, or any geographical superiority, as from the consideration of their being inhabited by people in a higher state of improvement, and consequently affording more gratifying objects for the rapacity of the first adventurers. The numbers of adventurers which these objects, and the civil contentions which they occasioned, originally drew to these countries, tended to commence their settlement under more favourable auspices than any other colonies enjoyed. The rich mines, afterward discovered, had a powerful operation to attract enterprise and allure adventurers; and the complete subjugation of the natives, both in Mexico and Peru, and reducing them

[1536 A.D.]

to a condition of domestic servitude and apportioning them, together with the lands, among the first adventurers (whilst in other districts the natives, more wild and ferocious, without fixed habitations, subsisting by hunting, could not otherwise be overcome than by being exterminated or expelled), were among the causes which continued, for a long period, to promote the growth of Mexico and Peru, and to render them the principal of the Spanish colonies; and the same causes occasioned the other settlements to be regarded only as appendages of one or the other of these, or of little importance. Hence, after the Spanish conquests in America had been so far completed as to justify the establishment, on the part of Spain, of regular colonial governments, their whole American dominions were divided into two immense governments, one called the viceroyalty of New Spain, the other the viceroyalty of Peru; the seats of government were Mexico and Lima. The former comprehended all the possessions of Spain in the northern division of the American continent, and the latter comprised all her settlements and territories in South America.

New Spain embraced, under the Spaniards, a much more extensive region than the empire of Mexico, or the dominions of Montezuma and his predecessors: the vast territory called New Navarre, extending to the north and west, and the provinces of Sinaloa and Sonora, stretching along the east side of the gulf of California, and also the peninsula of California, on the opposite side of the gulf, and the provinces of Yucatan and Honduras, extending from the bay of Campeche to beyond Cape Gracias à Dios, were comprised within the territories of New Spain, which did not belong to the Mexican Empire. These countries were mostly visited and subjugated by Spanish adventurers, in the early part of the sixteenth century. The peninsula of California was discovered by Cortés, in 1536, and was so entirely neglected, that for a long period it was not known whether it was an island or a peninsula. Towards the close of the seventeenth century the Jesuits explored it, established it as an important mission, made great progress in civilising the rude and ferocious natives, and established the same dominion over them that they did over the natives in Paraguay. At length the government, growing jealous of the Jesuits, they were expelled from the Spanish dominions, and José Galvez was sent out to examine the province, who gave a favourable account of the country, and of the pearl-fishery on the coast. He also discovered several mines, apparently valuable.

Honduras and the peninsula of Yucatan attracted attention principally from the valuable dye-woods which they afforded, the logwood tree being produced in greater abundance there than in any other part of America. After having long exclusively enjoyed the profitable logwood trade, the Spaniards were disturbed in it by some adventurers from Jamaica, who commenced cutting logwood at the cape forming the southeast promontory of Yucatan; then in the bay of Campeche, and afterward in the bay of Honduras. These encroachments alarmed the Spaniards, and they endeavoured to stop them, by remonstrance, negotiation, and by force; but after a contention for half a century, the fortune of war, and naval superiority of Britain enabled her to extort from Spain a reluctant consent to the existence of a settlement of foreigners in the heart of her own possessions. Mortified, however, at this concession, she attempted to counteract its consequences by encouraging the cutting of logwood on the west coast of Yucatan, where the wood was of superior quality. To promote this object, she permitted the importation of logwood into Spain, without the payment of any duty, by which means this commerce became very flourishing, and that of the English, in the bay of

[1536-1624 A.D.]

Honduras declined. East of Honduras were the provinces of Costa Rica and Veragua, which were much neglected by the Spaniards, as of little value.

The viceroyalty of Peru, in addition to the Peruvian territories, comprehended Chili, the conquest of which, as we have seen, was first attempted by Almagro, and afterward by Valdivia, both of whom met with a most fierce opposition from the natives, and the latter was defeated and slain; but Villagra, his successor in command, restored victory to the Spanish standard; and finally the district on the seacoast was subdued, the natives continuing masters of the mountainous regions; and for more than two centuries they kept up hostilities with their Spanish neighbours, almost without interruption, and their hostile incursions greatly retarded the settlement of the most fertile country in America, possessing the most delicious climate in the New or Old World; for, though bordering on the torrid zone, it is exempt both from the extremes of heat and cold, lying, as it were, under the shade of the Andes, which protects it on the east, and being constantly refreshed by the cooling seabreezes from the west. It also possesses many valuable mines; yet with all these advantages, at the end of more than two centuries from its conquest, its whole white population did not exceed eighty thousand; but since the establishment of a direct intercourse with the mother country round Cape Horn, it has realised its natural advantages, and advanced in importance accordingly.

SETTLEMENT OF URUGUAY

Attached to the viceroyalty of Peru were all the vast regions claimed by Spain east of the Andes, watered by the Rio de la Plata, its branches, the Colorado, and other streams emptying into the Atlantic. The Spanish territories east of the La Plata, comprehending the province of Paraguay, and some other districts, were, for centuries, in a great degree undefined, and a subject of dispute with Portugal.^b

When Rio de la Plata was discovered by Juan Diaz de Solis in the first years of the sixteenth century, Uruguay was peopled by savage tribes settled on the banks of its rivers, whose history prior to this is unknown to us, and of whose customs we know little more than the few details given us by the first historians of these regions of America. The Spaniards chose for their settlements the banks of the Paraguay, the Parana, and the western bank of the Plata; and the eastern side of the Uruguay was well nigh deserted, for a century and a half barely serving as pasture land for herds of cattle and horses which multiplied in great numbers without the care of man. The Brazilians took advantage of the abandoned state of the country to carry off large numbers of animals under pretext that the territory belonged to the crown of Portugal, and as the Spaniards also claimed dominion, they founded in 1624 the town of Santo Domingo Soriano, and the Portuguese the Colonia del Sacramento in 1680, both wishing to forward their own interests.

The foundation of Colonia occasioned a series of wars and treaties by which the two monarchs wished to secure the dominion of Uruguay and to settle European questions. During this period, extending over a century and a quarter, Colonia, the eastern missions, and the lands bordering on Rio Grande alternately belonged to the Portuguese and to the Spanish. But the latter never lost their dominion over the lands in the interior, and founded various towns on the shores of the Atlantic, and on the river Plata, the principal of which was Montevideo. When the disputes for dominion were settled the Spaniards possessed all the land comprised between the southern limits of

Misiones, the sources of Rio Negro, Lake Mirim, the Atlantic Ocean, and Rio de la Plata.

While war followed war, the country became populated and civilisation increased. The condition of the most important section of the country will be seen by the report submitted to the viceroy by the corporation of Montevideo. The boundaries of this town of Montevideo situated in the Banda Oriental of Rio de la Plata, forty leagues from Buenos Ayres, as conceded to it by General Bruno Mauricio de Zabala, in 1726, in the name of the king, and approved by his majesty, in 1727, are as follows: on the south, Rio de la Plata; on the west, the river Cufre; on the north, the Cuchilla Grande; and on the east, the mountain named Pan de Azucar.

The climate, between 33° and 39° south latitude, is temperate, neither the extremes of heat or cold are felt; the country is on the whole level although it abounds in hills and valleys, as the latter are not too deep or the former too high to prevent horse and carriage traffic. With the exception of the summits of the mountains and a few banks of stone in the fields the whole of the country is fit for cultivation.

Wheat, barley, flax, hemp, maize, and all sorts of vegetables and fruits can be grown with facility. There are abundant and good pasture lands even on the summits of the mountains. Although it abounds in streams and rivers there are no irrigated lands, nor is irrigation easy as those lands which are not subject to inundations are much higher than the water level. The soil of the lands in the vicinity of the inundations and of the valleys and declivities is moist, and resists a drought for a long time. The lands divided among the settlers of Minas, situated on the tributary rivulets of the Metal, the San Francisco and the Campanero may be irrigated with ease, as all those streams are rapid and descend from a great height to the valley where this town is situated. Native trees grow on the banks of the rivers and streams, which yield wood fit for ranches and other purposes, but not for houses, as it is neither firm nor durable. Bread and meat form the staple food of the inhabitants, which some obtain by cultivation of their own lands and breeding cattle, and others — about a third of the population — obtain from the lands of others.

Small flakes of gold are found on the banks of some of the tributaries of the San José and Santa Lucia, which some of the inhabitants go to find but show little knowledge or energy in the work. In the district called Las Minas lead, silver, copper, and gold are found, but those who have attempted to separate these metals, said to be much mixed, have lost both time and money, perhaps through want of skill. Their actual commerce consists in skins, tallow, and salted meats, which they are beginning to prepare; it is probable that this branch may be brought to perfection with experience. If a commerce in wheat in exchange for timber, yerba mate, and cotton were opened by land and by river, with Paraguay and the towns of Misiones, it might become an important branch. Wool, butter, and cheeses could be exported to Cadiz, Havana, and other ports, as sheep breed well and their wool is fine. Butter and cheeses are in general good, and would be improved if the farmers were encouraged by the exporting of these products to many parts of the kingdom which now receive butter and cheese from Flanders.^c

SETTLEMENT OF PARAGUAY AND ARGENTINA

Paraguay has been rendered celebrated for the extraordinary missions of the Jesuits, and the authority of Spain over it was never more than nominal.

[1535-1788 A.D.]

The territory west of the La Plata was divided into the provinces of Buenos Ayres and Tucuman.

The province of Rio de la Plata [modern Argentina] was established distinct from that of Paraguay, in 1620, and was afterward called Buenos Ayres. The town of Buenos Ayres was founded by Pedro de Mendoza, in 1535, but was abandoned in 1538, and its inhabitants removed to Assumption, where a fort had been built two years before, by Ayolas, and named from the day on which he fought and defeated the natives on the spot where it was erected. Mendoza returned to Spain, and was succeeded as governor by Ayolas, and on his death Irala was chosen to succeed him; but was soon deprived of his authority by Don Alvarez, who arrived with a commission from Spain. Of the three thousand Europeans who had entered the La Plata, six hundred only remained at Assumption: the rest had fallen victims to the climate, the ferocity of the savages, and the hardships to which they had been exposed. Alvarez was seized by Irala, and sent to Spain, in 1544. The city of Assumption was erected into a bishopric, in 1547; but the bishop did not arrive until 1554, when Irala received a commission as governor. In 1557, Ciudad Real was founded in the province of La Guayra, as an encomienda, within which forty thousand Indians were brought into habits of industry; and a few years after the encomienda of Santa Cruz de la Sierra, in the province of Chiquitos, which comprised sixty thousand native inhabitants, was established. Irala died in 1557, and named Gonzales de Mendoza lieutenant-general and commander of the province. His death, which was in one year after, was followed by civil dissensions.

In the year 1586, the Jesuits first appeared in Paraguay, and in 1609, Father Torres, their provincial, obtained authority from the governor of the province to form the converted Indians into townships, to be independent of the Spanish settlements. They only acknowledged the sovereignty of the king of Spain: this power was confirmed by Philip III of Spain. During twenty years a great number of the natives were reduced to habits of industry, by the labours of the Jesuits; but in 1630 they were attacked by the Paulistas [or Portuguese settlers], or mamelukes, and in two years sixty thousand were destroyed or carried off. To defend their settlements, in 1639, the Jesuits obtained authority from Spain to embody and arm their Indian converts in the manner of Europeans. The Jesuits employed their converts in other pursuits: in 1668, they rebuilt the city of Santa Fé, and the following year five hundred of them worked on the fortifications and the cathedral of Buenos Ayres.

In 1580 Buenos Ayres was rebuilt by the governor of Paraguay [Juan de Garay], from which time it gradually emerged from obscurity into an important town, and became the seat of the viceroyalty. The Portuguese attempted a settlement on the north bank of the La Plata, in 1679, when Garro, governor of the province of Rio de la Plata, by order of the viceroy of Peru, expelled the Portuguese, and levelled their fort to the ground. This settlement was for a long time a subject of dispute between the two nations, but in 1778, it was ceded to Spain. Civil dissensions arose at Asuncion; Don Diego, the governor, was obliged to flee; but was reinstated in 1722, yet soon after seized by Antequera, and confined as a prisoner. Antequera had been sent from Lima as a commissioner, to inquire into the condition of Paraguay, and finding the administration corrupt, he undertook to reform it, and to introduce a representative government. He met with resistance not only from the governor, but his patriotic exertions and liberal principles roused the jealousy, and brought upon him the hostility, of the viceroy, who sent a body of troops from

Peru to oppose him, and check his innovations. These troops were defeated by Antequera, who entered the city in triumph.

But the governor of Buenos Ayres, having marched against him, and being deserted by his adherents, he fled to a convent, and was afterward seized and sent a prisoner to Lima. In 1725, tranquillity was re-established, but was of short continuance; a new governor being appointed, a faction refused to admit him into the city; Mompó, the leader of the malcontents, was seized and sent to Buenos Ayres.

Antequera having been condemned for treason, was executed in 1731, at Lima, which occasioned great excitement at Asuncion as his popularity was so great that he was canonised as a martyr to liberty. The dissensions continued until 1735, when Zabala, governor of Buenos Ayres, succeeded in re-establishing tranquillity, and correcting the abuses which had crept into the government.

The increasing prosperity of the Jesuits began to excite prejudices and jealousies; various accusations were made against them; but on examination most of them were found groundless, and they were confirmed in their rights, in 1745, by a royal decree. Their prosperity and power, however, soon after began to decline, and the expulsion of their order from Spain, in 1767, was followed by the subversion of their dominion in America. Their possessions were annexed to the government of Paraguay, at which time they had 769,353 horned cattle, 94,983 horses, and 221,537 sheep.

The erection of the viceroyalty of Río de la Plata led to the establishment of the government at Buenos Ayres, and promoted the prosperity of that city, and all the provinces on the La Plata, and west of the Andes. This measure was followed by one equally liberal and enlightened, in 1778, which in a great degree removed the restrictions on commerce, and opened a free trade with the northern country and the interior of Peru. From this period Buenos Ayres began to acquire that importance and rank which it is entitled to maintain, from its valuable position for commerce, and its rich interior country. Its trade rapidly increased, as well as the general commerce of the La Plata. It was promoted by a royal ordinance, adopted in 1794, permitting salted meat and tallow to be exported to Spain, and the other colonies free of duty.

SPAIN'S ADMINISTRATION OF HER COLONIES

At so early a period as the year 1511 Ferdinand established a tribunal for conducting the affairs of his American settlements, called the "council of the Indies"; and in 1524 it was newly modelled and improved by Charles V. It possessed jurisdiction over every department of government in Spanish America; framed the laws and regulations respecting the colonies; made all the appointments for America reserved to the crown; and all officers, from the viceroys to the lowest, were accountable to the council of the Indies for their official conduct. The king was always supposed to be present in this council, and its meetings were held where he resided. No law, relative to American affairs, could be adopted without the concurrence of two-thirds of the council. All appeals from the decisions of the highest tribunals in America, the *audiencia*, or court of audience, were made to the council of the Indies.

The colonial system of Spain over her American dominions was founded on the principle that these dominions were vested in the crown, not in the nation; which was assumed on no better authority than the bull of Pope Alexander VI, bestowing on Ferdinand and Isabella all the countries which they might discover west of a given latitude. Hence the Spanish possessions

[1501 A.D.]

in America were regarded as the personal property of the sovereign. The authority of the original adventurers, commanders, and governors, by whom the country was discovered and subjected to the dominion of Spain, was constituted by, and they were accountable to, the king, and removable by him at pleasure. All grants of lands were made by the sovereign, and if they failed from any cause, they reverted to the crown again. All political and civil power centred in the king, and was executed by such persons, and in such manner, as the will of the sovereign might suggest, wholly independent, not only of the colonies, but of the Spanish nation. The only civil privilege allowed to the colonists was strictly municipal, and confined to the regulation of their interior police, and commerce in the cities and towns, for which purpose they made their own local regulations or laws, and appointed town and city magistrates. But this single ray of liberty must of necessity be tolerated, and has never been extinct in the most despotic states. The Spanish American governments were not merely despotic like those of Russia or Turkey, but they were a more dangerous kind of despotism, as the absolute power of the sovereign was not exercised by himself, but by deputy.

At first, as has been stated, the dominions of the Spanish crown in the new world were divided, for the purpose of government, into two great divisions or viceroyalties, New Spain and Peru. Afterward, as the country became more settled, the viceroyalty of Santa Fé de Bogota was created, composed of the kingdoms of New Granada, Terra Firma, and the province of Quito, and still later that of Rio de la Plata. A deputy or viceroy was appointed to preside over each of these governments, who was the representative of his sovereign, and possessed all his prerogatives within his jurisdiction. His authority was as supreme as that of his sovereign over every department of government, civil, military, and criminal. He appointed most of the important officers of his government, and supplied the vacancies occasioned by death to those appointed by the crown. His court was formed on the model of that of Madrid and displayed an equal and often superior degree of magnificence and state. He maintained horse and foot guards, a regular household establishment, and all the ensigns and trappings of royalty. His government was formed on the same model as that of Spain, and the tribunals that assisted in its administration were similar to those of the parent country, the appointments to which were sometimes made by the viceroy, and at others by the king, but all were subject to the deputy's authority, and amenable to his jurisdiction. The administration of justice was entrusted to tribunals called audiences, formed on the model of the Spanish court of chancery. One of these courts was established in every province, and consisted of a number of judges, proportioned to its extent and the business to be done; they had jurisdiction over both civil and criminal causes.

The viceroy was prohibited from interfering with the decisions of these judicial tribunals, and in some instances they could bring his regulations under their review, and present remonstrances, or carry the matter before the king and the council of the Indies, which was the only particular in which there was any intermediate power between him and the people subject to his authority. On the death of a viceroy the supreme power vested in the court of audience, and the senior judge, assisted by his associates, exercised all the functions of the vacant office. In addition to the council of the Indies, in which was reposed the supreme power, as to the civil, ecclesiastical, military, and commercial affairs of America, there was established, as early as 1501, a board of trade at Seville, called *Casa de la Contracción*. It took cognisance of whatever related to the commercial intercourse with America, regulated the export and import

cargoes and the inspection, the freights of the ships, and the time of the sailing of the fleets, and decided judicially on all matters, both civil and criminal, growing out of the commercial transactions between Spain and her American possessions. The doings and decisions of this board might be reviewed by the council of the Indies.

COMPARISON OF SPANISH AND BRITISH COLONIES

The fundamental principles of the Spanish colonial system were different from those of Great Britain, as respected its American dominions; although this difference will be found on examination to depend almost entirely on the different constitutions of the two countries. Great Britain, as well as Spain, regarded the countries in America, discovered by her subjects, as belonging to the crown rather than to the nation, and all grants and patents were made by the king, without the concurrence of parliament; and the rights and powers of the grantees in the proprietary governments, were also created by the crown. The charter governments were likewise established by the crown, and the rights and privileges allowed to the colonists, and the prerogatives reserved to the king, were dictated by the will of the sovereign. The authority of parliament, as the organ of the nation, over the colonies, does not at first appear to have been exercised, and although this was afterward attempted, it was never fully allowed or acquiesced in by the colonies. It was the exercise of this authority that led to the difficulties between the parent state and its colonies, which resulted in a separation. In the colonial governments established by Britain in America, very important civil privileges were allowed to the colonists, but their rights were not equal to those of English subjects at home, and the difference was to the same extent as the authority exercised over them by parliament; the prerogatives of the sovereign being at least as great, as respected his colonial subjects, as at home.

The Spanish American colonies possessed no political privileges; their only civil rights were purely municipal; the authority of the crown was absolute in the colonial governments, but scarcely more so than it was in the parent state, and it could hardly have been expected that subjects in distant colonies would have been allowed privileges which were not enjoyed by those at home. As respects constitutional or political rights, the Spanish colonists enjoyed essentially the same as the subjects of Old Spain, yet the exercise of the power of the sovereign, being by deputy, and at a great distance, it was much more oppressive, and exposed to greater abuses. As respects the equality of privileges, between the inhabitants of the colonies and those of the parent country, the Spanish colonists stood on a better footing than the English. If the colonies were absolutely and entirely subject to the government of the parent state, it was not, perhaps, material to them whether this governing power resided in the crown or jointly in the crown and the nation. In either case they were slaves.

But the different constitutions of the two nations occasioned a corresponding difference in the government of their colonies. The power of the sovereign in Spain being absolute, the same authority was exercised over his dominions in America; but the authority of the king of England being limited, and the government a mixed one, in which the people by their representatives participated, similar systems were established in the British dominions in the New World. In all their colonies the representative principle was introduced and local legislatures were established, which exercised the ordinary powers of legislation, the executive power remaining in the sovereign.

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RESTRICTIONS ON COMMERCE

It was the policy of the Spanish sovereigns, or government, as to their American colonies, to render them, in every way that could be done, contributory to the power and prosperity of Spain. In the grants of the country, made to the first adventurers, the Spanish monarchs reserved one fifth of the gold and silver that might be obtained, and for a considerable period the precious metals were the only objects that attracted attention, either in the colonies or Old Spain. The right of the sovereign to a share of the products of the mines was ever after maintained, and it was the intention of Spain to confine the industry of the colonies to mining, for two reasons: one, the revenue derived to the crown from this source, and the other, to prevent such branches of agriculture as might interfere with the products of Spain. The cultivation of the vine and olive were at first prohibited in America, and afterward allowed in Peru and Chili, in consequence of the difficulty of conveying such bulky articles as wine and oil across the isthmus to Panama; and these colonies were not permitted to export the products of the vine or olive to those parts of Spanish America which could obtain them from Spain; and, with this privilege, that of cultivating tobacco, which was raised in other parts of Spanish America, but under regulations of a royal monopoly.

The same jealousy crippled the industry of the colonies in other departments; several kinds of manufactures were prohibited, which it was thought might prove detrimental to the mother country. The commercial restrictions imposed on the colonies were still more rigid and intolerable. In pursuance of the maxim that the colonies were, in every possible way, to be rendered contributory to the interests of Spain, without regarding their own, they were denied all commerce with every other portion of the world; their own productions must all be carried to Spain, in the first instance, wherever might be the place of their consumption, and all their own wants must be supplied by the parent state; and even this direct commerce they were not permitted to carry on themselves; no vessel, owned in the colonies, was ever allowed to carry to Europe the produce of the country to which it belonged. All the trade with the colonies was carried on in Spanish bottoms, and under such regulations as subjected them to great inconvenience. Not only was every species of commerce with America, by foreigners, prohibited under the severest penalties, and confiscation and death inflicted on the inhabitants who had the temerity to trade with them, but no foreigner was suffered to enter the colonies without express permission. Even the commerce of one colony with another was either prohibited, or trammelled with intolerable restrictions.

Thus was Spanish America shut up from the world, crippled in its growth, kept in leading strings, and in a perpetual state of minority; and whilst chastised with the lash of a jealous and unfeeling master, was insulted by being reminded of his parental affection and relationship. These impolitic and unjust measures, founded in a spirit of selfishness and jealousy, together with the hardships which attend the planting of new settlements, so checked the spirit of emigration, that at the expiration of sixty years from the first discovery of America, the number of Spaniards in all their settlements, did not exceed fifteen thousand.

An ecclesiastical establishment was instituted in Spanish America, as an auxiliary branch of the government, on a similar model to that in Spain, and was extremely burdensome to a young and growing state. At so early a period as the year 1501, the payment of tithes was required, and laws made to enforce it.

COMMERCIAL CONCESSIONS TO FOREIGN POWERS

The stinted, fettered, and restricted commerce which subsisted between Spain and her colonies for more than two centuries and a half was calculated to retard their growth, and keep them always in a state of dependence and minority. They were not permitted to act for themselves in the most common and necessary concerns; but must wear such apparel, and consume such meats and drinks as parental authority saw fit to allow them. This restricted and contemptible commercial system was scarcely less injurious to Spain than to her colonies.

The naval superiority of the English and Dutch enabled them to cut off all intercourse between Spain and her colonies, which exposed the colonies to suffer for the want of the necessities of life, and introduced an extensive smuggling trade. It also compelled the Spanish monarch so far to relax the rigour of his system as to permit France, then his ally, to open a trade with Peru; the French carried such quantities of goods there, that they found their way into all the Spanish provinces. This trade was prohibited.

By the Treaty of Utrecht, Great Britain obtained a concession which secured to her a foothold for commercial purposes in the Spanish colonies in America. Philip V transferred to Britain, with the consent of France, the privilege or contract which the latter had enjoyed, of supplying the Spanish colonies with negroes, and the more dangerous right of sending annually one ship of five hundred tons to the fair at Porto Bello. This led to the establishment of British factories at Cartagena, Panama, Vera Cruz, Buenos Ayres, and other places. The residence of the agents and merchants of a rival power in the most important towns drew aside the veil which had hitherto concealed from the world the interior condition of the Spanish colonies, and excited a spirit of commercial cupidity which led to an extensive contraband trade. This, at first, was carried on principally from Jamaica, and other British colonies. As might have been foreseen, the privilege granted to the British was at once abused, and greatly extended. Instead of a ship of five hundred tons one of nine hundred tons was sent to Porto Bello; and this was accompanied with several smaller vessels, which moored in some neighbouring creek, and clandestinely conveyed their cargoes to the principal ship. The inspectors of the fair, blinded by presents, remained ignorant of these frauds. From the intrinsic defects of the Spanish colonial system, and the weakness of granting the privileges spoken of to the most enterprising commercial nation in the world, the commerce carried on in the galleons, so long the pride of Spain, and even the envy of other nations, was almost annihilated before the middle of the eighteenth century.

Alarmed at the extent and pernicious consequences of the contraband trade, Spain stationed ships of war along the coast most exposed to this illicit traffic, to suppress it. These were called *guarda costas*; they checked the smuggling trade to a considerable degree, which led to complaints on the part of Great Britain, and finally to war, on the claim of some outrages committed by the *guarda costas*. Spain, however, obtained a release from the *assiento*, or privilege granted to England, and was once more at liberty to manage her commerce with her colonies in her own way, without restraint. The contraband trade, however, continued; the Dutch and French engaged in it, as well as the English; and to such an extent was it carried that sometimes when the galleons arrived the markets were glutted, and their cargoes could scarcely be disposed of. The galleons were prevented from sailing by wars, and often

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retarded by various accidents, and this occasioned a new regulation, by which commerce with the colonies was carried on by register ships, fitted out during the intervals of the sailing of the fleets. The advantages of this commerce were so apparent that in the year 1748 the galleons were no longer employed, and the trade with Peru and Chili was prosecuted in a direct route, round Cape Horn, in single ships. Still the register ships were all obliged to take their departure from Cadiz, and to return to that port.

The Dutch, from the vicinity of their settlement at Curaçao to Caracas, having engrossed a considerable part of the cocoa trade of that province, Spain, in 1728, granted to a company of merchants an exclusive monopoly of the trade with Caracas and Cumana; and both the parent state and the colonies derived great benefit from the commercial enterprise of this company.

RELAXATION OF OLD RESTRICTIONS

From the want of more frequent intercourse between Spain and her colonies, it often happened that important events, which occurred in the latter, were known for some time by foreign nations before intelligence of them had reached Spain. To remedy this evil, in 1764, a system of packets was established, to be despatched on the first day of every month, to Havana; from whence letters were sent to Vera Cruz, Porto Bello, and so transmitted throughout the Spanish settlements. The packet-boats also sailed, once a month, to Buenos Ayres, to accommodate the settlements east of the Andes. Objects of commerce connected themselves with this arrangement; the packets were vessels of considerable burden, and carried out goods, and brought back a return cargo in the productions of the colonies.

The way being in some degree prepared, the following year, 1765, Charles III abrogated the restrictions on the trade to Cuba, and other islands to the windward, leaving it open to all his subjects, with no other restrictions but that of their sailing to particular ports in each island. The beneficial effects, both to Old Spain and the colonies, resulting from a relaxation of the ancient laws, being sensibly felt, one relaxation proved the necessity of another, and in 1778 the monopoly was still further done away; and the colonial trade, which had been confined to Cadiz and Seville for two and a half centuries, was permitted to be carried on in fourteen other Spanish seaports, which produced a most important and favourable change, both to the colonies and the revenue of Spain.

The restrictions upon the internal intercourse and commerce of the Spanish colonies were, if possible, more grievous and pernicious in their consequences than those on the intercourse with Spain. From their first settlement all intercourse was prohibited, under the severest penalties, between the different provinces in the South Sea. Peru, Chili, New Spain, New Granada, and Guatemala were cruelly inhibited from all commerce, and from all intercourse whatsoever with each other, which would so obviously have promoted their mutual comfort, prosperity, and advancement. At length, in 1774, Charles III removed this severe and infamous restriction, and opened a free trade.

Spain received a considerable revenue from her colonies, notwithstanding the extensive contraband trade which, at some periods, amounted to one-third of the whole commerce. The revenue consisted of three branches; the first, that which was paid to the king, as lord-paramount, or sovereign of the country; the second, what accrued to him as head of the church; and the third, imposts, or duties. In the latter part of the eighteenth century the revenue raised by Spain in America was estimated at a million and a half

sterling. This, however, was only the direct revenue, raised in the colonies, and did not include the duties levied in Old Spain, on all the exports to her colonies, and some other branches of revenue.

If the revenue was great, the expenses of the colonial government were equally so, and were wholly defrayed by the crown. The Spanish colonial system was not confined to civil government, but embraced commerce, religion, finance, and a military establishment; all of which were under the authority and management of the crown. It was also complex, in an extreme degree, in each department; consequently was encumbered with such a number and variety of offices, tribunals, and boards, as not only occasioned an enormous expense, but rendered it unwieldy, tardy in its movements, and almost unmanageable. Its weight was also increased by the external parade and pomp which it maintained. Everything was on a large scale; the expenses of living were great, all salaries were high, and most of the officers of the government received, by perquisites, and in the various ways which human ingenuity could devise, several times as much as their salaries. The viceroys maintained horse and foot guards, a train of household attendants, and all the pomp and dignity of a regal establishment. They enjoyed a salary of \$30,000 in the latter part of the eighteenth century; but this was a small part of their income: by monopolising certain branches of commerce, the disposal of all the lucrative offices, by presents, and by innumerable frauds and abuses of power, they usually, after continuing in office a few years, returned to Spain with a princely fortune. It is asserted that a viceroy, at one festival, the anniversary of his birthday, received \$50,000 in presents.

ADMINISTRATION OF DON JOSEPH GALVEZ

The more enlarged views of policy, which led to the relaxation of the ancient laws, and the adoption of more equitable and just commercial regulations, called attention to the internal condition of the Spanish colonies, and occasioned various salutary reformatations and improvements. The colonial system, founded on false and inequitable principles, defective and oppressive in itself, was rendered more insupportable from the abuses and corruption which everywhere had crept into the administration. Not only a correction of abuses, but a reformation of the system, was successfully attempted in the latter part of the eighteenth century, during the enlightened administration of Don Joseph Galvez. Having spent seven years in America, as inspector-general of New Spain, and visited most of the remote provinces, he was elevated, on his return to Spain, to the head of the department for India, or, more properly, American affairs. He commenced his administration, which forms a memorable epoch in the history of Spanish America, by a general reformation of the whole system. The increase of population and wealth in the colonies had so multiplied the business of the courts of audience, that the number of judges were wholly inadequate to a faithful discharge of duties of the office. He increased the number of judges, raised their salaries, and enlarged their powers of appointment.

From the extension of the settlements great inconvenience was experienced, notwithstanding the establishment of the third viceroyalty of New Granada, in consequence of the remoteness of many of the provinces from the seat of government; and the further the administration was removed from the seat of authority, the greater were the abuses which attended it. There were provinces subject to the government of New Spain, more than two

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thousand miles from Mexico, and some appertaining to the viceroyalty of Peru were still farther from Lima. To remedy this evil a fourth viceroyalty was created in 1776, comprising the provinces of Rio de la Plata, Buenos Ayres, Paraguay, Tucuman, Potosi, Santa Cruz de la Sierra, Charcas, and the towns of Mendoza and San Juan. The seat of government was established at Buenos Ayres, and Don Pedro Zavallos raised to this new dignity, who was well acquainted with the countries over which he had to preside, having long resided in them, in a subordinate station. This division, together with what was taken off at the erection of the viceroyalty of New Granada, reduced the territory of the viceroyalty of Peru to one third its original extent. The remote provinces of Sonora, Sinaloa, California, and New Navarre, which belonged to the jurisdiction of New Spain, were likewise formed into a separate government, which was conferred on the chevalier de Croix, who, although not possessed of the title and dignity of viceroy, was wholly independent of the viceroyalty of New Spain. Several of these provinces contained some of the richest mines of gold in America, recently discovered, and this was among the reasons that urged the erection of a new government, which, from its vicinity, might afford the protection and facilities that the mining operations required. Another, and perhaps the most patriotic measure of the count de Galvez, was the establishment of intendancies for the superintendence and protection of the Indians. This measure had a happy effect on the natives; under the active superintendence of the intendants, whose duty it was to watch over their rights, as guardians and protectors, this miserable race enjoyed securities and advantages of which they were deprived under the tyranny of the subaltern Spanish and Indian magistrates, to whom they had been subjected.

At a subsequent period some alterations took place in the political divisions of Spanish America, so that at the commencement of the political revolution, which restored all the Spanish dominions on the American continent to independence and liberty, its civil divisions consisted of the four viceroyalties of New Spain, Peru, Buenos Ayres, and New Granada, and the territories called captain-generalcies of Chili, Venezuela, and Guatemala. These seven distinct governments were independent of each other; a viceroy presided over the four first, and an officer, called a captain-general, over the three last, all of which were appointed by the king; were independent of each other, and directly dependent on the crown. These governments were subdivided into provinces, over which presided a governor, or *corregidor*, and also into intendancies, which formed the jurisdiction of an officer called an intendant. This latter division was principally for that part of the government which related to the Indians. The governors and intendants were appointed by the king, but accountable to the viceroy, or captain-general, to whose jurisdiction the province belonged.

The provinces were again divided into departments, over which presided a delegate of the governor or officer at the head of the government of the province, and likewise subordinate magistrates, called *alcaldes*, appointed by the municipalities, denominated *cabildos*. The viceroys and captain-generals possessed both civil and military power, and generally the governors possessed the same; but in some instances they enjoyed only civil authority, in which cases there was a military chief, or officer in the province, called *comandante*, who held the military command. The supreme judicial power was vested in the court of audience, of which there was one or more in each of the viceroyalties and captain-generalcies; the separate judges of this tribunal were called *oidores*, and their number varied according to the population and

business of their jurisdictions. A subordinate judicial authority was vested in the governors, corregidores, and their delegates; and the *alcaldes* also possessed a limited jurisdiction, but could not act, unless they were law-professors, without the advice of an assessor, or lawyer. The decisions of all these inferior tribunals might be reviewed by the royal audience, whose decrees were final, except in some important cases an appeal was allowed to the council of the Indies.

There were also in some of the seaports tribunals called *consulados*, having cognisance of commercial affairs only, from whose decisions an appeal might be made to the viceroy. In addition to these authorities there were spiritual tribunals, with jurisdiction over ecclesiastical affairs. At the head of these was the holy Inquisition, whose jurisdiction was undefined, and its proceedings secret, tyrannical, and cruel. Its punishments were inflicted by fine, imprisonment, torture, the gallows, and the stake. In each diocese there was a spiritual court, composed of the bishop, the fiscal *procurador*, or lawyer, and the *provisor*. The ecclesiastical courts, as well as others, were subject to the control of the viceroy, and consequently were used to advance the ambitious views of the state, as well as the church.

There was nothing like popular influence in either branch of the government; no mode in which the voice of the people could be expressed; nor was there a tribunal or officer who was amenable to, or whose authority emanated directly from, the people. There was no meeting of the inhabitants, except at church, and for public worship on religious festivals, and the press could scarcely be said to exert any influence; so far as it did, however, it was only an instrument of tyranny and oppression. Even the *cabildos*, or corporations, which regulated the internal police of cities and towns, consisting of from six to twelve members, according to their population or business, were entirely independent of popular influence. These officers were called *regidores*, the governor of the province being ex-officio president of the *cabildo*, and controlled all its acts. The office of *regidore* was held during life, having a fixed price, which, in Buenos Ayres and Chili, was about five hundred dollars, and was purchased like any other commodity in market. The executive officers of the *cabildos*, called *alquazils*, answering to sheriffs and constables in the United States, were sold at given prices, the same being the case in a great measure with the *alcaldes*, who were a kind of petty magistrates, or justices of the peace. The administration was corrupt in all departments, beyond any example in modern times. The viceroys, captain-generals, intendants, members of the court of audience, archbishops and bishops who were appointed by the king, almost without exception were Spaniards; and most of the civil and military appointments were conferred on natives of Old Spain. Down to the year 1810, one hundred and sixty viceroys, and five hundred and eighty-eight captain-generals, governors, and presidents of the royal audience, had been appointed in America, of whom only eighteen were natives of the country, these obtaining their appointments in consequence of having received their education in Spain. Thus, for ages, was Spanish America governed by swarms of foreign officers, who had no other interest than to gratify their employers and enrich themselves.

FIRST SYMPTOMS OF INSURRECTION

The influence of the political revolution in the British colonies, and the effects of commercial freedom which Spanish America enjoyed after the regulations of 1778, gave rise to the first symptoms of a spirit of reformation and

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political improvement which appeared in the Spanish colonies. Down to this period, and in general, until the breaking out of the revolution in the parent country, and the overthrow of the monarchy by Bonaparte, the Spanish creoles in America, notwithstanding the political oppression which they suffered, and their personal degradation as a class, were distinguished for their loyalty and attachment to their king and country. About the middle of the eighteenth century a conspiracy was formed in Caracas, headed by a man named Leon, the object of which, however, was not so much political as commercial, it being the design of the conspirators to break up the company of Guipuzcoa, sometimes called the company of Caracas, who had long enjoyed a monopoly of all the trade of that and several other provinces. The plot did not succeed, and Leon was condemned to death, his house razed to the ground, and a column placed on the spot as a memorial of the horror of his offence, and the fate that awaited all traitors. In 1780 an alarming revolution broke out in Peru, among the natives, seconded by some of the creole inhabitants. Previous to the reformation and correction of abuses which took place during the administration of Count de Galvez, the corregidores practised such intolerable extortions and frauds on the Indians, compelling them to receive their necessary supplies on their own terms, as finally drove them into measures of open resistance.

Tupac Amaru, a native Peruvian, of the royal inca blood, became the leader of the malcontents; and several individuals of influence joining him, the flame of resistance was spread for three hundred leagues into the interior of the country; and so numerous and formidable did the party become, that Tupac Amaru was proclaimed Inca of Peru. The Spanish authorities adopted energetic and vindictive measures to suppress the insurgents; the contest lasted three years, and exhibited many bloody scenes. The malcontents were often successful; but Tupac Amaru did not conduct in his new dignity so as to maintain the attachment of his adherents; their zeal consequently began to abate, and their efforts to relax; and being attacked by the troops of Buenos Ayres, as well as by those of Lima, and most of the Spanish inhabitants declaring in favour of the government, the insurgents were overpowered, and compelled to submit. Tupac Amaru, and most of the principal leaders, were put to death, in a manner cruel and abhorrent to the feelings of humanity in the extreme. The loyalty of the creoles led them to take part with the government, notwithstanding the oppression which they suffered, on an occasion when it was in their power, by joining with the Indians, to have effected a political revolution.

Before this insurrection was suppressed, the Spanish government was alarmed by civil commotions in New Granada. In 1781, some new regulations and additional taxes, adopted by Regente Pineres, the viceroy, were opposed by almost the whole population of the province of Socorro. An armed multitude, amounting to seventeen thousand, marched toward Santa Fé, crying, "Long live the king — death to our bad governors." The viceroy not being able to oppose them in arms, had recourse to superstition: they advanced without opposition to within about thirty-six miles of the capital, where, instead of being confronted by an army, they were met by Gongora the archbishop, in his pontifical robes, holding the host in his hands. The suddenness and surprise of this appeal to their religious feelings, filled them with awe and timidity. The archbishop, availing himself of the happy moment, proposed a conference to Don Salvador Plata, their leader, which resulted in an accommodation, and the dispersion of the malcontents. But the terms of capitulation were not adhered to. These indications of a spirit of

reform and freedom in the colonies occasioned the greatest jealousy and alarm in the court of Madrid, and the adoption of such severe and harsh measures to suppress it, as rather tended to increase the evil. Printing presses were prohibited, even in towns of forty or fifty thousand inhabitants, and books of almost every description were proscribed, as dangerous and seditious. In New Granada, several persons, merely on suspicion of entertaining revolutionary designs, were subjected to the torture; and similar measures, of a distrustful policy, were pursued in other provinces, all of which tended to increase the discontents of the colonists. Nothing was done to conciliate their feelings, or redress the grievances of which they complained, or which even had the appearance of reforming any of the glaring abuses that everywhere prevailed. Power and coercion were the only means made use of; the sword, the rack, and the inquisition, were to control the minds as well as the bodies of the colonists, and convince them that they had no greater liberties, no other rights, than those of submission to the will of an arbitrary tyranny.

The political events, which occurred in Europe, subsequently to 1778, produced a spirit of political inquiry that spread over that continent, and even reached the shores of the Spanish dominions in America, where light and liberty had so long been proscribed and shut out, as the greatest evils that could afflict the human race. Many of the Spanish creoles informed themselves with the history and the principles of the American and French revolutions; and the more they became acquainted with liberty the more lovely it appeared, and the more odious the tyranny of the Spanish colonial government. Elevated by such sentiments, and relying on the assurances of assistance from the British, derived from the proclamation of the governor of Trinidad, a number of creoles at Caracas, in 1797, formed a plan to revolutionise that province. When on the eve of making the attempt to carry their plans into execution, the conspiracy was discovered, and Don M. Gual, and J. M. España, the apparent leaders, escaped to a neighbouring island. Two years after, the latter, having the presumption to return to La Guayra, was seized, condemned, and executed, and thus became one of the first martyrs of Colombian liberty.

BRITISH INTERFERENCE IN SOUTH AMERICA

It had long been a favourite project of Mr. Pitt to aid the emancipation of South America, and to open a trade with that country. He had frequent conferences with the ex-Jesuit, Juan Pablo Viscardi Guzman, a native of Peru, and an enthusiast in favour of the independence of America, who represented the country to be impatient under the Spanish yoke, and ripe for revolt. He also published in London an appeal to his countrymen, using all the powers of his eloquence in attempting to bring them to a sense of their degraded condition. The British ministry encouraged General Miranda in his designs to revolutionise Venezuela, and aided the premature expedition which he fitted out in 1801; and furnished the funds for that which he afterward fitted out from the United States, in 1806, though it was done without the assistance or sanction of congress. This expedition failed without accomplishing anything, and a number of young men from the United States, falling into the hands of the Spaniards, became victims of their own credulity, and the cruelty of tyrannical power. It is said that, during Mr. Adams' administration, the British ministry made proposals to the American government to assist in the emancipation of the Spanish colonies, which did not meet a favourable reception.

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The failure of Miranda's expedition did not discourage the British government; for in 1806, Spain then being in alliance with France in the war which prevailed in Europe, they fitted out a squadron under Sir Home Popham, which entered the La Plata on the 25th of June, and anchored about twelve miles below Buenos Ayres, where the troops disembarked without opposition.

The inhabitants, and the viceroy Soliemente, were filled with consternation. After experiencing a feeble opposition at Rio Chucto, three miles from the city, General Beresford entered the capital, and took possession of the citadel. Don J. M. Pueyredon, afterward director, at the head of a company of hussars, was the only officer who did anything to oppose the advance of the English. The Spaniards, on learning the small number of their enemies, determined to expel them. The viceroy had escaped to Montevideo, and Liniers, a French emigrant, but an officer in the Spanish service, passed over to the eastern shore of the river, exciting the people to arms. The viceroy collected one thousand regulars, which he joined with those of Liniers, to whom the command of the united forces was given. With these troops, Liniers immediately recrossed the river, when the inhabitants flocking around his standard, soon enabled him to attack the British with great effect, compelling them, after they had sustained a heavy loss, to surrender, on the 12th of August, 1806. Soon after this event, reinforcements arrived from the Cape of Good Hope, which enabled Sir Home Popham to reduce Montevideo by storm.

This expedition, as appeared from the trial of Sir Home Popham, was not expressly authorised by the British ministry, but was so far from being disapproved of by them, that it was followed up by a bold and extensive plan of conquest. Two squadrons, each with a large body of troops, one commanded by General Whitlock, the other by General Crawford, were fitted out for the capture of Buenos Ayres; after accomplishing this, Crawford had received orders to proceed around Cape Horn, and capture Valparaiso, and, for the more effectually securing their conquest, to establish military posts across the continent, from Buenos Ayres to Valparaiso. The object of the ministry was entirely changed since 1797; now it was not to aid the inhabitants in establishing their independence, but to subjugate the country. The commanders, in their instructions from Mr. Windham, secretary of war, were directed to discourage all hopes of any other change in the condition of these countries than that of their being annexed to the crown of Great Britain.

On the 10th of May, 1807, the expedition under General Whitlock arrived at Montevideo, and on the 15th of June following that under General Crawford arrived. General Whitlock, who assumed the chief command, had now under his control about ten thousand of the best troops in the British service, and made immediate preparations for attacking the capital. The viceroy, arriving at Buenos Ayres, was opposed by the inhabitants, and finally deposed by the cabildo. Liniers, being raised to the chief command, was assisted by the inhabitants in making great exertions to defend the capital. Every avenue to the city was obstructed by breastworks of hides, from fifteen to twenty feet thick; small pieces of artillery were planted on the houses, which were barricaded and formed into fortresses, and all the citizens were under arms. The British having landed on the 28th of June, traversed a swampy country of about thirty miles, and presented themselves on the morning of the 5th of July in front of Buenos Ayres. The British general having formed his troops in a line along the suburbs, commenced the attack — and never were men more surprised with their reception. The cannon, planted on the

[1807 A.D.]

trenches which intersected the streets, poured a destructive fire of grape on the advancing columns, while from the roofs and windows of the houses they were assailed, with appalling effect, by an incessant shower of musketry, bombs, and hand-grenades. As the English advanced further into the city, they exposed themselves to a hotter and more destructive fire; and while thus exposed to be mowed down, the enemy were out of their reach, and in a great measure secure from their fire. The column under General Auchmuty, which entered the upper part of the town, after a sanguinary conflict took possession of a large building where bull-fights were held; and that which entered the south part, led by General Crawford, after losing one half its number, took shelter in a large church; here they defended themselves for some time, but finally were obliged to surrender. The British in this engagement lost one third of their whole army. The next day an armistice was concluded, by which they agreed to evacuate the La Plata in two months.

Never was there a more complete failure of an expedition, or perhaps a plan of conquest founded on more erroneous conceptions. The British ministry expected that the inhabitants of the country were so uneasy under the Spanish yoke that they would flock to their standards, and instructions were given General Whitlock for organising a military force in the country. But instead of this, they found not a single friend; all the inhabitants took arms, and manifested a most violent animosity toward them. They refused after the armistice to purchase even a single article of their merchandise, although at the very time they were suffering for the want of them. Had the English come to the aid of the inhabitants in throwing off the Spanish yoke, and establishing the independence of the country, the expedition would in all probability have proved successful, and thus have secured to Britain her primary object — the trade of the country.

Notwithstanding the fatal termination of this enterprise, another expedition still more formidable was prepared for the same object, the destination of which was changed by the breaking out of the revolution of Spain. These, and other attempts made on the coast of the Spanish colonies, induced the government to adopt measures for providing a larger military force in the sea-ports; and the indications of a revolutionary spirit which had been disclosed so alarmed the court of Madrid, as to occasion new military regulations for the greater security of the capital, and to enable the viceroys and generals of the provinces to support each other in case of civil commotions. It is to the subversion of the monarchy of Spain, by Bonaparte, that in a great measure the world is indebted for the independence of Spanish America, and all the hopes inspired by the successful and patriotic career it has hitherto pursued, for its present condition and glorious prospects. Thus an act of tyranny and usurpation in one hemisphere, was rendered conducive to the establishment of liberty in another, and the emancipation of a large portion of the globe.^b



CHAPTER IV

REVOLUTIONS IN SPANISH AMERICA

THE causes of the revolution in Spanish America are not found in any change of policy on the part of Spain, nor in any essential variation in the sentiments of the Americans respecting the parent country. A people who enjoyed no political rights could be deprived of none; no disputes, therefore, could arise respecting the rights of the colonies and the prerogatives of the crown, as existed between Great Britain and her American possessions. The flames of civil war were not kindled in the Spanish colonies by resistance to a tax on tea, or a denial of the unqualified right of taxation, claimed to be binding on the colonies "in all cases whatsoever" — since to this they had for three centuries quietly submitted. Although the North American and French revolutions may have shed some rays of light over these countries, yet the causes of their recent civil changes are to be sought for solely in the peculiar condition of Spain, and the total derangement of her monarchy.

Leaving out of the account the unfortunate attempt at La Paz, the bloody drama of the revolution first opened in Colombia, and as the struggle there was most protracted and severe, and its final success having been the means of the emancipation of the other colonies, Colombia seems to possess a more commanding revolutionary character than any of her sister republics.

Spain had for more than a century been on a decline when, in 1808, a finishing stroke was given to her degradation by the ambitious designs of the emperor Napoleon. Not satisfied with having reduced the peninsula to a condition little above that of a conquered state, and with draining off its resources to support his wars, Bonaparte made one of the boldest attempts recorded in history to seize on the country and transfer the crown to his own family. Partly by fraud, but more by force, he obtained possession of the persons of Ferdinand VII, his father, and most of the royal family, caused them to pass over into France, and detained them at Bayonne, where, in May, 1808, the father was constrained to abdicate to his son, and the latter to renounce his crown to Joseph Bonaparte.^b

GENERAL REVOLT OF THE SPANISH AMERICAN COLONIES

The invasion of Spain and the captivity of the king afforded the Spanish colonies the opportunity they required for rising in revolt. The unlooked-

[1808-1826 A.D.]

for news caused a deep and natural agitation in America. The junta of Seville and the regency of Cadiz claimed the same authority over the colonies as the king, but the Americans opposed their authority; they were not prepared to recognise Joseph Bonaparte, but were equally averse to obeying the Spanish juntas. They maintained that the American provinces had the same right as the Spanish to govern themselves during the king's captivity by means of special juntas. Two parties were formed throughout the colonies: the Spaniards proper, holding the high civil and ecclesiastical posts, wished obedience to be given to the junta of Seville and the regency of Cadiz; the Spanish-Americans or creoles, on the contrary, would not recognise the authority of the Spanish juntas, and wished special juntas to be formed in the colonies themselves. To disguise their secret aspirations for absolute independence, the leaders of the revolution repeated, "We will obey the king when he is set at liberty; until then we will have an independent government." The result of these disputes was the general revolt of the Spanish-Americans from Mexico to Plata and Chili (1810). The creoles then established their national juntas of government, and commenced the reform of the colonial institutions; the Spanish party resisted, and war broke out. While the Spaniards of the mother country were defending their independence against the French, the colonies in America were similarly occupied against Spain herself.

When Ferdinand VII recovered his liberty, blood had already been shed in the colonies, and the latter would no longer submit to this base and despotic monarch who, on his return to Spain, persecuted the very men who had shown such heroism in fighting for him against the French. The revolutionists had to fight not only against the Spanish forces but also against political and religious prejudices; to many Americans the revolution was a sin against God and the king; on the other hand they lacked arms, ammunition, and ships, and the money to buy them; nevertheless by their determined will they vanquished all obstacles and worked prodigies.

In the first instance the advantage was to the revolutionists, but on the expulsion of the French and the return of Ferdinand VII Spain was able to send more troops against the revolted colonies. From 1814 to 1815 the revolutionists were everywhere defeated, in spite of which they recommenced the struggle and recovered the advantage. The outbreak of the liberal revolution in the mother country in 1820, provoked by Ferdinand's despotism, favoured the Americans by dividing the Spaniards, and preventing the setting out of an army prepared to fight against them.

Bolivar and Sucre, San Martin and O'Higgins, were the great champions of South American independence. Setting out from north and south almost simultaneously, the Colombian troops led by the liberator Bolivar, and the Chilian and Argentine led by San Martin, met victorious in Peru, centre of Spanish power in South America. The illustrious General Sucre, the liberator's second, set the seal forever on Spanish-American independence by the memorable victory of Ayacucho, December 9th, 1824. Shortly afterwards the Spaniards lost their last defences, and of all her former colonies, now converted into republics, in the beginning of 1826 only Porto Rico and Cuba were left to Spain.

Upon the fall of Napoleon the sovereigns of Russia, Austria, and Prussia formed the Holy Alliance, with the object, scarcely holy, of combating liberal ideas in all parts and restoring absolute government. Powerless to subject her revolted colonies, Spain invoked the intervention and aid of the European monarchs against the new republics of America, but the policy of the United

[1814-1822 A.D.]

States, supported by England, defeated the plans of the Holy Alliance. Shortly after, the United States definitely recognised the independence of the new republics, 1822. The following year the king of France, in concert with the Holy Alliance, brought an army against the Spanish liberals and defeated them, re-establishing the despotic sway of Ferdinand VII, who caused a renewal of the plots of the Holy Alliance against the Latin-American republics. President Monroe of the United States, however, declared that the states would consider as hostile to themselves any European interference with the new republics. This attitude of the United States and the decisive defeat of the Spaniards at Ayacucho, in the following year, brought England to a decision. Following the advice of Canning, she recognised the independence of the new American states, and her example was immediately followed by the remaining European powers. Spain, who had solicited even the spiritual support of the pope, finally lost hope of European intervention to regain her former colonies; she was compelled therefore to resign herself, and in various treaties recognised the independence of nearly all the colonies. The new republics naturally formed one family; they all professed the same religion, spoke the same tongue, and had inherited from Spain the same vices and virtues. They were all of the same origin, had fought together the battle of independence, and had the same mission to maintain a democratic republic, and by liberty to regenerate themselves. Their political interests were therefore solidary — whatever benefited or harmed one, benefited or harmed all.^c

REVOLUTION IN NEW GRANADA

The war of independence in New Granada and Peru is closely associated with the name of the creole, Simon Bolivar of Caracas.¹ This distinguished general and statesman, of European education, devoted his strength and his fortune to the liberation of his countrymen, and did not allow himself to be turned aside from his goal by their ingratitude. Venezuela had already proclaimed its independence in 1811; a terrible earthquake, which almost wholly destroyed the capital Caracas and killed twenty thousand people in Valencia, was interpreted by the clergy as a punishment from heaven for the revolt and was used to bring the country back under Spanish dominion. The pitiless severity and blood-thirstiness of the Spaniards in persecuting the republicans brought the smothered flames to a new outburst. Bolivar led six hundred men across the Andes; thousands of discontented men flocked to his standard in order to avenge the deaths of the executed patriots. He was appointed dictator by the federal congress of New Granada, which hailed him as "saviour" and organised a war "to the knife" by signing the terrible decree of Truxillo (January 2nd, 1814), which condemned to death every Spaniard convicted of being a royalist. A war, terrible, vicissitudinous, full of difficulties, wearisome battles, and privations, now broke out between Morillo on the one side and Bolivar, who was supported by Paez, a coloured man and an able soldier. Whenever Morillo conquered, the blood of the republicans flowed in streams; Bolivar in revenge caused eight hundred imprisoned Spaniards to be executed. The Spaniards received terrible aid from the llaneros, who, like the gauchos of the Pampas, led a nomadic life as shepherds and butchers on the grassy steppes of Terra Firma. They were accustomed to a hardy and frugal

[¹ The standard of revolt had been raised at the end of the eighteenth century by the creole general Miranda of Caracas, but the attempt failed because of the lack of harmony among the different classes, races, and provinces.]

life on the sunny pastures, and as soldiers armed with their pikes and lassoes inflicted great damage and sanguinary defeats on the republicans. Bolivar was compelled to lay down the chief command and to seek safety in flight to Santo Domingo. The reaction of the absolute monarchy proceeded over corpses, with confiscation of property and extortion. However, Bolivar returned and his appearance aroused again the sinking courage of the republicans; successful feats of arms increased his renown. Venezuela and New Granada formed a federation, chose Bolivar as captain-general, and at a congress at Angostura declared that the two republics had united into the republic of Colombia, composed of three parts (December 17th, 1819). A new army was to sail from Cadiz to America. This was the army which, by raising the standard of revolt, ushered in the rule of the cortes in Spain. But the cortes government also was unwilling to recognise the independence of the colonies, and the war began anew. In spite of the brave bearing of General Morale, however, the war resulted in disaster for the disagreeing Spaniards. The republic of Colombia obtained its independence and elected Bolivar as president (1824). A commercial treaty soon bound the young republic with North America.^d

REVOLUTION IN ECUADOR, CHILE, AND PERU

In the mean while Quito had shared in the revolutionary sentiments which began to agitate Spanish South America towards the end of the seventeenth century, and a political society, the *Escuela de Concordia*, was founded at Quito on the initiative of the Quitoian doctor Eugenio Espejo.^a

The cry of liberty was raised in Quito on the 10th of August, 1809, and the acts of installation of the 19th and 20th of September revealed an attempt to establish a new order of things; the battles which took place at Biblian, Mocha, Panecillo, and San Antonio de Caranquin proved how vigorous were the attempts to gain independence, although they were quelled by General Toribio Montes. On the 9th of October, 1820, the cry was repeated in the town of Guayaquil, but the people of Ecuador lacked union among themselves, and numbered infamous traitors in their ranks; they also lacked every means of sustaining a fight against the prejudices of three centuries, and in their simplicity thought that the power of kings on earth was as it were the incarnation of the power of heaven; hence they were defeated on the fields of Primer Guachi, Verde Lorna, Tanisagua, and Segundo Guachi in the years 1820 and 1821, though they were victorious at Babahoya and Yaguachi.

The able General Antonio José de Sucre, sent to Guayaquil by the great liberator Bolivar, in the name of the inhabitants of Venezuela and New Granada, which were already free, was not disheartened by his defeat at Segundo Guachi, but organised a new army in Guayaquil, and, reinforced by the Peruvian division commanded by General Andres Santa Cruz, crossed the mountain chain of the interior, and gained a complete victory on May 22nd, 1822, on the summit of Pichincha, in the Andes, and sealed the liberty and independence of Quito by a treaty signed on the 24th by the Spanish president of Quito, Don Melchor de Aymeric. Ecuador, becoming incorporated with New Granada and Venezuela which had already been formed into a republic, accepted the government and constitutional principles of Cucuta given in July, 1821.^e The republic formed by the confederation of these three states was called Colombia.^a

The Chilians took the first step towards asserting their independence by deposing the Spanish president, and putting in his place (September 18th,

[1810-1817 A.D.]

1810) a committee of seven men,¹ nominated by themselves, to whom were intrusted all the executive powers. In April, 1811, the first blood was spilled in the cause of Chilian independence. A battalion of royal troops which had been drawn up in the great square of Santiago was attacked by a detachment of patriot grenadiers, and routed, with considerable loss on both sides. In the same year (December 20th) the government was vested in a triumvirate, and Juan José Carrera was appointed general-in-chief of the army about to be formed.

In 1813 a powerful army, under the command of General Paroja, invaded Chili, but was twice defeated by the republican troops under Carrera. The royalists, however, speedily received large reinforcements; and after a severe contest Chili was once more obliged to own the sovereignty of Spain. For three years more the people submitted (under the Spanish governors Osorio and Pont) to the old system of tyranny and misgovernment, till at length the patriot refugees, having levied an army in La Plata, and received the support of the Buenos Ayreans, marched against the Spaniards, and completely defeated them at Chacabuco in 1817.

The patriots next proceeded to organise an elective government, of which San Martin, the general of the army, was nominated the supreme director. Their arrangements, however, were not completed when they were attacked once more by the royalists, and routed at the battle of Cancha-rayada with great loss. Betrayed into a fatal security by this success, the royalist troops neglected the most ordinary military precautions, and being suddenly attacked by the patriots in the plains of Maipo, were defeated with great slaughter. This victory secured the independence of Chili. /

The history of the revolution in Peru completes in a way the histories of revolution in Colombia and Chili, which countries, although they succeeded in throwing off the Spanish yoke before their neighbour, could not hope to remain independent as long as the Spaniards ruled in Peru. Although late in acquiring her independence, Peru had been early in rebelling against Spanish oppressions. As we have already seen, a rebellion headed by Tupac Amaru broke out in 1780, which ended in failure but gave the first blow to the power of Spain. Others preached rebellion after Tupac Amaru, and in 1814 the Peruvians again attempted a revolt but were defeated at the battle of Umachiri (March 12th, 1815).^a

Chili, the immediate neighbour of Peru, had already recovered its independence. Lord Cochrane had been appointed commander-in-chief of the naval forces; he made an audacious attempt to seize the port of Callao, which, if it had succeeded, would have liberated the whole country. It had at least the result of inspiring the patriots with new confidence. Cochrane, cruising along the coast, despoiling the Spanish landholders, while he respected the possessions of the Peruvians and of the creoles, filled the hearts of the former with terror, and inspired the latter with sympathetic confidence. Accordingly, when the Chilian army appeared on Peruvian territory, it was hailed as a liberator. This army, commanded by General San Martin, did not number more than forty-five hundred men under its flag, and had only twelve pieces of cannon; the Spanish troops cantoned in the land did not number less than twenty-three thousand combatants. The viceroy, giving way to the pressure of the malevolent sentiments of the people, which seemed to increase every minute in hostility towards the government, went away from the city, leaving it in the hands of the marquis de Montmiré, a man who

[¹ The real leader of the revolution was Dr. Martinez de Rosas, the most influential man among the patriots.]

[1817-1821 A.D.]

enjoyed universal esteem and who was alone able, in this critical moment, to replace authority with influence. The city thus left to itself begged the commander of the troops of Chili to come and receive its surrender; the city was in a hurry to give itself up to him.

San Martin declared himself the protector of Peru, and took up the civil and military dictatorship, adding that after having expelled the last enemies from the liberated soil he would give back to the country the care of its own destiny. Another decree, dated August 12th, 1821, proclaimed the freedom of children born in Peru, after July 28th of the preceding year, even when the fathers and mothers were slaves. The tribute was suppressed as disgraceful to those who paid it; it was the same with the *mita*, that conscription so mortal in its effects and iniquitous in principle; it was also decided that the natives should no longer be called Indians, which name had been made a sort of moral insult to them, but that on the contrary henceforth there should be only Peruvians in Peru. Unfortunately for the cause of independence, grave dissensions broke out between General San Martin and Lord Cochrane. Making use of his incontestable authority, San Martin ordered Cochrane to return immediately to Chili. But the latter, instead of obeying, having learned that two Spanish frigates had appeared in the waters of Panama, sailed towards the north to give them chase. This unsuccessful attempt had no other result than to prove still more clearly the insubordination of which the general-in-chief complained. The admiral did not find the ships he was looking for; but on his return to the Peruvian coast, finding in the port of Callao a Spanish frigate which had surrendered to the agents of the new government, Cochrane dared to claim it as though he had captured it. His demand was rejected and Lord Cochrane finally set sail for Valparaiso, where he arrived September 1st, 1822.

This departure, joined to the capitulation of Callao and the retreat of General Canterac, permitted San Martin to think at last of ending the war. But difficulties of more than one sort were still to obstruct the progress of affairs. San Martin had committed a fault which is perhaps difficult to avoid after a revolutionary triumph. He had given places and employment to men who had no other right to have them than their enthusiasm for the new ideas. Enthusiasm does not always supply talent. One of his improvised generals was defeated by Canterac, who took a thousand of the independents prisoners and captured four pieces of artillery and part of the baggage.

In the mean while the national congress met on September 20th, 1812. San Martin went to the assembly, took off his insignia of power, and resigned his almost sovereign authority into the hands of the representative of the people. A decree, voted by acclamation, expressed to him the gratitude of Peru and conferred on him the title of generalissimo of the republican armies. He accepted the title but without ever exercising the functions, and immediately left the soil he had liberated, to take refuge in the peace and obscurity of a private life.

One of the first acts of congress was to create an executive power, under the name of the governing junta, composed of three members, General José Lamar, Antonio Alvarado, and Count Vista Florida. This junta soon gave way under the weight of affairs and under its own incapacity, and congress, yielding to the pressure of the army, appointed Colonel Riva Agüero president of the republic. General Santa Cruz took command of the army, but Canterac, profiting by the disorganisation of the new government, tried once more to re-establish the authority of the mother country. At that moment he was at the head of a thousand men, who were disciplined and experienced in war.

[1821-1826 A.D.]

He soon appeared before Lima, and made his entry into the capital on June 18th, 1823. Colonel Riva Agüero retired to Callao with the congress, which held its sessions in a little church. Riva Agüero was deposed and, fleeing from Callao as he had fled from Lima, retired to Truxillo, still followed by congress. The Colombian general Sucre was invested with the supreme authority. Canterac left the capital after having plundered it. The campaign of Santa Cruz was not successful; he lost six thousand men out of his seven thousand, and returned to Lima with only a handful of soldiers. The generalissimo of the republic in his turn was obliged to take refuge in Callao.

Harassed on all sides and incapable of resisting the twenty thousand men of the royalist troops which had been massed against them, the patriots were within a finger's breadth of destruction when Bolívar, the president of the Colombian Republic, authorised by the congress of his country, entered Lima on September 1st, 1823. Although the presence of this man, who appeared in Peru as a liberator, was hailed with some enthusiasm, difficulties were not lacking to his first attempts. In the first place, the ex-president Riva Agüero, at the head of a certain number of partisans, rebelled against the new government and had to be suppressed; soon afterwards a military insurrection seized Callao and forced Bolívar to evacuate Lima; almost at the same time the minister of war, a general, officers of all grades, and three squadrons of cavalry went over to the royal army.

These vexatious rebuffs might have discouraged a man of weaker stuff than Bolívar, but he was one of those who are spurred on by difficulty and who rouse themselves before an obstacle. The prestige of his name attracted four thousand more Peruvians, whom he joined to the six thousand Colombians he had at his disposal. The sanguinary battle of Juno, in which he defeated the troops of Canterac, set the movement for independence on a firmer footing, and the great day of Ayacucho assured it a definite triumph. The effect of that battle was far-reaching. Everyone who was an enemy of Peruvian independence had to surrender or leave the country. One of the heroes of the battle, General Gamara, marched immediately upon Cuzco at the head of a Peruvian battalion. The garrison, conforming to the terms of the capitulation of Ayacucho, laid down its arms. The royalist general Tristan then took the title of viceroy and made a last attempt to save a lost cause. This last effort was useless, and he had to surrender to a patriot colonel with the small garrison of Arequipa. One of the last partisans who still fought for Spain, Alaleta, still held the field, but he too was forced to submit in his turn.

The old masters of Peru now possessed only the citadel of Callao. It is true that its garrison, commanded by an intrepid soldier, the heroic Rodil, made one of those desperate resistances which ennoble causes destined to failure. Rodil and his companions for thirteen months endured all the horrors of famine and war, added to disease, their ordinary companion. He finally surrendered on February 26th, 1826, when for some time he had no longer had a mouthful of bread to give to his men, who were reduced to the most cruel extremity.

This time at least Peru was free and the Spanish dominion was forever overthrown. Rodil by his magnificent defence gave the latter a splendid funeral. When the hour for defeat comes it is well to be able to fall with honour. Although the war of independence was terminated, the task of the patriots was not yet accomplished. It remained for them to organise the country, to give to Peru strong and enduring institutions.

BOLIVIA

Before the revolution Upper Peru had formed part of the vice-royalty of Buenos Ayres, but there was a radical difference between the two countries in manners, customs, and even in language. Accordingly the republic of Argentina, with a disinterestedness and a political sense which cannot be too highly praised, instead of claiming the least rights of suzerainty, permitted the newly liberated country to decide freely upon its future. A general assembly of delegates declared that, in conformity with the wishes of the people, Upper Peru would form a separate government and would call itself Bolivia. The name was not the only homage rendered to the great patriot who had done so much for the nation. It was voted to give him \$1,000,000 as a pecuniary reward for his services. He accepted the money only to devote it to buying back slaves.

Bolívar soon left the new state to install the congress of Lower Peru. The liberator had given Bolivia a new constitution with the possibility of appointing his successor. He would have liked to have the same principles adopted by the country which had just called him to establish its government. The Peruvian patriots would not consent, and from that moment a systematic opposition was formed against Bolívar.

REACTION AGAINST BOLIVAR

Bolívar was accredited with ambitious views. Everywhere he went he met an ill will which wounded his pride. He was accused of conspiracy. He felt obliged to act rigorously, and he practised a severity which was often cruel. At one time there was fear of a return to anarchy. Bolívar, giving way to a displeasure which he had a right to feel, or perhaps pretending it in order to try a politic measure which he was almost sure would succeed, announced his intention of leaving for Colombia. In an instant demonstrations were organised to beg him to remain in his new country. The people even came soon to asking for the adoption of the Bolivian constitution which had been so energetically repulsed a few months previously.

The troubles which broke out just then in Colombia, where General Páez had put himself in a state of disobedience and almost of rebellion against the central government, obliged Bolívar to leave Lima for Bogotá. His presence alone and his influence were enough to re-establish order without the necessity of resorting to the hand of the executioner. But Bolívar's attempt to make his native country adopt the constitution which was the object of his too persevering solicitude remained unsuccessful. This constitution moreover was no more liked in Peru than in Colombia, and Bolívar had hardly left Lima before the people rebelled against it. From that moment the Peruvians had only one wish — to get rid of Bolívar's charter and of the Colombian troops. The signal for insurrection was given by Colonel Bustamante, who in the night of January 26th, 1827, put himself at the head of a number of determined men and arrested the generals Lara and Sanz and the foreign officers of whose hostility and energy he was afraid.

A vessel was ready and waiting in the port of Callao; it took the Colombians on board and set sail for Guayaquil. The ministers at once resigned, but General Santa Cruz was none the less kept at the head of the government. In the mean time the first question was the evacuation of the territory by the foreign troops. They were paid a part of their arrear salaries, and in the following March Bustamante could preside over their embarkment. There was

[1827 A.D.]

then a violent reaction against the Bolivian — as the author of the detested constitution was called. People had as many maledictions for him as they had before had praises and words of adoration. A new congress met at Lima on June 24th, and its first act was to repudiate the Bolivian constitution. General Lamar was chosen president of the republic, and soon Peru declared war on Colombia and on the man from whom she had received her liberty.

The opening of the campaign was unfortunate for Colombia, for she lost the port of Guayaquil. At the same time the Peruvians invaded their enemy's territory, but one battle lost was enough to punish this unjust aggression. Their army was almost completely defeated at Tarqui in the province of Quito. Bolivar did not take undue advantage of the victory, and showed instead an extreme moderation in the conditions in the treaty of peace which regulated the frontiers of the two states and consecrated their mutual independence.

The reaction which had declared itself so strongly in Lower Peru against Colombian influence was only too faithfully imitated in Bolivia. There was as it were a rivalry in ingratitude between the two states. General Sucre, in accepting for two years the presidency which the constitution gave him for all his life, had stipulated for the right to keep near him two thousand men of the Colombian troops, his war companions. Bolivia had acquiesced in this demand, but soon the national pride was irritated at what it regarded a disgrace, and it wished to obtain the immediate evacuation of the territory. The assistance of Lower Peru was asked and obtained. The troops of General Sucre in spite of their bravery could not resist the superior numbers, and the liberator of Bolivia was conquered and obliged to leave. From that moment Peru and Bolivia have remained independent of the foreign yoke.

A COLOMBIAN ESTIMATE OF BOLIVAR

As a warrior Bolivar is on a level with the greatest men of ancient and modern history; he was possessed of vast genius in forming a plan of action, and unparalleled energy in carrying it into execution and in overcoming all obstacles. His audacity, valour, constancy, and patient suffering of misfortune, until fortune was once more captive, a creative talent for drawing resources out of nothingness, these brilliant qualities make Bolivar one of the most distinguished warriors of his century. In fact, having commenced his daring enterprise with but two hundred and fifty men, he liberated Venezuela, New Granada, and Ecuador. To have pursued the Spaniards as far as Peru and conquered in Junin and Ayacucho are deeds worthy of immortal fame. These rich and vast possessions were occupied and defended by more than forty thousand soldiers, led by excellent generals and officers, protected by their fortifications and upheld by the moral force arising from three hundred years of rule. By his genius and perseverance, Bolivar raised an army from nothing and seized these places from them forever. In less than eight years the flag of Colombia flew victoriously over all the country between the mouths of the Orinoco and the silver summits of Potosi.

Bolivar's glory reached its height with the liberty of Peru and his military career was ended with Ayacucho; from that time we may look upon him as a politician and administrator. In this first character, some of the acts of Bolivar bear the stamp of a great talent. In 1813 he liberated his country Venezuela from the iron yoke of Spain, but the fierce war which the Spaniards and their partisans made on him prevented his organising the country. With terrible retaliation, he declared war without mercy; then followed scenes of

[1813-1829 A.D.]

bloodshed and cruelty which strike one with horror. From 1816 Bolivar conducted the war with humanity and created the republic of Colombia, which great political act gave the civilised world a very favourable idea of its founder. This republic sprang up under the shade of his laurels, and Bolivar, triumphant, created beyond Ecuador the republics of Peru and Bolivia. His was the idea of convoking an American congress in the isthmus of Panama—an ideal Utopia which did not produce the desired results. By these eminent services Bolivar won the love, respect, veneration, and unbounded confidence of all the generals and officers of the liberating army, who pledged themselves to obedience, and also of the inhabitants of the three republics.

But from the time he declared his faith in the suggested constitution for Bolivia, which his ill-advised counsellors caused to be unlawfully adopted in Peru; from the time, in 1826, when he supported by his influence the antagonists of the constitution of Colombia, and when his agents encouraged the people in their unlawful acts, inspired by the desire of some to bring him to the dictatorship, and the scheme of others to form an empire of Colombia, Peru, and Bolivia, or a vast confederation of the three republics, of which he should be protector; from the time when he rewarded Paez and all those who had contributed to the dismemberment of Colombia and the destruction of the constitution of Cúcuta—his anger being directed against those who upheld the constitutional government—a great mistrust of him took hold of the Colombians.

Furious enemies rose up on all sides against Bolivar, attacking him in the name of liberty, which they said he menaced. In the midst of exalted passions and adverse parties, the liberator, supported by the army in his opinion of a Colombian preponderance, accepted the dictatorship, which unfortunately occasioned the conspiracy of the 25th of September, which exalted the military power beyond what was necessary to repress an excessive and turbulent democracy.

In 1829 Bolivar discountenanced and entirely put an end to the project of a monarchy, which some desired; he never wished for it, in spite of his love of rule and of command without subjection to laws. Calumniated, persecuted, and repudiated by his enemies and by a great part of Colombia, he threw up the supreme command in disgust, and by not leaving his territory, as he had offered to do, and as was fitting, he gave new food for calumny to his enemies, who persecuted him even beyond the tomb. Bolivar hated the details of administration, and was wont to say that the study was a martyrdom to him. He showed great vigour and firmness in enforcing his resolutions, and great perseverance in pushing forward his designs, ever undaunted by obstacles, however great. He was of opinion that the theories of European economists could not be adopted in Colombia, and therefore preferred to continue the same taxes to which the people were accustomed. He was economical and never spent the public revenue without need and never permitted it to be defrauded. He was a lover of justice wherever he found it, and his decrees were always in accordance with it. He showed great judgment and penetration in choosing his chief lieutenants: Sucre, Santander, Soublette, Salom, and Flores were worthy to be his subordinates.

Graciously yielding to his friends, he sometimes attempted by his advice to pass resolutions contrary to established rule, and to the plan followed by his ministers: nevertheless he showed the latter great consideration, vigorously supporting their orders, and placing absolute confidence in them.

As a military orator, Bolivar was passionate, pointed, original, eloquent, and profound. Presenting himself in 1813 to his fellow citizens of Venezuela

[1809-1816 A.D.]

for the first time as their liberator, he said: "I am one of you who, by the power of the God of mercy, have miraculously thrown off the yoke of the tyrants who oppressed us, and am come to redeem you from your cruel captivity. Prostrate yourself before an omnipotent God, and let your hymn of praise reach the throne of him who has restored to you the august character of men!" and turning to the soldiers of Granada who accompanied him — "and you, loyal republicans, will march to rescue the cradle of Colombian independence, as the crusaders set free Jerusalem, cradle of Christianity."

But not only did Bolivar possess the rare eloquence of a soldier; his sayings by the depth of their wisdom are worthy of Plato or Socrates. The following are some of them: Slavery is the daughter of darkness, and an ignorant person is generally the blind instrument of his own ruin. Ambition and intrigue make capital out of the credulity of men wholly ignorant of the principles of civil and political economy. Ignorance frequently takes pure illusion for fact, license for liberty, treachery for patriotism, and vengeance for justice. "Man," says Homer, "with the loss of liberty loses half his spirit." Where a sacred respect for country, laws, and constitutional authority does not exist, society is a state of confusion, an abyss, and a conflict between man and man, party and party. The most perfect system of government is that which produces the greatest degree of prosperity, social security, and political stability."^h

General Holstein,^l chief of staff under President Bolivar, gives us another view. According to him, Bolivar was ungrateful, hypocritical, vain, and treacherous, without being a great general. In one place, after telling how Bolivar's cousin Ribas procured him his first command in the republican army, he says: "These circumstances were the origin of the subsequent grandeur of Bolivar, who has ever had the fortune to profit by the bravery, skill, and patriotism of others. When Ribas was killed Bolivar fled. Paez was victorious when Bolivar was not with him, and beaten when the latter directed operations. Sucre gained the battle of Ayacucho, in Peru, when Bolivar was sick."^a

REVOLUTION IN ARGENTINA

The disturbances which ultimately led to the separation of the country from Spain were initiated by the refusal of the Argentines to acknowledge the Napoleonic dynasty established at Madrid. Liniers, who was viceroy on the arrival of the news of the crowning of Joseph Buonaparte as king of Spain, was deposed by the adherents of Ferdinand VII; and on July 19th, 1809, Cisneros became viceroy in the name of Ferdinand. In compliance with the urgent appeals of the people, he opened the trade of the country to foreign nations; and on May 25th, 1810, a council was formed, with his consent, under the title of the Provisional Government of the provinces of the Rio de la Plata. This has since been regarded as the commencement of the era of the political independence of the country. Of this council Mariano Morino, the secretary, was the most prominent member, and the people of the city of Buenos Ayres were for some time its only effective supporters. An attempt of the Spanish party to make Cisneros president of the council failed, and he retired to Montevideo. On January 31st, 1813, a congress was assembled at Buenos Ayres, and Posadas was elected dictator of the republic. Montevideo still supported the cause of Spain, but was besieged by the revolutionary army of Buenos Ayres, and capitulated in 1814. A sanguinary struggle between the party of independence and the adherents of Spain spread over all the country of the Rio de la Plata; but on March 25th, 1816, a new congress of deputies elected by the people was assembled at Tucuman, where Payridon was declared

Argentine government, disposed at first to tolerate the invasion as a means of vanquishing Artigas, afterwards attempted at various times to enter into an agreement with the latter to form an alliance to repel the invaders, but in vain; as, though the Uruguay chief accepted and desired the co-operation of the national forces, it was on condition that he should dispose of them at his will, and that they should not obey the supreme authority of the state; the latter rejected the condition for reasons easily understood, and for fear that the armies it provided would be turned against itself.

Artigas, therefore, had to meet the invaders with the Uruguay militia and with the militia which he compelled the western towns under his sway to supply, that is to say, the towns of Santa Fé, Entre Rios, Corrientes, and Misiones. He fought valiantly during three years, but as the multitudes who obeyed him were uncivilised, undisciplined, and badly armed, and as he lacked leaders of military experience, he was unfortunate in every action and was compelled to abandon the country forever at the beginning of 1820, and to take refuge in Paraguay, pursued by Ramirez, a leader of Entre Rios.

Montevideo threw open its gates to General Lecor on January 20th, 1817, and the other towns successively followed this example; the laws in existence up to that time were declared in force, the religion of the inhabitants was respected, the members of the corporation continued to discharge their municipal duties, and the generals and officers who submitted were incorporated into the army keeping their respective grades. The Portuguese authorities further established a tribunal of justice composed of five members, enlarged the hospital of Caridad, commanding the adjacent houses of Don Juan Cayetano Molina to be hired for the purpose, re-established the civic corps, founded an orphanage adjoining the hospital of Caridad, organised a police force to maintain order and safeguard public health, planned a lottery the object of which was to supply funds for the founding institution, endeavoured to forward public education on a new plan, devoting to this purpose, together with the founding institution the proceeds of the seal fishery, and established a body of farmers to forward rural interests, etc. Lecor's administration being from the first distinguished by a careful attention to public and individual interests, he had no difficulty in winning the sympathy of conservative classes, and in causing a congress of deputies from Banda Oriental to be convoked in Montevideo gratifying to Portugal's ambitious aims. This congress on July 18th, 1821, decreed that Banda Oriental should be incorporated within the united kingdom of Portugal, Brazil, and Algarve, under the name of Cisplatine State, as its condition rendered it unfitted for independence, and because union with any other state would be less advantageous to it.

URUGUAY BECOMES PART OF BRAZIL

When Brazil declared its independence the question arose whether the Cisplatine state should continue to be united to Portugal or to the Argentines. The Portuguese troops openly declared in favour of the first, the Brazilians, and a part of the natives of Banda Oriental were for the second course, and the remainder adhered to the Portuguese in the belief that they would leave them free to be re-incorporated with the Argentines. The two parties declared war, but the Brazilians were triumphant without any great military feat, due to the exertions of Brigadier Souza de Macedo, who favoured the Brazilian rather than the Argentine cause; those who had adhered conditionally to Portugal quitted the country, an oath of adherence to the constitution of the

[1821-1826 A.D.]

new empire was taken, and the emperor Dom Pedro I proclaimed; thus the territory of Uruguay came to be known as the Cisplatine State in the provinces of Brazil in the last months of 1823 and beginning of 1824.

The Argentine government had taken advantage of these incidents due to the policy of Banda Oriental to demand from Brazil the evacuation of the territory to which the government of Rio de Janeiro replied in the negative. Public opinion was loud in protestations against these last proceedings, the emigrants from Banda Oriental alleged the necessity of their country being reincorporated with the United Provinces of Rio de la Plata. A declaration of war between the Argentine Republic and Brazil was expected and demanded, but the general government of the first had been dissolved since 1820, and the provinces were separated; and although Buenos Ayres had greatly prospered since the separation, she was not sufficiently strong to declare war alone against the empire, the government of Buenos Ayres was thus compelled to await a more favourable opportunity. Meanwhile the press and the public were in a constant state of agitation, and the convocation of a congress for the purpose of re-establishing a common government for the state was sufficient to cause public feeling in favour of the war to greatly increase.

This was the moment for a few natives of Banda Oriental, resident in Buenos Ayres, to form a plan to invade the Cisplatine province, for the purpose of separating it from the empire, and restoring it to the United Provinces. They came to an unanimous decision, and won others to their cause, until the band of the Thirty-three was complete, and entered their native land under the command of Juan Antonio Lavalleja on the memorable day of the 19th of April, 1825, taking with them a few horses, carbines, pistols, and swords, and a few ounces of gold to pay preliminary expenses.

URUGUAY BECOMES INDEPENDENT

Although the uninhabited and undulating country enabled the cavalry to make surprise attacks, and afforded shelter from danger, yet the expedition of the Thirty-three is worthy to be considered one of the most daring and most deserving of praise for the confidence of victory, which it reveals, in spite of the extreme scarcity of resources with which it was commenced and for the daring courage needed to face the numerous troops of the line defending the Brazilian posts, and the no less terrible power which his fame gave to Rivera in the campaign, his complete knowledge of the territory, and his surpassing ability in guerilla warfare. Results, however, rewarded their heroism; within ten days they captured Rivera, who since Artigas' disappearance had adopted the cause of Brazil, and compelled him to surrender with all the forces under his command; they besieged the fortress of Montevideo, and within two months established in Florida the first revolutionary government. The assembly of deputies within four months declared the acts of incorporation with Portugal and Brazil null, and Banda Oriental to be united to the other provinces of Rio de la Plata; at the end of five months Rivera won the hard fought battle of Rincon de Haedo; within six the forces of Uruguay gained a splendid victory on the field of Sarandi, and immediately obtained from the Argentine congress the recognition of the incorporation of Banda Oriental with the united provinces of Rio de la Plata (1825). As it may be presumed, the emperor of Brazil lost no time in declaring war upon the Argentine Republic, and in 1826 war was begun. An army composed of infantry, cavalry, and artillery invaded Brazil under command of General Alvear; the vanguard composed of Uruguayans was commanded by Lavalleja: a fleet was equipped

[1826-1840 A.D.]

in Buenos Ayres, under the orders of Admiral Brown, and glorious hand-to-hand battles followed one on the other for eighteen months; but their forces being weakened the opponents accepted England's friendly mediation in 1828, and on the 27th of August celebrated a preliminary treaty of peace by which Brazilians and Argentines settled differences by converting Banda Oriental into a sovereign independent state. In virtue of this treaty the constituent assembly of Banda Oriental published the republican constitution, by which the new political power was to be governed, and the public and public authorities took a solemn oath adopting it (July 18th, 1830). Such are the most important details of the history of Uruguay up to the time when it is presented to other powers as an independent constitutional state.ⁱ

PARAGUAY

Paraguay proclaimed its independence in 1811, and almost immediately came under the power of one man who ruled like a dictator until his death in 1840. This remarkable man was José Gaspar Rodríguez, usually called Doctor Francia, of Brazilian origin, who was secretary to the national junta of 1811.^a

When the congress or junta of 1813 changed the constitution and established a duumvirate, Doctor Francia and the Gaucho, General Fulgencio, were elected to the office. A story is told in connection with their installation, which recalls the self-coronation of William I of England and Napoleon the Great. In theatrical imitation of Roman custom, two curule chairs had been placed in the assembly, one of them bearing the name of Cæsar, and the other that of Pompey. Francia seated himself in the Cæsar chair, and left his colleague to play the part of Pompey as best he might. In 1814 he secured his own election as dictator for three years, and at the end of that period he obtained the dictatorship for life. He was no mere nominal sovereign; but for the next twenty-five years he might have boasted, with even more truth than Louis XIV, "*L'état c'est moi*." In the accounts which have been published of his administration we find a strange mixture of capacity and caprice, of far-sighted wisdom and reckless infatuation, strenuous endeavours after a high ideal, and flagrant violations of the simplest principles of justice. He put a stop to the foreign commerce of the country, but carefully fostered its internal industries; was disposed to be hospitable to strangers from other lands, and kept them prisoners for years; lived a life of republican simplicity, and punished with Dionysian severity the slightest want of respect. As time went on he appears to have grown more arbitrary and despotic, more determined to maintain his mastery over the country and more apprehensive lest he should lose it. And yet at the time of his death it is said that he was generally regretted, and his bitterest opponents cannot deny that if he did much evil he also did much good. Deeply imbued with the principles of the French Revolution, he was a stern antagonist of the church. He abolished the Inquisition, suppressed the college of theology, did away with the tithes, and inflicted endless indignities on the priests. "What are they good for?" was his saying; "they make us believe more in the devil than in God." He discouraged marriage both by precepts and example, and left behind him several illegitimate children. For the extravagances of his later years the plea of insanity has been put forward. The circumstances of his death were in strange keeping with his life. He was about to sabre his doctor when he was seized with a fit, and he expired the same day, September 20th, 1840.^b



CHAPTER V

SPANISH AMERICA SINCE THE REVOLUTIONS

ONE year after Bolivar's death the republic of Colombia was split up into the three independent republics of Venezuela, New Granada, and Ecuador, with similar constitutions, which were in general modelled after the constitution of North America. An elective president, with ministers or governmental councillors, stood at the head of the executive power; the legislative was in the hands of a congress consisting of a senate and representatives; the armed power consisted of a standing army, land militia, etc. But whereas in the United States of North America the parties opposed one another only within the bounds of the constitution, the history of the South American republics is an unbroken succession of upheavals, now in a revolutionary, now in a reactionary sense, during which every one of the great parties, into which the population even here was divided, tried to get the control into its own hands and to organise the state after its own principles, until finally racial passions and wars between the white and coloured populations were added to the political struggles. The division into separate states under a weakly organised central power was not sufficient, as in North America, to assure the feeling of liberty, but rather favoured the inclination to internal discord and division.

VENEZUELA

In the forties the republic of Venezuela was split up into two factions—oligarchists (conservatives) and federalists (radicals)—through whose rivalries and hostilities the state fell into a condition of anarchy, of which the family of Manazas tried to take advantage for the purpose of establishing a sort of autocratic dictatorship. For ten years members of this family, through corruption and revolts, managed to keep in power, until finally General Castro was raised to the presidential chair by the oligarchic or conservative party, and caused a revision of the constitution by a "national con-

vention." But Castro, who tried to steer his way between parties, succeeded in satisfying none; soon federalists, conservatives, and liberals began to fight one another, and the presidency changed hands four times in three years. Finally Falcon, the leader of the federalists, attained the highest dignity (1863), and, with a newly summoned constitutional assembly, brought about a new constitution, which closely resembled that of the North American union and which gave a most complete victory to the federative system. Eighteen states, independent of one another in their internal political and legislative life, composed the confederated republic of the United States of Venezuela, with a president and congress at Caracas as the highest central authority, and with laws and institutions as in the United States of North America (1864). But the state, by this division of the whole into many single parts, was distracted by revolution and civil dissensions, which, nevertheless, were restricted to a smaller circle and hinged mostly upon a change of persons in authority and upon private interests.^b

The period of revolutions and civil wars continued until 1870, at the end of which year Guzman Blanco, the leader of the federalists, was made provisional president, and three years later he was elected constitutional president. For the next fifteen years the actual power was in his hands, although according to the terms of the constitution he could hold only alternate presidencies. This period was one of material advance to the country.

BOUNDARY DISPUTE

The question of the boundary of British Guiana was one of old standing. In the latter part of the thirties Sir Robert Schomburgk had mapped the boundary, and in 1841 he was sent again to survey the line, Venezuela immediately sending a special minister to England to object. In 1876 the dispute was reopened by Venezuela's offer to accept the line proposed by Lord Aberdeen, terminating on the coast at the Rio Morocco, near Cape Nassau. This offer was refused and the question remained open. In 1879 it was claimed that the British made a naval demonstration at the mouth of the Orinoco, to which the United States in the following year objected, intimating that the United States government "could not look with indifference on the forcible acquisition of such territory by England."

In the same year the constitution was modified so as to give more power to the central government and to take away much from the separate states. Lord Granville offered a new line, coinciding inland with the Aberdeen line of 1844, but demanding much more of the coast than the Morocco line, though making no claim to the mouth of the Orinoco. The Venezuela government refused this line, which was the least favourable thus far offered to it, and on November 15th, 1883, Venezuela formally proposed arbitration, and in 1885 Granville agreed, but on June 24th, before the agreement was signed, he went out of office and was replaced by Salisbury, who refused his consent to the convention. By this time relations were becoming greatly strained; both Great Britain and Venezuela accused each other of occupying the territory in dispute, contrary to the agreement of 1850. In December, 1886, Secretary Bayard offered the arbitration of the United States, and the pope also offered to arbitrate. But Great Britain refused both offers. Guzman Blanco, before resigning, brought the boundary question to a head by insisting on British evacuation of the disputed territory before February 20th, 1887, so that diplomatic relations were broken off in 1887. Meanwhile

[1887-1896 A.D.]

Blanco went to Europe with plenipotentiary powers, settled in Paris, and enriched himself by selling Venezuelan concessions.

In 1889 there was a revolt against the rule of Blanco and scenes of riot ensued in the capital, statues and portraits of Blanco being destroyed wherever found. In 1890 Andueza Palacio became president by congressional proclamation, and in the same year an attempt was made to revise the constitution. The amendments proposed lengthened the president's term to four years, and extended the power of the president and of the congress by cutting down the powers of the states. Palacio urged the immediate proclamation of the new constitution, so that his term might be lengthened, and, meeting with opposition, resorted to violent measures, which led to a rising against him, headed by the ex-presidents, Joaquin Crespo and Rojas Paul.

The fighting began early in April, and by the middle of June Palacio was hemmed in at Caracas, and resigned in favour of Guillermo Tell Villegas, Domingo Monagas and Julio F. Sarra becoming actual leaders of the liberals. On October 5th the decisive battle of San Pedro gave the victory to Crespo and the legalists. Caracas was occupied by the Crespists on October 7th, and on the 10th Crespo was chosen provisional president by proclamation. His authority was recognised by the United States two weeks afterwards. On May 2nd, 1893, the constituent assembly met, drew up a new constitution, made Crespo provisional president, and gave the control of public property, such as lands or mines, to the central government, although they were formerly controlled by the states. In October Crespo was regularly elected president, extending from February 20th, 1894, to February 20th, 1898.

In 1895 the boundary question was brought to a crisis. A party of Venezuelan officers without authorisation arrested, at Yuran, in April, two British police officers, Barnes and Baker, who were released, however, as soon as the arrest was reported in Caracas. England claimed an indemnity in October, and proposed arbitration afterwards; Venezuela denied the claim and refused the offer, since each implied British possession of Yuran. On July 20th United States Secretary of State Olney vigorously protested against Great Britain's "indefinite but confessedly very large" claim, urged arbitration as a means of solution, and applied the Monroe Doctrine to the case. In reply, Lord Salisbury denied that the Monroe Doctrine had any relation to modern politics and that it had ever been recognised by any government save that of the United States. He stated the arguments for the British claim, at the same time refusing to arbitrate, except as to the ownership of the territory west of the Schomburgk line. To Salisbury's two notes of November 26th President Cleveland replied by a message to congress, dated December 17th, "practically stating that any attempt on the part of the British government to enforce its claims upon Venezuela without resort to arbitration would be considered as a *casus belli* by his government." The congress of the United States authorised the president to appoint a commission to report the actual line between British Guiana and Venezuela. Meanwhile in Venezuela itself Rojas Paul raised a revolution against Crespo, but met with little success, the people being unanimous in support of the government because of its foreign difficulties.

In 1896 the Venezuelan government created a commission to prepare the case for an arbitrating tribunal. Lord Salisbury refused the terms suggested by the United States for the formation of such a tribunal, and insisted on a settlement of the claim for damages because of the arrest of Barnes, the

British colonial police officer. To this Venezuela acceded, stipulating that her territorial claims should not be surrendered thereby. On May 22nd Salisbury suggested a commission composed of two British subjects and two American citizens, who should consider the historical documents bearing on the boundary and make recommendations to Great Britain and Venezuela, by which they should be bound, except in cases where British or Venezuelan settlements had been made before January 1st, 1887. This programme of partial arbitration did not meet with Olney's approval. Finally, on November 12th, unrestricted arbitration was agreed upon, with the understanding that in any instance fifty years of occupation should give title. Thereupon the American commission resigned without making a report, and the tribunal was appointed.

The arbitration treaty was signed in Washington on February 2nd, 1897, and ratified by the Venezuelan congress on April 5th, and diplomatic relations, after ten years' interval, were renewed between Venezuela and Great Britain. Crespo refused his official sanction to any candidate for the presidency, but practically gave the backing of the administration to the liberal candidate, Ignacio Andrade, who represented Venezuela in Washington, and who was almost unanimously elected. With Andrade's accession to the presidency, the revolts which had begun in a desultory way the year before broke out with more violence. Crespo was mortally wounded in a battle with General Hernandez in Zamora, but Hernandez was taken prisoner and the revolution momentarily crushed on June 12th, 1898. In this year a regular steamship service between Italy and Venezuela was established, and Italian immigration began.

The boundary dispute with England was finally settled in 1899. The Anglo-Venezuelan boundary tribunal on October 3rd delivered a unanimous award, granting to Great Britain almost exactly the territory included by the old Schomburgk line, much less than had been claimed by Great Britain for many years.

PRESIDENCY OF CASTRO

In the following February Ramon Guerra headed a revolution against Andrade, which did not grow to serious proportions, but opened the way for a rising led by General Cipriano Castro. He captured Valencia, September 15th, 1900, shut Andrade up in Caracas, and, after negotiating for the peaceful surrender of the executive, entered the city on October 21st. Two days afterwards he became provisional president. There were a few abortive revolutions, but in July Castro proclaimed a general amnesty. In August the Venezuelan federation was divided into fifteen states and one federal district.

On October 29th, 1901, Castro was declared constitutional president for six years by a congress which drew up a new constitution. The Colombian government backed the opposition to Castro in Venezuela, and he in turn apparently aided the Colombian liberals in their plans to revolt, the border between the states being zealously watched by either army. In August the Venezuelan army openly clashed with the British occupants of Patos. In October a mob in Puerto Cabello maltreated the crew of a German man-of-war. Castro's attitude was unyielding in all these matters as in the quarrel with Colombia, which he refused to arbitrate unless Colombia first paid damages for the invasion of Venezuelan territory. At the time of Castro's election, which was no doubt largely due to the administration's control of the machinery of elections, rebellion on the part of his nationalist opponents

[1902-1903 A.D.]

broke out all over the country, but the regular army stood by Castro and was generally victorious. During this year Germany, to facilitate forcible collection of her claims in Venezuela and to prevent American interference, officially recognised the Monroe Doctrine.

In 1902 the revolution under Monagas still dragged on, but won small advantage until August, when the rebels captured Barcelona and Puerto Cabello. In the middle of October the tide again turned. Castro won the battle of La Victoria and put down the rising after an engagement lasting a week. General Matos escaped to Curaçoa. Meanwhile foreign claims for damages during the civil wars of the last five years had become insistent. France's claims were settled by a mixed commission. Germany's claims were for railroad loans and unpaid interest thereon, as well as for property damaged by revolution. The British claims were largely for damages to coasting vessels from Trinidad captured as smugglers by the Venezuelan government. The Venezuelan authorities made a counter claim against Great Britain for permitting the *Ban Righ* or *Liberator*, a British vessel bought by Colombia, to go to sea at a time when Colombia and Venezuela were practically at war. Germany and Great Britain united to force their claims by a "peaceful blockade" beginning on December 10th. Italy joined the blockade on the 11th. On the 13th Castro offered through the United States government at Washington to arbitrate the claims. Secretary Hay objected to the "peaceful blockade," and the British ministry replied by admitting a state of war. Germany, Great Britain, and Italy agreed to the proffered plan of arbitration, but there was some difficulty in deciding who should arbitrate. On December 31st, however, President Castro accepted as arbitrator the Hague tribunal. But the powers, having no guarantee that Venezuela would stand by the decision of the Hague tribunal, refused to raise the blockade, which was rendered ineffective by the opening of the Colombian frontier on January 16th. Immediately afterwards Germany shelled Fort San Carlos at the entrance of Lake Maracaibo. Germany's action was also extreme as regards her demands for a cash payment before the raising of the blockade. February 11th Germany got \$340,000 and Great Britain and Italy \$27,500 each, and three days later the blockade was lifted. By the final agreement the amount of all claims was left to mixed commissions; the arbitrator selected by the czar was only to decide whether the blockading claimants were to get preferential treatment, and, if so, what such treatment should be.

In May, 1903, Matos again unsuccessfully led the insurgents against Castro. The insurgents, commanded by General Antonio Ramos, were forced to surrender on July 26th, and in September Castro announced that the country was at peace.^a

NEW GRANADA OR COLOMBIA

Still more stormy than in Venezuela was the period following the revolution in New Granada, which since September 20th, 1861, has been called the "United States of Colombia." Here liberal, clerical, and military revolutions followed one another in quick succession and kept the land in an almost uninterrupted turmoil. The Bolivianos, *i.e.*, the followers of Bolivar, who had defended his dictatorial power in the last years, disputed the presidency with the patriots or liberals. When, after a long struggle, the latter gained the victory (1839), the former raised a revolt under General Obando, in consequence of which the republic for two years was given up to all the tempests

of a passionate civil war, and Cartagena and other provinces broke loose. Not until the forties, during the presidencies of generals Herran and Mosquera, who were animated by a spirit of moderation, did more peaceful times ensue. The constitution was reformed, the ruined financial system brought into order, and institutions established for instruction, commerce, and the general prosperity and safety.

After a few years, however (1853), the democrats under José Hilario Lopez and José Maria Obando gained the upper hand and enforced a decentralising constitution, according to which it was to be permitted to every province, with the assent of congress, to declare itself an independent state and to enter a confederation with the mother state, New Granada. This happened in the case of Panama and Antioquia. At the end of the fifties new revolts broke out, and Mosquera, a man of an old Spanish family, abandoned his hitherto moderate attitude, and, out of envy and jealousy of the powerful president Mariano Ospina, a lawyer with constitutional opinions, gathered democrats and radicals under his flag and led them to battle against the central government in Bogota. The end of the civil war, which lasted several years, and during which Bogota was captured and burned and several of the most influential officials and citizens were executed, was a new constitution, in a federal sense, in consequence of which the republic of New Granada by a compact of union was reconstituted into the United States of Colombia.

During this confused period Mosquera had for eighteen months wielded a dictatorial power, which he resigned to the constitutional assembly at Bogota after having used it for terroristic measures against the conservatives and clericals. A few years later (1866) he was elected president of the confederated republic by the adherents of his party, and this election did not tend to calm the political excitement. The Spanish-American people seem to lack the devotion to law and constitution and the power of subjecting the individual will to that of the whole, which are necessary in an organised state. The struggle between the adherents of a loose confederation and the supporters of a unified republic continued or broke out anew after short pauses, and in the single states themselves the party struggles often led to complete anarchy. Especially in Panama the desire was manifested to become separated from Colombia and to form an independent republic.^b

STRUGGLES BETWEEN CENTRALISTS AND DECENTRALISTS

Mosquera's doctrine upheld the right of the central government to interfere in suppressing revolutions in the separate states; he quarrelled with his congress in consequence, and in 1867 assumed dictatorial powers. He was overthrown, however, and succeeded as president in 1868 by Gutierrez, during whose tenure of office insurrections in different parts of the country continued.

In 1870 General Salgar became president, and during his administration public education was taken out of the hands of the clergy and placed under state control. Revolutions occurred in the states of Boyaca and Panama. In 1872 Manuel Murillo-Toro was elected president for a second term and devoted himself with some success to the reorganisation of the finances. Murillo was succeeded after two years by Santiago Perez, under whom took place the beginnings of the civil war which was to sweep over the whole country. In 1876 Aquileo Perra became president, and armed opposition broke out immediately. The clericals controlled the states of Antioquia

[1876-1902 A.D.]

and Tolima, and fighting took place in Cauca. The government, however, succeeded in raising recruits enough to quell the revolts, and in 1878 the liberal president Trujillo was installed. The finances of the country were in so bad a way that it was necessary to suspend the payment of interest on the foreign debt.

In 1880 Rafael Nuñez, nominally a liberal, became president, and set himself to better the financial conditions of the country. An attempt was made to settle the boundary dispute between Costa Rica and Colombia by European arbitration. In 1882 Francisco Laldúa became president, but died before the end of the year. In the next year the question of the boundary between Colombia and Venezuela was submitted to the arbitration of Spain, the decision being finally given in 1891.

In 1884 Nuñez again became president, but as he was abroad at the time he entered office by proxy. Nuñez had been supposed to favour the policy of the liberal party, but when it was discovered that he held centralist views he was opposed by the liberals, and in 1885 civil war broke out. A decisive battle was fought at Calamar in July, and the insurgents surrendered in August.

During the disturbance the United States landed troops at Panama and Colon to protect traffic across the isthmus. A new constitution was adopted in August, 1886, according to which the states of the confederation became departments governed by persons appointed by the president. The sovereignty of the individual departments was denied, and the term of the presidential office was extended to six years. To show this change in the system of government the name United States of Colombia was changed to Republic of Colombia. Nuñez became president under the constitution in 1886, and in 1892 he was re-elected, but on account of his ill health Holguín, and afterwards Caro, performed the actual duties of administration. Nuñez died on September 18th, 1894, and the vice-president, Caro, became president. In 1895 there was a successful rising in Boyacá, headed by the liberals, and the revolt soon became general, but was put down without much difficulty.

In 1898 San Clemente, a strong conservative, was elected president, with José Manuel Marroquín as vice-president. The next year the liberals instituted another revolt, which involved the whole country, and especially Panama, where American marines were again landed to protect the railroad. In 1900 Marroquín became president and imprisoned San Clemente, who died in prison. The year following the revolution received aid from Venezuela. Venezuelan troops attacked the forces of the conservative Colombian government; Colombian troops invaded Venezuela, and President Castro recognized the Colombian insurgents as belligerents. In November, 1901, the United States again landed marines to protect the railway in Panama, and on November 18th the Hay-Pauncefote Treaty, abrogating the Clayton-Bulwer Treaty and giving the United States right of control in time of war of an isthmian canal, was signed, being ratified by the United States senate on December 16th. In 1902 the revolutionary struggle centred in Panama. Uribe was unsuccessful in his attack on Bogotá, but the insurgents captured Aguadulce and turned their attention to Panama and Colon, whereupon the United States naval officers forbade any fighting along the line of the railway, and use of the line was withdrawn from government troops. Peace was restored in the last month of the year, and a general amnesty was proclaimed on December 10th. The next year, however, another revolution in Panama succeeded in establishing the independence of that country, which was immediately recognised by the United States and by the other powers. Colombia

protested without avail against the landing of United States troops in Panama. In December, 1903, General Reyes was elected president, and in 1905 a convention extended the presidential term from four to ten years.

PANAMA AND THE PANAMA CANAL

In 1868 negotiations were opened with Washington for the purpose of building a canal across the isthmus of Panama, and in January, 1869, a treaty between Colombia and the United States of North America was signed for the construction of the Darien or Panama ship canal, at the expense of the latter power; but the Colombian senate did not ratify the treaty, its object being, says a contemporary document, to "get as much money from the United States as could be."

In 1870 the Colombian congress amended the Darien Canal Bill and adopted it; but these amendments, together with the ill success of the surveying expedition sent out by the United States, made the scheme seem no longer practical.

On March 23rd, 1878, the Colombian government approved a contract with Bonaparte Wyse, of the Civil International Inter-oceanic Canal Society, which had been founded in France, to whom it granted the "exclusive privilege for the excavating of a canal between the two oceans," the privilege to last for ninety-nine years, and the canal to be finished within twelve years after the organisation of the company. The terminal ports and the waters of the canal were declared neutral. The next year Ferdinand de Lesseps took the matter up, and an international congress was convened at Paris for the purpose of considering the plan of a canal. After the adjournment of this congress the Panama Canal Company was organised with De Lesseps as president, and purchased the Wyse concession for the price of 10,000,000 francs. Work upon the canal was begun in 1884 and was continued until 1899, being managed with a degree of corruption which has become notorious. In 1889 the company became bankrupt, was declared in liquidation, and was put into the hands of a liquidator.

As the time limit set for the completion of the canal by the Wyse concession had nearly expired, the concession to the French Isthmian Canal Company was renewed in December, 1890, by Nuñez. The time limit for its completion was extended ten years, on the condition that work be resumed before March 1st, 1893, by a new company, paying 10,000,000 francs in gold and 5,000,000 in shares. In 1893 a new concession was made to the liquidator of the canal company, extending for one year the date of the formation of the new company. Work on the canal began again in the Culebra section on October 1st, and on the 21st a new company was incorporated in Paris. The canal company devoted its energies to improving the harbour at Colon, as well as to working on the Culebra cut.

In the mean time the United States had begun to take an interest in the canal, a route through Nicaragua being considered as well as the Panama route. In 1884 a treaty was negotiated with Nicaragua for the building of a canal at the expense of the United States, but was not ratified by the senate. In 1886 the Nicaragua Canal Association was formed in New York city by private citizens for the purpose of obtaining the necessary concessions and for building the canal. Concessions were obtained from Nicaragua and from Costa Rica, and in 1889 the company was organised after an act of congress authorising the incorporation of the association. Work upon

[1890-1904 A.D.]

the canal was begun in the same year and was continued until 1893, when the company went into bankruptcy. In 1899 congress appointed a commission to examine all possible routes for a canal, and this commission reported that the canal across Panama could be constructed with less expense than the Nicaragua canal if the French company could be bought out for a reasonable sum. It was found that the French company was willing to sell its assets at \$40,000,000, the value placed upon them by the commission, and in 1902 the United States senate passed the Spooner Act, providing for the construction of the Panama canal, or if this should be impossible (since the French company might prove to have no title, or the Colombian government might refuse its approval) that the Nicaragua canal be built. On October 25th the attorney-general of the United States gave his opinion that the new Panama Canal Company had title, and could legally transfer its title to the strip and to the canal as partially constructed. But negotiations with Señor Concha, the Colombian minister to the United States, were required, for the Salgar-Wyse concession of 1878 expressly forbade the *cessionnaires* to transfer their rights to any foreign nation or government. These negotiations were unsuccessful, and on November 25th Concha practically informed Secretary Hay that Colombia refused the offer of \$10,000,000 down and \$100,000 (or \$125,000) a year. The Colombian opposition seemed plainly a mere matter of price, and Señor Concha was recalled by his government, which apparently took the attitude that his delay had been for his personal ends.

The Hay-Herran Treaty, signed on January 22nd, 1903, with Herran, the Colombian *chargé d'affaires* in Washington, in accordance with which the Panama concession was sold by the Colombian Republic for \$10,000,000 down and \$250,000 annually, was definitely rejected by the Colombian senate on August 12th, and on September 12th the time for ratification expired. At this point matters were taken out of the hands of Colombia, and on November 3rd there was an insurrection on the isthmus which immediately and peaceably gained control of the department and proclaimed the independence of Panama. The United States recognised the provisional government as the *de facto* government and landed marines to protect the trans-isthmian commerce, thus making it impossible for the Colombian troops to strike a blow at the insurgents in Panama. Marroquin strongly protested against the action of the United States, which he interpreted as connivance in the plot against the Colombian central government and as a direct infringement of the treaty of 1846, and he urged the Latin-American republics to make common cause with him in a war on the United States of North America. In the last week of November Marroquin sent General Rafael Reyes to Washington to appeal for Colombia's ownership of Panama, or for the release of such ownership on receipt of a compensation from the United States. He was well received, but was given clearly to understand that the United States was determined to abide by what had been done; and, the independence of Panama having been recognized by the principal powers, it would be impossible to open negotiations with Colombia concerning the suppression of that republic.

In the mean time negotiations had been concluded between Panama and the United States for the building of the canal, and on November 18th the Isthmian Canal Treaty was signed at Washington, according to which the United States was to give to Panama \$10,000,000, and to the French Canal Company \$40,000,000. This treaty was ratified by the senate in February, 1904, and the president almost immediately appointed a commission to push the work.

PERU

Of all the republics of southern and central America, Peru was the only one which had not been able to obtain the recognition of its independence from Spain. After the Spaniards had given up their last position—Callao—after their defeat at Ayacucho, and had evacuated the country, the history of Peru for twenty years offered a dismal picture of revolutions and civil wars which hindered the development of the country, undermined prosperity, and brought no benefits in recompense. Selfish and ambitious party leaders fought for the supremacy, being led by personal and selfish motives with no higher aims. Not till the forties was a better period ushered in by the presidency of Ramon Castilla, who exerted himself to establish an organised government (1845). At the expiration of his term of office the highest state authority went over to the legally elected successor for the first time in the history of the republic. This successor was Don José Rufino Echenique, who, more of a general than a statesman, brought the republic into warlike entanglements with Ecuador, and fought successfully with the confederated states for the possession of the Lobos Islands, which were rich in guano. But before his term of office was completed, in consequence of the diminishing of the rate of interest on the national debt, a revolt broke out, which, coinciding with a war with Bolivia, soon endangered the position of the government. Castilla, the leader of the insurgents, conquered Lima, gained the presidency, and caused a revision of the constitution which finally led to a new state law.^b

In 1860 Miguel San Roman became president, but upon his death was succeeded by Pezet, the vice-president. In 1864 the Spanish fleet seized the Chincha Islands as surety for Spanish claims against Peru for the murder of some Basque workmen. In this year Great Britain's claim on Peru for the imprisonment of Captain T. Melville White was referred to the senate of Hamburg, but was disallowed. Pezet, after much delay, made an arrangement with the Spanish fleet on January 27th, 1865, by which a part of the claim was recognised. This arrangement was regarded as dishonourable; an opposition was begun, with Colonel Mariano Ignacio Prado at its head, and Pezet, rather than plunge the country in civil war, left for England. Prado declared war on Spain, allied himself with Chili, and in May, 1866, the Spanish fleet was forced to retire. Prado's position, however, as chief magistrate was unconstitutional, and he was obliged to give way to Canseco, second vice-president and legal successor of Pezet. In 1868, Balta, who had headed an insurrection in the north the year before, was made president. With Balta's administration began a period of peace and of reckless loans for public works, especially for railroads and forts. In 1871 there were two unsuccessful revolts against Balta's rule, and on July 26th, 1872, Balta was assassinated by the agents of Gutierrez, whom the president blocked in a projected *coup d'état* and who was immediately killed by the people. The constitutional government continued, and Manuel Pardo was regularly elected president on August 2nd. Pardo at once attempted to meet the tremendous obligations created by Balta's internal policy. In this year the czar of Russia was requested to pass on Peru's claims against Japan for the seizure of the *Maria Luz*. In February, 1873, Bolivia and Peru united to prevent Chili from seizing the valuable nitrate deposits, and in 1874 a treaty with China was signed regulating coolie immigration.

[1875-1881 A.D.]

In 1875 the fall in the price of guano, due to artificial manures, cut into the government resources; but the state bought up the nitrate deposits and thus formed a monopoly. In this year the *Maria Luz* case was decided in favour of Japan. In 1876 General Prado was elected president. In 1879 Chili seized all Bolivian ports and made war on Peru when Peru offered to mediate. The quarrel was fixed on Peru. During the last of May and the first of June the Peruvian navy made some opposition, though against great odds, and on October 8th the *Huascar*, the only seaworthy ship in the Peruvian navy, was disabled by the two superior Chilean ironclads. The Chilean army landed at Pisagua on November 2nd, and won the battle of San Francisco on the 18th. One month later, President Prado left the country, of which Pierola, as the result of a revolution, assumed control as supreme chief on December 23rd. The blockade was kept up and the province containing the coveted nitrate soon seized.^a

POLITICAL HISTORY SINCE 1880

The victory of the Chileans over the combined forces of Peru and Bolivia at Tacna on June 7th, 1880, marked the close of the second stage of the war which had broken out in April of 1879. In November, 1880, the Chileans began to make preparations for the landing of an army to attack the Peruvian capital. The Peruvians meanwhile had not been idle. After the crushing defeat at Arica every effort was made to put Lima in an effectual state of defence. Under the direction of Señor Nicolas de Pierola, who had assumed dictatorial powers after the departure of General Prado to Europe, all the remaining strength of Peru was organised for resistance. The military command was confided to General Andres Caceres. The Peruvian army at this juncture numbered twenty-six thousand men of the line and eighteen thousand in the reserves. The defensive measures inspired great confidence, both Señor Pierola and General Caceres considering the position of Lima practically impregnable. At daybreak on January 13th, 1881, the Chilean attack began, and the action soon became general throughout the whole length of the Peruvian first line of defence. The Chilean troops carried the trenches at the point of the bayonet after repeated charges, and at midday the defenders were forced to fall back upon the second line of fortifications. In this engagement, known as the battle of Chorrillos, the Chilean loss was eight hundred killed and twenty-five hundred wounded; the Peruvian, five thousand killed, four thousand wounded, and two thousand prisoners. On the following day an attempt was made by the diplomatic representatives of foreign governments in Lima to negotiate peace, but it proved abortive. On January 15th, at two in the afternoon, the final struggle of the war, known as the battle of Miraflores, commenced, and continued for some four hours. The Chileans were again victorious, and carried the second line of defence, thus success placing Lima completely at their mercy. At the battle of Miraflores the Chilean losses were five hundred killed and sixteen hundred and twenty-five wounded; the Peruvian, three thousand, including killed and wounded. On January 17th a division of four thousand Chilean troops under command of General Saavedra entered Lima under instructions from the Chilean commander-in-chief to occupy the city and restore order within the municipal limits.

Desultory fighting was now maintained by the remnants of the Peruvian army in the interior, under direction of General Caceres, against Chilean authority. The Chilean occupation of Lima and the Peruvian seaboard

continued uninterruptedly until 1883. In that year Admiral Lynch, who had replaced General Baquedano in command of the Chilian forces after the taking of Lima, sent an expedition against the Peruvians under General Caceres, and defeated the latter in the month of August. The Chilian authorities now began preparations for the evacuation of Lima, and to enable this measure to be effected a Peruvian administration was organised with the support of the Chilians. General Iglesias was nominated to the office of president of the republic, and in October, 1883, a treaty of peace, known as the Treaty of Ancon, between Peru and Chili was signed. The army of occupation was withdrawn from Lima on October 22nd, 1883, but a strong Chilian force was maintained at Chorrillos until July, 1884, when the terms of the treaty were finally approved. The principal conditions imposed by Chili were the absolute cession by Peru of the province of Tarapacá and the occupation for a period of ten years of the territories of Tacna and Arica, the ownership of these districts to be decided by a popular vote of the inhabitants of Tacna and Arica at the expiration of the period named. A further condition was enacted that an indemnity of 10,000,000 soles was to be paid by the country finally remaining in possession—a sum equal to about £1,000,000 to-day. The Peruvians in the interior refused to recognise the validity of the nomination of President Iglesias, and at once began active operations to overthrow his authority on the final departure of the Chilian troops. A series of skirmishes now took place between the men in the country under Caceres and the supporters of the administration in Lima. Affairs continued in this unsettled state until the middle of 1885, Caceres meanwhile steadily gaining many adherents to his side of the quarrel. In the latter part of 1885 President Iglesias found his position, after some severe fighting in Lima, impossible, and he abdicated his office, leaving the field clear for Caceres and his friends to assume the administration of public affairs. In the following year (1886), General Caceres was elected president of the republic for the usual term of four years. The task assumed by the new president was no sinecure. The disasters suffered in the war with Chili had thrown the country into absolute confusion from a political and administrative point of view. Gradually, however, order in the official departments was restored, and peaceful conditions were reconstituted throughout the republic.

The four years of office for which General Caceres was elected passed in uneventful fashion, and in 1890 Señor Morales Bermudez was nominated to the presidency, with Señor Solar and Señor Borgoño as first and second vice-presidents. Matters continued without alteration from the normal course until 1894, and in that year President Bermudez died suddenly a few months before the expiration of the period for which he had been chosen as president. General Caceres, who was the power behind the scenes, brought influence to bear to secure the nomination of Vice-President Borgoño to act as chief of the executive for the unexpired portion of the term of the late president Bermudez. Armed resistance to the authority of President Borgoño was immediately organised in the south of Peru. In the month of August, 1894, General Caceres was again elected to fill the office of president, but the revolutionary movement set afoot against President Borgoño was continued against his successor, and rapidly gained ground. President Caceres adopted energetic measures to suppress the outbreak; his efforts, however, proved unavailing, the close of 1894 finding the country districts in the power of the rebels and the authority of the legal government confined to Lima and other principal cities held by strong garrisons. A concentration of the revolutionary forces was now made upon the city of Lima, and early in March, 1895, the

[1895-1904 A.D.]

insurgents encamped near the outskirts of the town. On March 17th, 18th, and 19th severe fighting took place, ending in the defeat of the troops under General Caceres. A suspension of hostilities was then brought about by the efforts of the British consul, Mr. St. John. The loss on both sides to the struggle during these two days was twenty-eight hundred between killed and wounded. President Caceres, finding his cause was lost, left the country, a provisional government under Señor Candamo assuming the direction of public affairs. On September 8th, 1895, Señor Pierola was declared to be duly elected as president of the republic for the following four years. The Peruvians were now heartily tired of revolutionary disturbances, and the administration of President Pierola promised to be peaceful and advantageous to the country. In 1896 a reform of the electoral law was sanctioned. Revolutionary troubles again disturbed the country in 1899, when the presidency of Señor Pierola was drawing to a close. In consequence of dissensions amongst the members of the election committee constituted by the Act of 1896, the president ordered the suppression of this body. In September, 1899, President Pierola vacated the presidency in favour of Señor Romaña, who had been elected to the office as a popular candidate and without the exercise of any undue official influence.^c Romaña was succeeded in 1903 by Manuel Candamo, and after the latter's death in 1904 Dr. Serapio Caldero held the office temporarily until in a special election Dr. José was chosen.^a

The principal political problem before the government of Peru at the opening of the twentieth century was the question with Chili of the ownership of the territories of Tacna and Arica. The period of ten years originally agreed upon for the Chilian occupation of these provinces expired in 1894. At that date the peace of Peru was so seriously disturbed by internal troubles that the government was quite unable to take active steps to bring about any solution of the matter. Since 1894 negotiations between the two governments have been attempted from time to time, but without any satisfactory results. The question hinges to a great extent on the qualification necessary for the inhabitants to vote, in the event of a plebiscite being called to decide whether Chilian ownership be finally established or the provinces revert to Peruvian sovereignty. It is not so much the value of Tacna and Arica that makes the present difficulties in the way of a settlement, as it is that the national pride of the Peruvians ill brooks the idea of permanently losing all claim to this section of country. The money, about £1,000,000, could probably be obtained to indemnify Chili, if occasion for it arose.

The question of the delimitation of the frontier between Peru and the neighbouring republics of Ecuador, Colombia, and Brazil has also cropped up at intervals. A treaty was signed with Brazil as far back as 1876 by which certain physical features were accepted by both countries as the basis for the boundary, but nothing has been accomplished towards definitely surveying the proposed line of limits. In a treaty signed by the three interested states in 1895 a compromise was effected by which Colombia withdrew a part of the claim advanced, and it was agreed that any further differences arising out of this frontier question should be submitted to the arbitration of the Spanish crown.^c

CHILI

Chili, the long coast land stretching between the Andes and the Pacific, had the advantage of a more stable political organisation than the other South American republics. However, even Chili was not free from civil

disturbances. From the time (1817) when General San Martín with emigrant Chilians and auxiliary troops from La Plata, starting from Mendoza, crossed the pass of Uspallata over the Andes, and, a year afterwards, conquered the Spaniards, surprised by this bold march, in a desperate fight at Chacabuco on the Mayo river, until the year 1826, when General Freire conquered the island of Chiloe, the last standpoint of the Spanish government, Chili also was torn by party struggles.^b

On May 2nd, 1826, after a series of political broils and constitutional changes, Freire resigned from the presidency. Pinto succeeded him on the 8th. At the end of the year there were complications with Great Britain.

The congress of 1828 drew up a liberal constitution. Revolts, especially of the conservative party, followed. Pinto resigned in July of the following year, was re-elected, and again resigned on November 2nd. A revolution headed by General Prieto opposed the government of Vicuña and occupied Santiago in December. By this time the conservatives controlled Santiago, and by 1830 all Chili. Prieto became president in 1831. In 1832 General Bulnes suppressed the Pincheiras, and the same year the silver deposits of Copiapo and Chañarcillo were discovered. The year following Portales, a conservative, became governor of Valparaíso. The next three years were occupied with a war which Chili waged successfully against the Peruvian-Bolivian confederacy. On June 6th, 1837, Portales was shot. In 1841 a steamship line between Valparaíso and Callao began running and a foreign commerce was built up. Prieto's second five-year term ended, and he was succeeded September 18th, 1841, by Bulnes, who proclaimed a political amnesty, but showed himself in general a conservative (*Pelucon*). In 1842 Valparaíso was made a province. The colony of Punta Arenas was established on the straits of Magellan in 1843, and the University of Chili founded in Santiago. Atacama also became a province in this year. The year following (1844) Spain recognized by a treaty the independence of the republic.

The discovery of gold in California in 1849 made a great Pacific market for Chilian wheat. In 1851 Manuel Montt succeeded Bulnes as president. In 1858 the liberals and anti-administration conservatives united. Martial law was proclaimed in the middle of December. In September, 1859, the principal liberal leaders were banished.

In 1861 Perez succeeded Montt as president, at a time of financial depression due to the failure of Chilian breadstuffs to compete with those of California and Australia. Perez's policy was to unite the conservatives and the moderate liberals, with the result that the Montt-Varistas and the radicals also united. The year following the Araucanian Indians set up an empire, led by a Frenchman, who was speedily captured by the Chilian authorities. In 1865 the liberals succeeded in passing a law permitting the exercise of religions other than the Roman Catholic. Spain demanded satisfaction from Chili and blockaded the Chilian ports. Peru and Chili formed in 1866 an alliance against Spain. After numerous engagements and destruction of property, the Spanish fleet withdrew, leaving the demands of Spain unsatisfied. Soon after this Perez was re-elected, defeating the *Pelucon* candidate, Bulnes. The policy of colonising the Araucanian frontier was carried on. Bolivia granted Chili the territory in dispute between them as far as the 24th parallel, with half the customs between the 23rd and 24th parallels.

The discovery of the Caracoles silver mines in 1870 opened up the question of the Bolivian boundary. In 1871 the conservative candidate, Errazuriz, was elected. In this year also the constitution was revised, the most important change being the prohibition of the re-election of the president. In 1872

[1873-1903 A.D.]

Ramirez discovered guano at the straits of Magellan, and so raised the question of the Argentine boundary. In 1873 Bolivia and Peru made a secret treaty guaranteeing mutual protection against the attacks of Chili, and in 1874 Chili and Bolivia agreed that Chili's claim to half duty from Bolivian ports should be exchanged for twenty-five years' freedom from taxation for all Chilean industries in Bolivia. The following year Peru roused Chilean hostility by an attempt to monopolise the Tarapaca nitrate beds in which Chilean capital was interested.

In 1876 Anibal Pinto was elected president. Two years later the Bolivian government refused to be bound by the terms of the treaty of 1874 unless Chili paid a tax of ten cents a quintal on all nitrates. On March 1st, 1879, war was declared by Bolivia. Peru's offer to mediate was refused by Chili, which declared war against Peru. This war terminated in 1884 with a treaty favourable to Peru.

In 1886 José Manuel Balmaceda was elected president. He gradually lost the support of all parties save the office-holders, and on January 7th, 1891, civil war broke out, the navy and the congress opposing the army and the president. After a decisive victory of the revolutionary party, Balmaceda took refuge with the Argentine consul, and committed suicide on the last day of his term. Jorge Montt, head of the revolutionary junta, became president, and a general amnesty was declared December 25th. On October 16th, 1891, a sailor of the United States navy was killed by a mob in Valparaiso. The United States pressed on Chili the necessity of reparation, and in 1892 the Chilean government replied satisfactorily. In 1893 a Chilean Claims Commission was constituted to settle all claims between Chilean and American citizens. The newly elected congress decreed the resumption of specie payments on January 1st, 1896. The municipalities received from congress full self-governing powers. The gold standard was established February 11th, 1895. In 1896 Errazuriz, the government candidate, was elected president. A period of financial depression set in, due to the conversion of the paper money and to the cessation of shipments of nitrates. During 1898 financial conditions grew worse, partly because of threatening war with Argentina over the boundary. The president put the currency again on an inconvertible paper basis. Finally Chili decided to observe the Argentine agreement of 1896, and Argentina agreed. The question of the ownership of Puna de Atacama was settled in 1899 by the arbitration of the United States minister to Buenos Ayres, who gave one fourth of the disputed territory to Chili. Errazuriz quarrelled with congress over his cabinet (the last of thirty during his administration) and resigned in May, 1901. Riesco was elected president. In November the conversion of the paper currency, which was to have begun January 1st, 1902, was postponed to October, 1903. The Chilean lower house refused its assent to the Billingshurst-Latorre protocol as to the method of the plebiscite on the Tacna-Arica provinces. A new boundary dispute arose with Argentina as to the possession of Ultima Esperanza. Chili refused to be a member of the Pan-American congress unless the plan for compulsory arbitration between all American governments should be understood as referring only to the future. In 1902 Colombia and Ecuador joined Chili in objection to the Pan-American scheme of retroactive compulsory arbitration, and a treaty was signed between Chili and Colombia. A severe cabinet crisis followed the draft on the conversion reserve to pay for new war-ships. In January, 1903, congress voted to consider the tenders to build the trans-Andean railway. Strikes took place in May, necessitating the proclamation of martial law. Grave ministerial

[1831-1886 A.D.]

difficulties ensued. In 1904 Bolivia gave up to Chili her claims to the Pacific littoral; in return Chili agreed to assume certain war claims and to build a railroad from Tacna to La Paz.^a

BOLIVIA

After the rich and fruitful land between the river Beni to the western coast region of Atacama, with the rich gold mines of Potosi, had been led to independence by Bolivar and by General Sucre and had adopted a republican representative constitution, the same sort of events took place as in the other republics—party strifes between conservatives and liberals, revolts and civil wars, changes of the constitution to suit the victorious party and its leaders. Not until Santa Cruz became president (1831) and effected an adjustment of party disputes by a new civil code did better days ensue, during which the land entered upon a period of prosperous development. Santa Cruz acted as pacificator in Peru, which was torn by internal struggles, and brought about a union between the related states in which he as protector was to stand at the head of the central power. This arrangement, however, only sowed seeds for new civil wars. The confederation had bitter opponents in both Peru and Bolivia. In Peru, General Gamarra raised the standard of revolt against the protector, and, supported by the envious Chilians, defeated him at Yungay; in Bolivia, General Velasco found so many followers that Santa Cruz found it advisable to leave the republic. Not until the Peruvians under Gamarra had taken advantage of the confusion of their neighbouring state to seize the rich district La Paz, on Lake Titicaca, did the Bolivians unite and elect General Ballivian president. After a victorious engagement on the Pampa of Ingavi, near Viacha, in which Gamarra was killed, Ballivian crossed the boundary and compelled a treaty of peace and the establishment of the former status (1841).^b

This victory definitely assured the independence of Bolivia, but a period of disunion and anarchy followed, the details of which are tiresome and confusing. As Mr. Dawson^d says: "A recital of the literally countless armed risings, and of the various individuals who exercised or claimed to exercise supreme power, would throw little light on the progress of the country." He points out that the government was always poor, having few resources of commerce or industry upon which to depend. Peru possessed the seaports, and thus had commercial control, while Chili was a dominating military power. Either one of these neighbours could bring on a revolution at will, by lending its aid to ambitious factions—and such opposing factions were always to be found amidst the turbulent creole military classes. Hence the utter instability of the government at this period. Finally, in 1848, Belzu attained to the presidency and managed to maintain himself in power for seven years, at the end of which he was succeeded by his son-in-law Cordova.

During the next fifteen years the presidency changed hands eight times, and no less than four new constitutions were promulgated. In 1876 General Daza usurped the highest power, and in 1879 led the country into a war with Chili which involved a war between Chili and Peru. Daza was deposed after the first defeat, and the troops elected Colonel Camacho to lead them in his stead. The war lasted until 1883, when Chili, completely victorious, concluded a treaty of peace with Bolivia, taking from that country the territory which had been in dispute. In 1886 a boundary treaty between Bolivia

[1886-1901 A.D.]

and Peru was drafted, by which, among other provisions, Bolivia's war debt was remitted, and an attempt made to induce Chili to allow Peru to cede to Bolivia the provinces of Tacna and Arica. In 1887 a treaty was concluded with Paraguay, settling the international boundary and arranging for Bolivian trade by the Paraguay river.^a

On May 18th, 1895, a treaty was signed at Santiago between Chili and Bolivia, "with a view to strengthening the bonds of friendship which unite the two countries," and "in accord with the higher necessity that the future development and commercial prosperity of Bolivia require her free access to the sea." By this treaty Chili declared that if, in consequence of the plebiscite (to take place under the Treaty of Ancon with Peru), or by virtue of direct arrangement, she should "acquire dominion and permanent sovereignty over the territories of Tacna and Arica, she undertakes to transfer them to Bolivia in the same form and to the same extent as she may acquire them"; the republic of Bolivia paying as an indemnity for that transfer \$5,000,000 silver. If this cession should be effected, Chili should advance her own frontier north of Camerones to Vitor, from the sea up to the frontier which actually separates that district from Bolivia. Chili also pledged herself to use her utmost endeavour, either separately or jointly with Bolivia, to obtain possession of Tacna and Arica. If she failed, she bound herself to cede to Bolivia the roadstead (*caleta*) of Vitor or another analogous one, and \$5,000,000 silver. Supplementary protocols to this treaty stipulated that the port to be ceded must "fully satisfy the present and future requirements" of the commerce of Bolivia.

On May 23rd, 1895, further treaties of peace and commerce were signed with Chili, but the provisions with regard to the cession of a seaport to Bolivia still remain unfulfilled. During those ten years of recovery on the part of Bolivia from the effects of the war the presidency was held by Doctor Pacheco, who succeeded Campero, and held office for the full term; by Doctor Aniceto Arce, who held it until 1892; and by Doctor Mariano Baptista, his successor. In 1896 Doctor Severo Alonso became president, and during his tenure of office diplomatic relations were resumed with Great Britain, Señor Aramayo being sent to London as minister plenipotentiary in July, 1897. As an outcome of his mission an extradition treaty was concluded with Great Britain in March, 1898.

In December an attempt was made to pass a law creating Sucre the perpetual capital of the republic. Until this time Sucre had taken its turn with La Paz, Cochabamba, and Oruro. La Paz rose in open revolt. On January 17th of the following year a battle was fought some forty miles from La Paz between the insurgents and the government forces, in which the latter were defeated with the loss of a colonel and forty-three men. Colonel Pando, the insurgent leader, having gained a strong following, marched upon Oruro, and entered that town on April 11th, 1899, after completely defeating the government troops. Doctor Severo Alonso took refuge in Chilean territory; and on October 26th Colonel Pando was elected constitutional president and formed a government.

Peace and prosperity for Bolivia, as well as for the two republics with whose fortunes her own are so closely allied, depend mainly on the question of her seaboard, in which Chili and Peru are also concerned, being definitely settled, and, with it, the question of boundary. In October, 1901, Tacna and Arica had not yet been invited to declare by plebiscite their willingness to become Chilean territory. Chili still waited the final settlement of her frontier with Peru, and Bolivia was still without her seaport. The feeling of sus-

pense, engendered by the uncertainty of the situation, had led to some show of impatience on the part of Chili, who seemed disposed to press for the legitimisation of her position on what was formerly Bolivian territory before the way had been cleared towards providing Bolivia with a compensating access to the sea.^e In 1904 Bolivia agreed to recognise the sovereignty of Chili over the Pacific littoral in consideration of Chili's assuming certain war claims and agreeing to construct a railroad from Tacna to La Paz. In the same year in return for \$10,000,000 Bolivia gave up to Brazil her claims to the Acre district.^a

ECUADOR

After the old Spanish province of Quito had broken away from the republic of Colombia (1830) and had constituted itself into the independent republic of Ecuador the history of the country alternated between revolution and reaction. Flores himself, the leader of the conservatives, managed to keep in power for fifteen years.

At the time when the reactionary movement was triumphing in Europe the clerical party in Ecuador gained a temporary victory, but it was of short duration. The threatening attitude of the government of New Granada gave the supremacy to the opposition. A junta constituted in Guayaquil declared the president Naboa to be deposed, and brought about his capture and exile. General José Maria Urbina, the radical leader, now [1852] took the helm as president and dictator, and established his seat in Guayaquil.^b

In 1834 General Flores' term of office as president expired, and Rocafuerte was elected; Flores¹ himself was appointed commander-in-chief of the republican forces. In January, 1835, the liberal army [under Flores] was routed and put to flight.

Rocafuerte convoked an assembly in Ambato, which elected him president in June, 1835; the same assembly confirmed the appointment of Flores as generalissimo.¹

The next twenty-five years were filled with disputes between liberals and conservatives. The only events of importance were the adoption of a penal code in 1837, the recognition of the independence of Ecuador by Spain in 1841, a convention with England for the abolition of slavery in 1847, and the adoption of the decimal system in 1858.^a

In 1861 a newly elected national assembly gave the presidency to Moreno. From that time on the conservatives remained in power for several years, and Moreno, a scholarly man of mathematical and historical knowledge, who understood various languages, took advantage of the peace to increase commerce and general prosperity. But the democrats nourished a deep hatred against him and worked continually for his downfall. However, it was not until the war broke out between Peru and Spain that Moreno was no longer able to maintain his place. After a hotly contested election, Geronimo Carrion was chosen president of Ecuador (May 1st, 1865). He, too, belonged to the conservative party, but followed a different policy and entered the alliance of Peru and Chili against the former mother country (1866).^b In 1869, however, Moreno was re-elected, this time for a term of six years.

[¹ Flores had just signed a treaty of peace with Rocafuerte, who as liberal leader had defeated him the previous year.]

[1860-1905 A.D.]

Moreno showed himself reactionary and intensely devoted to the clerical party. Nevertheless, in 1875, he was re-elected for a third term, no doubt because of the perfect governmental control of elections. On the 14th of August, just before his inauguration, he was assassinated by three private enemies among his own political following. The party of the administration broke into three factions, which were easily defeated, perhaps with a show of force, by the liberal candidate, Antonio Borrero.

The new president acted with too much moderation and too great friendliness towards the clerical party to satisfy the radicals, and under the lead of General Veintemilla they revolted in Guayaquil, and in 1876 formed a provisional government with Veintemilla as provisional president.

In October, 1882, a revolution broke out against Veintemilla, in which moderate liberals, conservatives, and clericals joined. In May of the following year Antonio Flores, son of General and President Flores, landed in Ecuador and joined the insurgents in the siege of Guayaquil, which resulted in the capture of the city on July 9th. Veintemilla escaped to Peru. A convention, meeting in October, adopted the constitution of 1861 and elected José María Placido Caamaño provisional president. General Alfaro, leader of the liberals, occupied the northern cities of Ecuador. On the 17th of February, 1884, Caamaño was proclaimed president. Liberal revolutions continued to disturb the country for a period; but meeting with no success the movement died a natural death. An attempt was made to assassinate the president, but it was unsuccessful.

Little of importance occurred in the next ten years. In 1887 the boundary dispute with Peru was referred to the queen of Spain for arbitration. In 1888 Antonio Flores was elected president to succeed Caamaño. The following year the ecclesiastical tithe was abolished, but set export tariffs were reserved to the church. In September of the same year Chinese immigration was abolished.

In 1891 a new tariff went into effect with most duties increased and with a special *ad valorem* duty of 20 or 25 per cent. to raise interest, and a sinking fund for the national debt. In June, 1892, Flores was succeeded by Luis Cordero, a moderate liberal. The foreign debt was scaled down more than 60 per cent., from £2,000,000 and more to £750,000.

In 1895 the Japanese government, on the eve of its war with China, bought from Ecuador the *Esmeralda*, a cruiser purchased the year before from Chili. The sordidness and corruption of the government of Ecuador in this transaction aroused general disgust, of which General Elroy Alfaro, the radical leader, took instant advantage by invading the country. Cordero resigned April 24th, and was succeeded by the first vice-president or *designado*, Vicente Salazar. But the government was everywhere beaten; Alfaro occupied Guayaquil in June and formed a provisional government there, took Riobamba after a desperate fight, and September 1st entered Quito with practically no opposition. On October 28th he was made supreme chief of the republic. The year following, the national convention meeting at Guayaquil voted religious freedom for the first time, making Alfaro president, and decreeing the issue of a gold currency.

In 1897 the constitution was again amended, and a little later the foreign debt was taken over by the Guayaquil and Quito Railroad Company, an American corporation. A coinage law passed providing for the adoption of the gold standard November 4th, 1900. In 1901 General Leonidas Plaza became president, and in 1905 was succeeded by Lizardo García. In January, 1904, Peru and Ecuador agreed to arbitrate all disputes between them.

ARGENTINA

A general congress of the La Plata states, convened in 1824, adopted a new constitution, which gave Buenos Ayres the control of foreign affairs. On February 2nd, 1825, a commercial treaty was signed with Great Britain. On December 24th, 1826, a strong centralist constitution was voted, but was not adopted by all the provinces. Rivadavia was elected president. In this same year Argentina made war with Brazil for the Banda Oriental, which was finally recognized by each as the independent state Uruguay. In 1827 Rivadavia abdicated because of the ill-success of the centralist constitution, and on August 27th of the following year Argentina formed an alliance with Brazil and Uruguay for purposes of international peace. In 1829 Rosas, the guacho-leader of the federalists, effected the adoption of a federalist constitution, and became governor of Buenos Ayres and supreme head of the confederation.

In August, 1830, he received dictatorial powers for two years. In this year France protested through her consul against French citizens being obliged to render Argentina military service. The next twelve years saw the steady increase of Rosas' power. Then the tide turned. The story of Urquiza's rebellion and Rosas' downfall has been told in the history of Uruguay. On May 1st, 1853, at Santa Fé a constitution was adopted modelled on that of the United States of North America. Parana was made temporary capital until Buenos Ayres should accept the constitution. Urquiza was chosen first president. In 1859 Buenos Ayres sent an army against the federal government, which was defeated at Cepeda, October 23rd, by Urquiza, who seized the city and forced it to join the confederacy.

In 1861 Derqui, Urquiza's successor, was deposed after being defeated, September 17th, at Pavon, by Mitre of the Buenos Ayres party, being suspected of hostility to the provincial governments. The federalist constitution was abolished and a centralised government begun. Mitre became provisional president in May, 1862, and in October entered on a regular term of six years. The government then assumed some stability, and the country made great industrial advances. In 1864 Great Britain and Argentina referred to the president of Chili the case of losses to Great Britain through an Argentine decree forbidding vessels from Montevideo to enter the ports of Argentina, and on May 4th, 1865, Argentina joined Uruguay and Brazil with a formal treaty of alliance to suppress Lopez, the Paraguayan dictator, who invaded Argentina, and occupied Corrientes, April 13th. Mitre held the supreme command in this war for two years. In 1868 Sarmiento succeeded Mitre as president, and Argentina no longer played an important part in the Paraguayan War. Sarmiento was a civilian, the "schoolmaster president," and Argentina took a remarkable industrial start, due partly to the trade of the Brazilian army, and partly to Sarmiento's policy of encouraging immigration, commerce, agriculture, and education. In 1870 a caudillo revolt in Entre Rios, led by Lopez Jordan, resulted in the capture and murder of Urquiza.

By the terms of the Paraguayan Peace, Argentina and Brazil, though victorious, agreed to the arbitration of their dispute. A decision in favour of Argentina was rendered by the Chilian president in the case with Great Britain, pending since 1864. In 1872 the first Argentine coal deposits were discovered. Avelaneda was elected president in 1874. The financial condition of the country was bad, because of the heavy expenses of the Paraguayan

[1874-1904 A.D.]

war and the fact of the revenue being limited by import taxes. On February 3rd, 1876, the boundary dispute with Paraguay was referred to the president of the United States for arbitration. In 1877 a stamp tax was introduced, the high tariff having gradually killed import trade and with it the government's sole income. The frontier dispute with Paraguay was decided against Argentina on November 12th, 1878.

In 1880, after a brief and bitter civil war between the Buenos Ayres party and Roca's followers, Roca became president; the city of Buenos Ayres was separated from the province of the same name and put under federal control. On July 23rd, 1881, a convention was signed between Chili and Argentina, arranging the Patagonian boundary. Argentina bonds first reached par in December. In 1883 the currency was made convertible, the old paper dollar notes being exchangeable for four cents gold. At the same time great government loans were floated. A financial panic resulted from the government loans still unfloatd and from the constriction of the money market following specie resumption. On January 16th the national currency was declared legal tender and the panic subsided. In this year Argentine expeditions explored Patagonia, and the next year there were gold discoveries in Argentine Patagonia. Roca was succeeded by his brother-in-law, Juarez Celman.

Administrative dishonesty during the next three years resulted in an alarming financial condition, and necessitated the resignation of Celman. He was succeeded by Pellegrini, who effected no reforms. In 1891 the disorder became so grave that martial law was proclaimed. The following year the powerful vote of the liberal opposition to the government was forcibly suppressed, and Saenz Peña, the administration candidate, was elected. In 1894 the president's influence waned, and the opposition made great gains in the congressional elections of March 25th. A sudden fall in the price of agricultural products and excessive importation forced up the price of gold to a premium of 320. In 1895 the president resigned. Vice-President Uriburu succeeded him for the unexpired term, and immediately proclaimed an amnesty. On April 17th, 1896, a protocol was signed referring the Patagonian dispute with Chili to the arbitration of the British government.

In 1898 Roca, leader of the nationalist party and of the provinces as against the capital, was elected president and took office in October. New internal duties were voted, and it was proposed to realize on the national railroads by their sale or lease. In 1899 the Puñía of Atacama dispute was settled by the arbitration of the United States minister at Buenos Ayres. In the autumn of 1900 Argentina entered into an *entente* with Brazil, Peru, and Bolivia for the purpose of withstanding Chilian aggression. In 1901 a "Unification Bill," aimed to consolidate the national indebtedness, met with great popular opposition, and was withdrawn. Soon after this Chili quarrelled with Argentina over Ultima Esperanza. On November 20th, 1902, King Edward made the award in the boundary dispute with Chili, giving Chili nearly 60 per cent. of the disputed territory, but to Argentina nearly all the fertile soil. In 1904 Manuel Quintana became president.

URUGUAY

The constituent assembly met at Montevideo, July 18th, 1830, declared the constitution drafted in the former year, and elected Fructuoso Rivera president. Two years later Rivera was sharply attacked by the blancos.

Montevideo was seized by them in the president's absence, but soon retaken. The civil war thus begun lasted two years. The colorados were successful in this civil war, but Oribe, formerly a follower of Rivera, leader of the blancos, was elected president.

From 1835 to 1851 Uruguay was torn between two factions, one of which desired, one of which opposed the incorporation of Uruguay into the Argentine Confederation. Rosas, dictator of Buenos Ayres, led the Argentine party, and Oribe united with him. Rivera led the opposition and was for a time successful, but in 1841-1842 he suffered reverses. In 1843 Oribe began the nine years' siege of Montevideo. Suarez became acting president. In 1845 English and French fleets intervened against Rosas at a moment when his victory seemed assured. His next reverse was the defection of one of his best generals, Urquiza, governor of Entre Rios. Entre Rios became a separate state, and in 1851 Urquiza led an alliance between Entre Rios, Corrientes, the Unitarians, the Colorados, and Brazil. This alliance compelled the surrender of Rosas at Montevideo, and again defeated him in the great battle of Monte-Caseros.

After several governmental crises Flores became president in 1854. A strong opposition to him had grown up within the colorado party. Revolution followed, compelling his resignation. In 1857 Oribe died, and this was a signal for disorder to begin again. In the first week of January, 1858, Diaz and his troops occupied Montevideo, and chose Freire president, but this revolutionary government was crushed. Freire and twenty-four officers were executed.

In April, 1863, Flores returned from Argentina with an Argentine following, and was quickly joined by the colorados. Brazil recognised Flores as president, but Uruguay, now in the hands of Flores, joined Brazil in making war on Paraguay. Brazilian troops entered Uruguay October 12th. On the 20th of February, 1865, a convention signed at La Union gave Flores complete control. On May 1st, by the *entente* with Argentina, the Triple Alliance was formed against Paraguay. The withdrawal of Flores from active participation in the war with Paraguay, however, practically removed Uruguay from the struggle. The president's home administration in this year did much to advance the country's industrial condition. On February 19th of the following year, 1868, the president was assassinated—probably as the result of a blanco plot. Three days afterwards Manuel Flores, a brother of the president, who acted as provisional executive, was killed, as were also twenty-one more colorado leaders. Nevertheless, the machinery of government remained with the colorados, who elected as president one of their number, Lawrence Battle.

During the succeeding seven years there were constant struggles between the blancos and the colorados. On March 1st, 1873, Ellaury was elected president. As the result of the friction between him and the legislature, the president left the country on January 15th, whereupon Pedro Varela, vice-president in Ellaury's administration, succeeded him. Varela's financial policy was flagrantly corrupt, and as a result there was a general rising against him. General Latorre, a colorado, who deposed Ellaury and replaced him with Varela, led the opposition, and on the 10th of March, 1876, Latorre was made provisional president—practically dictator—the following year becoming president. He introduced rigid economy, and proposed refunding the national debt at 6 per cent., instead of 12 per cent. His strict administration roused opposition, and in 1880 he resigned. General Maximo Santos became president in 1882. Santos won hatred through his corrupt adminis-

[1882-1907 A.D.]

tration, and after being wounded by an assassin he fled the country, and was succeeded by his enemy, Maximo Tajes.

Herrera y Obes, prime minister, holding the portfolio of the interior, was the actual administrative head of Tajes' government. A national bank was founded in 1887, with a capital of \$10,000,000, and on July 18th, 1888, the first South American international congress met at Montevideo. The 6 per cent. bonds of the government, amounting to \$21,276,800, were converted to 4 per cent. bonds by the issue in London during August of \$20,000,000 of bonds at 82½.

In March, 1890, Julio Herrera y Obes became president. In June of the same year the government negotiated a loan of \$10,000,000 from the Barings, to avert threatened financial panic, and in the next month, after the national bank had suspended specie payment, the government unsuccessfully attempted to make the notes of the bank legal currency for six months; but the co-operation of the business men of Montevideo in favour of gold payments drove the bank-notes out of use. Early in October, at the orders of the president, who was practically supreme, the legislature voted the consolidation of the external debt and the reduction of the interest rate to 3½ per cent.

In 1894 Herrera y Obes' administration drew to a close, with general discontent on account of his extravagance and his complete control of the legislative machinery. On March 21st Borda was chosen representative of the administration, but was pledged to economy—a pledge he lived up to through the year. But Borda was clearly in the hands of corrupt advisers, and by 1896 had lost popularity. His term was filled with the uproar of a blanco revolution. On August 25th, 1897, he was assassinated.^a His place was taken by the vice-president, Juan Luis Cuestas, who, though formerly a violent colorado, immediately negotiated with the blancos, and on September 10th secured peace by granting them all they asked, notably electoral reforms and a minority representation. Cuestas openly opposed the presidential candidacy of Herrera y Obes, and, after an attempt to abduct the president, this leader of the opposition was arrested and exiled.

At the beginning of 1898 President Cuestas declared himself dictator, and on February 10th dissolved the government and convoked an assembly of notables or council of state. A military revolt on July 4th of the same year in favour of Herrera y Obes occasioned a sharp and bloody struggle in Montevideo; but it proved unsuccessful and the enterprise was abandoned. The year passed without a presidential election, Cuestas occupying the office of provisional governor. In February, 1899, Cuestas formally resigned and was constitutionally elected president in March. In the elections of 1900 the blancos won enough senatorial seats to put the colorados in the minority.

In 1901 a "scientific congress" of the Latin-American countries met in Montevideo and urged international arbitration. Chili alone refused to agree to this motion. In the same year President Cuestas utilised domestic capital for internal improvements, notably the harbour of Montevideo. An electoral agreement was effected (with some difficulty) between the two parties. Two years later José Ordóñez, a leader of the liberal colorado faction, and so a sympathiser with Cuestas, was chosen president.

In 1904 a dangerous revolutionary movement assumed threatening proportions, but was suppressed, after some difficulty, by the government troops aided by the national guard. In 1905 the government agreed to proposals for important railway extensions.

PARAGUAY

The people still feared Francia, even after he was dead, as an evil demon. His secretary, Patiño, attempted to carry on his master's government and formed a junta, which put him in prison, where he hanged himself.

On January 23rd, 1841, the people deposed the junta and put in power a triumvirate, almost immediately superseded by Alonso, commandante generale, and his secretary, Carlos Antonio Lopez. The real power was in Lopez's hands. The consular government passed sane though crude laws, and proclaimed that the children of all slaves born after that year would become free in 1867. When the consular term expired in 1844 Lopez was elected by congress president for ten years, with practically dictatorial powers. In this year Rosas in Buenos Ayres forbade Paraguayan vessels to sail to the sea. The year following Paraguay was opened to outside influence and foreigners were declared free from military service.

In 1857 Lopez was re-elected, this time for life, with the privilege of naming his successor. On September 10th, 1862, the elder Lopez died, and his place was taken immediately by Francisco Solano Lopez.

Lopez, on August 30th, 1864, claiming to be protector of the equilibrium of La Plata, ordered Brazil to withdraw her armed interference in behalf of Flores' revolution in Uruguay, and followed this order by a show of force, thus provoking war, for which Lopez made elaborate preparations throughout the year. In December the Paraguayan forces occupied the Brazilian province of Matto Grosso. Lopez crossed the Argentine province of Corrientes so as to overrun Rio Grande, and thus drew Argentina into the confederation against him. Uruguay and Brazil formally became members of the alliance on May 1st, the three powers agreeing to overthrow the government of Paraguay, which declared war on March 18th.

The war ended in the complete ruin of the country. On March 1st, 1870, in a skirmish at Aquidaban, Lopez was killed. Cirilo Rivarola was elected president. In 1872 Rivarola resigned, and Jovellanos took his place. On March 27th the treaty of peace with Brazil was ratified, the claims made against Brazil and Argentina were relinquished. In 1874 Juan Bautista Gill became president. At this time the republic was listed as bankrupt in Europe.

In 1876 payment of interest on the home loan was resumed, and coffee planting began to be an important industry. The Brazilian army of occupation was withdrawn on June 22nd, and a frontier dispute with Argentina referred to the president of the United States for arbitration. On April 12th, 1877, President Gill and his brother, minister of finance, were assassinated. Bareiro was made president, and was succeeded by Caballero.

In 1885 the government negotiated for the settlement of the national debt as held by British bondholders. On November 28th, 1886, General Patricio Escobar was made president, and commercial treaties were signed with Great Britain and Germany. Juan G. Gonzalez entered office as president November 25th, 1890. In 1892 the government ceased to pay the coupons on its bonds. Two years later President Gonzalez was seized and deported to Buenos Ayres. A new arrangement was made for paying the national debt. In 1898 Emilio Aceval became president, and was succeeded in 1902 by Juan Ezcurra. In December, 1904, Señor Gaorra was elected president, and two years later he was succeeded by General Ferreya.^a



CHAPTER VI

MEXICO IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

IN none of the Spanish possessions at the beginning of the nineteenth century was the necessity of a radical and sovereign change more keenly felt than in New Spain—to-day the republic of Mexico. For reasons which we will not examine here, and which belong rather to the domain of the philosopher and statistician than to that of the historian, all the evils connected with Spanish administration in America were united in this country, in which the line of demarcation between the two classes of society—the privileged and the exploited—was also more clearly marked. The latter class and the more important one, although formed of heterogeneous elements, was composed of what might be called the indigenous Mexican [creole] and of the popular elements; it made common cause with the natives of the country, not through sympathy or because it understood their needs, but because, although belonging in greater part to the conquering race, it was kept out of the public offices and hence became confounded with the conquered, identifying itself with them and thus preparing the work of common vengeance.

The other class included, besides what might be called the official class, the authorities and the employees of the public administration of the colony—mostly of Spanish origin—a certain aristocracy which had been created at the time of the conquest of Mexico, after the model of that nobility which the conquering races had formed in Spain: the higher clergy, bishops, dignitaries, and prelates, the large landholders, chief merchants, etc. The growing aversion, the mutual defiances and deep enmities which separated the individuals of the one class from the other, manifested themselves on the one hand in an inexorable war and in protests imprinted with threats and maledictions, and on the other hand in continual severities and in an insulting defiance.

From the year 1789, in which the first conspiracy against the mother country—a spark which was a precursor of the storm soon to break—was denounced to the viceroy, Don Miguel José de Aranza, down to the promulgation in 1857 of the constitution and of the laws of reform which completed it, Mexico may be considered as in a state of permanent warfare,

sometimes foreign, more often civil, but almost always disastrous and sanguinary.

As we have already said, it was under the vice-royalty of Aranza that the first symptoms of rebellion against the royal power were manifested in New Spain. However, their first revolutionary movement, so rapidly discovered and suppressed, was speedily reawakened under the rule of Don Pedro de Garibay. Later, in 1809, a new conspiracy was discovered at Morelia, and finally, in 1810, under the governorship of Don Francisco Venegas, there broke out at Dolores the great insurrection from which Mexican independence was to emerge, and which had for its leader Hidalgo, curate of that same town of Dolores, in the state of Guanajuato.^b Hidalgo, a man noble in his intentions, although perhaps not seeing clearly the scope and the final end of his undertaking, kindled a civil war than which history can hardly show a more terrible one. The storm of revolt raged fiercely through the land and soon carried away with it all classes of society in its confusing vortex, destroying and deranging the old order of things and creating new only with difficulty.^c

The creoles sided with the Spanish government. Hidalgo, who had soon an immense force with him, took Guanajuato by storm, and occupied Valladolid, whence he advanced over the table-land of Toluca to that of Tenochtitlan. The Spanish governor sent a small corps against him, which was defeated by Hidalgo on the 30th of October at Las Cruces, a pass in the chain which separates the table-lands of Tenochtitlan and Toluca. But notwithstanding this victory, Hidalgo retreated, and eight days afterwards was in his turn defeated by Calleja. Hidalgo retired to Valladolid and Guadalajara, and in the neighbourhood of the last-mentioned town he was again defeated, and soon afterwards taken prisoner and shot.

In the mean time the whole country had risen in insurrection, and many leaders began to act separately. The most remarkable among them was Don José María Morelos, who with great activity, talents, and success maintained the southern provinces in rebellion against the governor and formed a *junta*, or central government, which in September, 1811, assembled in the town of Zitacuaro, in the state of Michoacan. But that town was soon afterwards taken by Calleja, and the *junta* were dispersed. Calleja, however, was soon obliged to march against Morelos, who had penetrated into the table-land of Tenochtitlan from the south. He was attacked by Calleja in the town of Cuantla y Amilpas, and after defending himself for nearly three months with great skill and gallantry, he abandoned that place and took Oajaca.

The *junta* was now increased by new members, and under the title of the "national assembly" it declared the independence of Mexico on the 13th of November, 1813. But after that event Morelos had less success in his daring enterprises, and in November, 1815, he was taken prisoner, conducted to Mexico, and shot. Many of his companions-in-arms maintained the conflict for some time, but they did not act in concert with one another, especially after one of them, Terán, had dissolved the congress, which had been transferred from Oajaca to Tehuacan, in the state of Puebla. The viceroy, Venegas, supported by the gallantry and skill of Calleja, destroyed successively the armies of these chiefs, so that when Don Javier Mina, the famous Spanish guerilla chief, landed in Mexico, in 1817, the fortune of the insurgents was at so low an ebb that he was unable to restore their cause and he perished in the attempt. The country gradually became more tranquil, and in 1820 it was restored nearly to the same degree of order which it had

[1820-1823 A.D.]

enjoyed before 1808, to which fortunate results the mildness of the new viceroy, Apodaca, materially contributed.

The events which occurred in Spain in the beginning of 1820 suddenly changed the aspect of affairs, and deprived Spain of the most valuable of her possessions in America, which it had regained at the cost of much blood and treasure. The Spaniards and the creoles, who had formerly made common cause, were now divided into two parties, royalists and constitutionalists. Apodaca, who inclined to the former party, wished to overthrow the constitution of Mexico, and chose for his instrument Don Agustín de Iturbide, a young man, born in the province of Valladolid, of respectable but not wealthy parents. He had distinguished himself in the battle of Las Cruces, and always shown great attachment to the Spanish party. Iturbide had about eight hundred men under his command, when, on the 24th of February, 1821, at the little town of Iguala, on the road from Mexico to Acapulco, he issued a proclamation which, since that time, has been called the Plan of Iguala. Its object was to conciliate all parties. It was to establish the independence of Mexico and still to preserve its union with Spain. To effect this, the crown of Mexico was to be offered to the king of Spain, and in case of his refusal, to one of his brothers, Don Carlos or Don Francisco de Paula, provided they would consent to reside in the country.

Though Iturbide had certainly exceeded the powers which he had received from Apodaca, the viceroy, seeing that this proposal met the wishes of most persons, took no step to crush Iturbide, and the Spaniards of the capital, alarmed at this delay, deposed him, and placed Don Francisco Novella at the head of affairs. But the disorders which always attend such violent changes gave Iturbide time to unite his troops with those of Guerrero, the only insurgent chief still existing in the country, and to bring over to his party all the western and northern provinces. Before the month of July the whole country recognised his authority, with the exception of the capital, in which Novella had shut himself up with all the European troops. At this moment he received intelligence of the arrival at Vera Cruz of the new constitutional viceroy Don Juan O'Donojú. Iturbide hastened to the coast, obtained an interview with O'Donojú, and persuaded him to accept the Plan of Iguala as an armistice and final settlement, if it should be approved in Spain. This is called the Treaty of Cordova, from the place where it was made.

Iturbide thus got possession of the capital, where a junta and regency were established, but in such a form that all power remained in the hands of Iturbide. By a decree of the cortes, dated the 13th of February, 1822, the Treaty of Cordova was declared to be illegal, null, and void, and Iturbide, who had the power in his hands, and a great number of adherents, found no difficulty in ascending the throne. The army declared him emperor of Mexico on the 18th of May, 1822, and he took the title of Augustin I. He was acknowledged by the Mexican congress, which had been opened on the 24th of February; but a struggle for power soon arose between Iturbide and the congress, which the emperor terminated by dissolving the assembly, in the same manner as Cromwell dissolved the Long Parliament. On the same day he formed a new legislative assembly, composed of persons favourable to his wishes and intentions. But he had not skill enough to reconcile his companions in arms to these changes. Several generals declared against his proceedings, and prepared for resistance. Iturbide, terrified at the storm which was ready to burst on all sides, called together the old congress, abdicated in March, 1823, and went to

Europe, whence, however, he returned to Mexico in 1824. He had been outlawed by the congress, and upon landing on the coast he was shot at Padilla, in Tamaulipas.

Mexico was thus left without a regular form of government, or even a constitution, affairs being managed provisionally by Bravo, Victoria, and Negrete. But on the 4th of October, 1824, a constitution uniting the sixteen original states into a federal republic was proclaimed by a national convention after a session of fourteen months. The first congress assembled at Mexico (January 1st, 1825), and installed General Victoria as president of the nation.

With the exception of some discontents occasioned by *pronunciamentos* of Robato, Padre, Arenas, and others, Victoria's administration was encouraging to the friends of republicanism, until his term of office had nearly expired. All parties had then merged into two, the Escoceses and Yorkinos, or Scotch and York parties—the first strongly opposed to republicanism, the second in favour of it. In December, 1827, General Bravo placed himself at the head of the Scotch party, and marched against the president, but he was defeated by the latter and banished. In the succeeding election, however, the Escoceses elected their presidential candidate, Gomez Pedraza, by a majority of two votes. The exasperated republicans were not disposed to submit to this defeat with a good grace, and even before Pedraza was installed, Santa Anna marched against him with a small force. The Indians flocked to the standard of the insurgents, and on the 4th of December, 1828, a pronunciamento was issued in favour of Guerrero, the president's political opponent. The city of Mexico was rifled, and Pedraza compelled to fly to the United States. Immediately after, congress declared in favour of Guerrero for president and Bustamante for vice-president. The latter act was most unfortunate. The new administration had scarcely gone into operation when the vice-president raised an army, induced Santa Anna to join him, overthrew Guerrero, and seized the government. Not long after (September 11th, 1829), Santa Anna broke the remaining Spanish influence in Mexico, by the victory of Barradas.

Guerrero was executed by order of the government in 1831, and in the following year Santa Anna took up arms against Bustamante. After various successes, he induced the president to permit the recall of Pedraza, who was immediately elevated to his former dignity, and served out his term of office. At its expiration, May 15th, 1833, Santa Anna was elected to succeed him.

Santa Anna's energy of character and skill as a general were known and dreaded throughout Mexico; but he was subjected to the same dangers from insurrections, declarations, and other symptoms of discontent as his predecessors had been. The most formidable to the constitution was the Plan of Tuluco, substituting a central for a federal republic, abolishing the individuality of the states, and constituting the chief magistrate a military chieftain. It gave rise to the Texan revolution, during which the president marched into the disaffected department, and, after alternate success and disaster, was entirely defeated and taken prisoner at San Jacinto. On returning from the United States, he found his influence destroyed, and retired to his farm at Manga de Clavo. During his absence and retirement affairs were conducted by Barragan, Coro, and Bustamante.

The insurrection of Alexia, in 1838, afforded the first opportunity for Santa Anna to reappear in public life. The insurgents were defeated, and their leader was put to death. The blockade of Vera Cruz by the French, during the ensuing winter, was another step towards regaining popularity.

[1839-1847 A.D.]

He there received a severe wound in the leg, which rendered amputation necessary; but this mischance he knew well how to appropriate to his own benefit. In 1839 the difficulties between France and Mexico were settled by British arbitration, Mexico paying an indemnity of 600,000 piastres. Santa Anna became acting president.^a

In July, 1840, Urrea attempted to overthrow the government, but was defeated; but one year after, Valentia, Lombidini, Alaman, Paredes, and Santa Anna pronounced against Bustamante. This revolution was one of the most fearful of all that have distracted Mexico since the days of the viceroys. The armies fought more than a month in the streets of the capital, after which it was subjected to bombardment. The president was finally overthrown, and Santa Anna inaugurated military dictator (January 1st, 1841).

The dictator held his power with great firmness until 1843, when he ordered Paredes to be arrested at Tula, in consequence of his having joined Valencia in a proposed insurrection. This measure incensed the friends of Paredes, and they collected in small parties preparatory to revolting. The dictator then changed his policy, and invited the general to accept the government of Sonora and Sinaloa.

This, however, was ineffectual, and, leaving Canalizo at the capital, Santa Anna marched against the insurgents. A civil war was the consequence. This was ended by the indiscreet zeal of Canalizo, who, on the 2nd of December, 1844, closed the sitting of congress, and declared Santa Anna supreme dictator. Incensed at this act, the people and army rose *en masse*, imprisoned Canalizo, and caused Herrera to be proclaimed president by congress. Santa Anna was left almost entirely alone, and, after the most violent efforts at the head of a small force, he was taken prisoner. After long deliberation, congress condemned him to perpetual exile. In June, 1845, he embarked for Havana, in company with his wife, nephew, and a few friends.

WAR WITH THE UNITED STATES

Congress now proclaimed a general amnesty and passed a vote recognising the independence of Texas, on condition of its not becoming a part of the United States. This state of quiet was of short duration. The separation of Texas from the parent government was, of all measures, the most unpopular in Mexico; and soon Paredes, aided by Arista, was in arms against Herrera. The latter was deposed, Paredes assumed the reins of government, and the United States minister was ordered from the country. In the ensuing war Paredes marched with the army to the north, leaving the management of affairs in the hands of General Bravo. His efforts were attended with uninterrupted misfortune, and the nation again turned its gaze towards Santa Anna, as the only one capable of retrieving its disasters. Vera Cruz and other cities declared for him, and General Salas, assuming provisional authority, imprisoned Paredes, and invited Santa Anna to return. He arrived at Vera Cruz, August, 1846, and was immediately appointed president and dictator.^d

Santa Anna rejected American offers of peace and British offers of mediation and the war continued. It will not be necessary here to enter upon its details; Santa Fé was lost on August 22nd, and Monterey on September 24th. In January of the next year the government forced a loan of \$4,000,000 from the church. Taylor won the two days' battle of Buena Vista on February 22nd and 23rd, and Scott defeated the Mexicans at Cerro Gordo, April 18th, and took the city of Mexico on September 15th. The easy victory of the

American army was made more simple by the opposition to the war of the moderados or polkos, under Salas' leadership. In November Anaya became acting president, succeeding Peña y Peña, and Santa Anna left the country.

On February 2nd, 1849, the Treaty of Guadalupe-Hidalgo was signed near Mexico City, and was submitted to the United States senate on February 23rd; it was ratified on March 16th by the United States senate; on May 19th, by the Mexican authorities; ratifications were exchanged May 30th, and the treaty was proclaimed in July. It took from Mexico the provinces of New Mexico and California on payment of \$15,000,000, and made the southern boundary of Texas the Rio Grande. Herrera's wise administration, which began at Queretaro June 3rd, was menaced by Paredes and the guerilla chieftains even in August, and as early as June 16th Old California, Sonora, Sinaloa, Chihuahua, Coahuila, and Tamaulipas seceded from the republic.^a

CHARACTER OF SANTA ANNA

Among all the agitators of the country no one was, by turns, so much courted and dreaded as Santa Anna. His political history discloses many but not all the features of his private character. He possessed a wilful, observant, patient intellect, which had received very little culture; but constant intercourse with all classes of men made him perfectly familiar with the strength and weaknesses of his countrymen. There was not a person of note in the republic whose value he did not know, nor was there a venal politician with whose price he was unacquainted. Believing most men corrupt or corruptible, he was constantly busy in contriving expedients to control or win them. A soldier almost from his infancy, during turbulent times among semi-civilised troops, he had become so habitually despotic that when he left the camp for the cabinet he still blended the imperious general with the intriguing president. He seemed to cherish the idea that his country could not be virtuously governed. Ambitious and avaricious, he sought for power not only to gratify his individual lust of personal glory, but as a means of enriching himself and purchasing the instruments who might sustain his authority. Accordingly, he rarely distinguished the public treasure from his private funds. Soldier as he was by profession, he was slightly skilled in the duties of a commander in the field, and never won a great battle except through the blunders of his opponents. He was a systematic revolutionist, a manager of men, an astute intriguer; and, personally timid, he seldom meditated an advance without planning a retreat. Covetous as a miser, he nevertheless delighted to watch the mean combat between fowls upon whose prowess he had staked his thousands. An agriculturist with vast landed possessions, his chief rural pleasure was in training these birds for the brutal battle of the pit. Loving money insatiably, he leaned with the eagerness of a gambler over the table where those who knew how to propitiate his greediness learned the graceful art of losing judiciously. Sensual by constitution, he valued woman only as the minister of his pleasures. The gentlest being imaginable in tone, address, and demeanour to foreigners or his equals, he was oppressively haughty to his inferiors, unless they were necessary for his purposes or not absolutely in his power. The correspondence and public papers which were either written or dictated by him fully displayed the sophistry by which he changed defeats into victories or converted criminal faults into philanthropy. Gifted with an extraordinary power of expression, he used his splendid language to impose by sonorous periods upon the credu-

[1849 A.D.]

lity or fancy of his people. No one excelled him in ingenuity, eloquence, bombast, gasconade, or dialectic skill. When at the head of power, he lived constantly in a gorgeous military pageant; and, a perfect master of dramatic effect upon the excitable masses of his countrymen, he forgot the exhumation of the dishonoured bones of Cortes to superintend the majestic interment of the limb he had lost at Vera Cruz.

It will easily be understood how such a man, in the revolutionary times of Mexico, became neither the Cromwell nor the Washington of his country. The great talent which he unquestionably possessed taught him that it was easier to deal corruptly with corruptions than to rise to the dignity of a loyal reformer. He and his country mutually acted and reacted upon each other. Neither a student nor a traveller, he knew nothing of human character except as he saw it exhibited at home, and there he certainly sometimes found excuses for severity and even despotism. It is undeniable that he was endowed with a peculiar genius, but it was that kind of energetic genius which may raise a dexterous man from disgrace, defeat, or reverses, rather than sustain him in power when he has reached it. He never was popular, and never relied for success on the democratic sentiment of his country. He ascertained, at an early day, that the people would not favour his aspirations, and, abandoning federalism, he threw himself in the embrace of the centralists. The army and the church establishment—combined for mutual protection under his auspices—were the only two elements of his political strength, and as long as he wielded their mingled power, he was enabled to do more than any other Mexican in thoroughly demoralising his country. As a military demagogue he was often valuable even to honest patriots, who were willing to call him to power for a moment to save the country either from anarchy or from the grasp of more dangerous aspirants. Until the army was destroyed, Santa Anna could not fall, nor would the military politicians yield to the civil. As long as this dangerous chief and his myrmidons remained in Mexico, either in or out of power, every citizen felt that he was suffering under the rod of a despot, or that the progress of his country would soon be paralysed by the wand of an unprincipled agitator. But with the army reduced to the mere requirements of a police system, and Santa Anna beyond the limits of the republic, the nation may breathe with freedom and vigour.^e

GROWTH OF THE MONARCHICAL PARTY

The history of the republic is one of boundless anarchy. Presidents and counter-presidents, back and forth in countless number; disputes and struggles as to whether to have a central or a federative state; civil wars; demoralisation of all classes; repeated appearance on the scene of Santa Anna, who always came as a saviour in time of need, and who, three times banished and three times recalled, was called on to exercise the dictatorial power; financial and economical ruin of the country—such are in general the chief events which filled the history of the republic, upon the details of which we will not enter. It can easily be understood that under such circumstances a monarchical party was gradually formed; this had its special organ in the *Universal*, and saw its salvation only in monarchical institutions. This monarchical party, which had in fact been founded ever since the declaration of independence, and, although not numerous, had maintained its position, counted many worthy men among its members, among others Don Gutierrez de Estrade, a rare, blameless character whom years before disgust at the ruinous

condition of his republican fatherland had sent into voluntary exile to Europe. Although his views were inopportune, he was one of the few who had carefully studied and understood the conditions of Mexico, and already in 1846, at Vienna, he had tried to gain an Austrian archduke for an imperial throne in Mexico. Prince Metternich imposed three, at that time, impossible conditions, before the matter could even be considered: consent of the sea power, a majority of the Mexican people, and sufficient financial means. It is difficult not to recognise the wisdom of the old state chancellor in these conditions.

In the year 1850 the monarchical party began to rouse itself to action. Opposed to it stood two other parties, the liberal, which was really conservative, and the democratic, called more appropriately the radical. To this belonged General Arista, who had been made president in 1851, and during his short time of office, being a plaything of all parties, had accomplished nothing good or useful. In 1852 Arista was obliged to give up his position of power, in consequence of the revolt of nearly all the Mexican states. Santa Anna, who had been living in Cartagena (New Granada), was again called back. Lucas Alaman says, in his history of Mexico, that the history of the republic after 1823 could best be designated as the history of Santa Anna's revolutions. His rule as dictator aroused hopes of great things; he showed great energy and a zealous effort to improve the disordered conditions of his country. Through the Gadsden Treaty, concluded with North America on December 30th, 1853, although he ceded a considerable territory north of the Rio Grande, he brought \$10,000,000 into the exhausted treasury.

True to his convictions, he strove to rule alone; in 1854 he adopted the title "most serene highness," obtained the right to choose his successor, and renewed the order of Our Lady of Guadalupe. But the rebellion soon broke out again. Juan Alvarez, an Indian chief in Guerrero, defeated him in several battles, and in 1855 Santa Anna had to go into exile again. The dictatorship was at an end, but the confusion was so much the worse. In the capital, the houses of the ministers were immediately plundered, and the monument was torn down which had been erected a few months before to "the most meritorious servant of his fatherland."

With Alvarez all the horrors of barbarism celebrated a complete victory over what little was left of morality and outward decency. Immediately after his entry he declared all privileges of the soldiers and clergy abolished. The rough Indian, however, could not maintain himself in the presidential chair, in which he had never felt at ease. Hence he declared that he no longer had any desire to be president, took all that he found in the way of weapons, guns, and ammunition, emptied the treasury, in which were two hundred thousand piastres, and on December 12th, 1855, surrendered his power to the tax-collector, Ignacio Comonfort. The latter belonged to the conservative party, and had soon to struggle with a rebellion, which he put down successfully, and to fight out differences with Spain, which, through the mediation of the United States, were settled in favour of Mexico. On June 15th, 1856, he issued the famous decree forbidding all corporations to hold real estate. Thereby the clergy lost their numerous estates, and hence did not neglect to place all possible difficulties in the way of the president, even to raising a revolt against him in Puebla. In these battles Colonel Miguel Miramon first distinguished himself by his courage and decision. On the other side, the governor of Coahuila, the liberal General Santiago Vidaurri, had likewise arisen, but was persuaded by the compromise of 1856 to recognise the president.

In the congress, elected amid the general disorder and clothed with constitutional power, which opened on February 18th, 1856, triumphant radicalism

[1857-1859 A.D.]

soon gained the upper hand. Instead of working for a constitution appropriate to the needs of the country, congress, with inopportune and sometimes shallow pathos, discussed the most sublime social questions, discussed the rights of men, the freedom of labour, changed the laws of marriage, arbitrarily broke treaties with Spain, and completed the long list of its grave mistakes by laying hand on the ecclesiastical institutions, and plunged into this most dangerous of reforms without any reflection and even with inexcusable levity. In the mean while, anarchy reigned on all sides under a thousand forms. Armed bands plundered and robbed without punishment, one *pronunciamento* followed another, and discord soon broke out between Comonfort and the assembly, which, however, finally ended in a constitution of which the radicals could proudly say that it went "to the extreme verge of liberty" and began by placing the "rights of man" at the head.

The archbishop of Mexico forbade granting absolution to those who should swear to the constitution, whereupon twenty-seven generals and higher officers immediately refused to take the oath. According to the custom of the country the knot was cut by a *coup d'état*. The new constitution was to go into effect on September 10th. Before that a definitive president and a regular congress had to be chosen. The elections were held in July, 1857, in the midst of universal disorder, and as a result Comonfort became president, a stubborn radical of Indian blood. Don Benito Juarez became president of the supreme court, and a legislature was elected which was, if possible, even more revolutionary than the constituent. Mexico was again to form a federative republic, but even before the new form was introduced several states had broken loose from the central government and others had altered their constitutions and inner organisation in wholly sovereign fashion. On December 17th General Felix Zuloaga with his troops declared against the constitution and dispersed the congress. Comonfort (who had proclaimed himself dictator on December 1st, 1857) placed himself at the head of the movement, but his dictatorship lasted only a month. The rebellion soon turned against him and compelled him, in January, 1858, to lay down his office.^c

Not even the European ambassadors and consuls who lived in the midst of affairs were able to give a complete picture of the confusion which reigned in Mexico in the year 1858. The British *chargé d'affaires* counted no less than eight prominent party leaders, every one of whom went his own way. With the spring of 1859 the confusion cleared to some extent, in that the aims and objects of both parties became more recognisable. In Mexico General Miramon stood at the head of the government, while the republican-federalist party put up Juarez as president, who in the mean while made Vera Cruz his headquarters. The war between the two parties raged with bitterness, being split up at first into a hundred guerilla warfares in accordance with the nature and custom of the country. The envoys of European powers negotiated with the chief who was in possession of the capital, whereas North America sent its ambassador to Juarez.

Juarez was without question one of the first men of his country. It can be imagined, however, with what bitterness the news of the presidency of an Indian supreme judge was received in the circles of the conservatives and of the church party. Two elements worked together against him: in him was hated the reckless radical reformer, who was willing not only to follow Comonfort's laws, but even to extend them, but he was still more despised as an Indian who presumed to rule over men of pure Spanish blood. Besides, Juarez, immediately after becoming president, had concluded several treaties

[1860-1862 A.D.]

with America, so that a large portion of the Mexicans from the very first detected in him a man who would unconcernedly see the independence of his land disappear and become absorbed in the great republic of the north.

The final possession of the land had to be decided by arms. After many single battles in the year 1860, towards the end of the year (December 22nd) a battle was fought at San Miguelito, in which the conservatives were completely defeated. After scenes of indescribable confusion, on January 1st, 1861, the constitutional president, Juarez, made his entry into Mexico, and proclaimed his intention of attempting to conciliate the warring elements and of giving back peace and prosperity to the land.

EUROPEAN INVASION

For years during the confused condition of the country the rights and property of foreigners had been frequently violated, without the demands for indemnification of the European powers having met with any response; but complaints and protests became more frequent when the *puros* under Juarez came into power. Instead of satisfying these demands, the chief thought of the new government was to fill the empty treasury. Congress passed a law according to which all payments, including the interest on the debt to England, were to be suspended for two years and the inland duties on foreign wares were to be doubled. At this point the government of Spain succeeded in persuading France and England to adopt joint measures against the republic. By the convention of London (October 31st, 1861) the three powers—France, England, and Spain—declared that on account of the unreliability of the Mexican authorities they felt compelled to demand better protection for their subjects and their property, and to enforce the execution of the agreements stipulated by treaty, adding at the same time that they had no intention of curtailing the right of Mexico to choose and model her own form of government, nor did they have in mind any extensions of their own possessions or other private interests. After the conclusion of this convention, three fleets with landing troops were despatched to America to demand satisfaction for the past and guarantees for the future. They occupied the city of Vera Cruz, together with the fort San Juan de Ulua, which had been evacuated by the Spanish troops and officials, and took up camping positions inland, where the troops were less exposed to the ravages of the yellow fever. The Spaniards, under General Prim, camped in Orizaba; the French, under De la Gravière, in Tehuacan; the English commander, Sir Charles Wyke, chose Cordova. But since the expedition had no commander-in-chief, and a joint method of procedure was difficult of attainment, while at the same time the three leaders followed different ends and interests, the undertaking lacked strength and unity. Juarez responded to a manifesto drawn up in a moderate tone by the plenipotentiaries of the three powers (February 19th, 1862) by threatening to punish all who should have any intercourse with the foreigners, and after long delay he rejected an ultimatum in words which sounded like an insult. Nevertheless, the commanders entered upon fresh negotiations with Juarez, and through the Treaty of La Soledad concluded a sort of truce in which the presidency of Juarez was indirectly recognised in contradiction to the convention of London. Soon afterwards Don Juan Almante Son of the revolutionist Morelo, who had spent several years in Paris and was greatly esteemed by the conservatives, arrived in camp, in company with Father Miranda and other heads of the church party.

[1862-1865 A.D.]

FRENCH EXPEDITION

But as the French harboured leaders of the Mexican reactionaries, and showed a disposition to interfere in Mexican domestic politics, which lay beyond the terms of the joint convention, Great Britain and Spain withdrew their forces in March, 1862. For the refugees in Paris had been taken up by the empress Eugénie and the French "clericals," and had revived the old idea of a Mexican monarchy, which Napoleon adopted in the autumn of 1861. More troops were sent from France. Their advance was checked by Zaragoza and Porfirio Diaz in the battle of Cinco de Mayo, May 5th, 1862, and in September of that year thirty thousand more French troops arrived under General Forey. Wintering at Orizaba, they recommenced their advance, February 17th, 1863, besieged and reduced Puebla, and entered Mexico City June 17th. A provisional government of Mexicans was established, nominated directly or indirectly by Dubois de Saligny, the French plenipotentiary. It adopted monarchy, offered the crown to Maximilian of Austria, brother of the emperor Francis Joseph, and, should he refuse, left its disposal to Napoleon III.

Maximilian, after making some difficulty as to renouncing his right of succession to the throne of Austria, as was required of him, accepted the crown subject to the approval of the Mexican people, and reached Mexico City June 12th, 1864. Juarez meanwhile had set up his capital, first in San Luis Potosi, then in Chihuahua. The new empire was unstable from the first. Before Maximilian arrived the provisional government had refused to cancel the sales of confiscated church lands, as the clericals demanded. When he came, a host of new difficulties arose. A new loan, nominally of about £8,000,000, but yielding little more than four, owing to discount and commission, was raised in Europe, but no funds were really available for its service. Maximilian spent his resources too freely in mere luxury, and carried the elaborate etiquette of the court of Vienna to Mexico. Favouring as he did toleration of Protestantism and the supremacy of the crown over the church, he was too liberal for the clericals who had set him up. As a foreigner he was unpopular, and the regiments of Austrians and Belgians, which were to serve as the nucleus of his own army, were more so. As an administrator he was enthusiastic, but futile; his reforms, excellent on paper, could not be carried out, for the trained bureaucracy necessary—nay, even the material for it—did not exist. For a time he nominally held sway over about two thirds of the country—roughly, from latitude 18° to 23°, thus excluding the extreme north and south. Oajaca City, under Porfirio Diaz, capitulated to Bazaine—who had superseded the too pro-clerical Forey in October, 1864—in February, 1865, and by the autumn of that year the condition of the Juarists in the north seemed desperate. But the towns asked for permanent French garrisons, which were refused, as weakening their own power of self-defence. Instead, the country was traversed by flying columns, and the guerillas dealt with by a French service of "contreguerilla," who fought with much the same savagery as their foes. Directly the French troops had passed republican bands sprang up, and the non-combatant Mexicans, to save themselves, could only profess neutrality. Yet on October 3rd, 1865, Maximilian, misled by a false report that Juarez had left the country, issued a decree declaring the Juarists guerillas, who, whenever captured, were to be tried by court-martial and shot. Mexican generals on both sides had done as much. But Maximilian's decree prepared his own fate.^h

MAXIMILIAN ON THE THRONE

It was Maximilian's intention to govern; but, as ill luck would have it, he did not grasp the essentials of government. Thus, he had been chosen emperor by an assembly of notables selected by the French minister; this election had been ratified—he held the ratification good—by the votes of one section of the people expressed in acts of approval which had been laid before him; thence he derived his right to the crown. But, in order to govern, something else was needed. Maximilian owed to this people, which was to be rescued from barbarism, that which makes the strength of civilised nations—namely, a constitution. Of that he never even thought, and no one thought of it for him. There were, then, neither houses of parliament, nor popular delegates, nor any kind of control by the citizens, nor representation of the taxpayers. All power was concentrated in the emperor's hands.

This condition of affairs would not have been without its advantages if Maximilian had been another man. Dictatorial powers are sometimes good to draw a people from a state of decay and anarchy into which years of turmoil and revolution have plunged it. But the hand which holds the helm must steer without weakening, and undeviatingly; in fact, the head which guides the hand must contain that something which men admire and curse under the name of genius. The founders of empires are despots; so much the better if liberty follows after.

Maximilian, then, without elective bodies near him, remained alone, exposed to the responsibilities of power; he confined himself to employing executive agents, that is to say, ministers. He confided the foreign office to Ramirez; he summoned Peza to the ministry of war and of the navy, and Robles Pezuela to the ministry of public works, commerce, and industry. The choice was good; both had been under-secretaries of state under the regency in the same offices of which they now became the titular heads. Some days later he completed his ministry by naming Escudero y Echanove minister of justice, and Cortes Espaza home secretary. All belonged to that new party which was fairly representative of moderate opinions.

There lay the future; at least so it was thought amongst the representatives of France. To afford this policy an efficient support, M. de Monthonol, the French minister plenipotentiary, resolved to add to the weight of French arms the influence of that other power which has developed with so much rapidity in our century, and which possesses a force which penetrates everywhere; we mean the press. There were already several newspapers in Mexico, and amongst them the *Estafette*, edited by a Frenchman; but the *Estafette* did not represent the policy of intervention. M. de Monthonol set to work to create a new paper, the management of which he confided to a Frenchman.

L'Ere Nouvelle appeared on October 1st. The programme of the paper was naturally conservative and liberal. Notwithstanding its origin, it did not separate the cause of intervention from that of the empire, and it laboured to disseminate the doctrines of equality before the law and of the abolition of the privileges of the clergy and nobility, which corresponded to the doctrines of 1789. It was a valuable and useful auxiliary to the cause of intervention.

From the time of his arrival in Mexico, Maximilian, dazzled by the acclamations which greeted him on the way and intoxicated by his popularity, thought only of destroying what he believed to be the last remnants of rebellion.

[1865 A.D.]

"My duties as sovereign," he wrote to his minister of state on November 3rd, "oblige me to protect the people with an iron hand, and, in answer to the needs loudly expressed in all quarters, we, as head of the nation, in full recognition of our sacred mission and of the duty which is imposed upon us, declare that all the armed bands still roaming in some parts of our beautiful country and spreading desolation, turmoil, and menace against the liberty and labour of industrious citizens, shall be considered as assemblies of bandits and fall consequently under the inflexible and inexorable rigours of the law. If our government respects all political opinions, it cannot tolerate the criminals who violate the first of the liberties it is called on to guarantee, namely, that of person and property."

To the political prefects he gave analogous instructions, especially recommending them to show themselves severe towards the theft and pillage which had discredited Mexico in the eyes of the whole world. Then, with that imagination which he could neither master nor regulate, he embraced, in his recommendations, all the subjects which presented themselves to his mind: the care of the roads, the public health, the development of public instruction and of agriculture, the breeding of animals, the improvement of the race of horses, the investigations respecting coal, mercury, and copper mines, the state of abandoned tracts of country, etc. To stimulate the prefects' zeal, and in the hope of obtaining better information, he borrowed from Charlemagne the institution of *missi dominici*, and created inspectors, charged to see everything, hear everything, and report to the emperor what they had seen and heard. He forgot only one thing in assigning their duties to these prefects, and that was the keeping of the civil registers. He left this in the hands of the clergy, only imposing on them the obligation to transmit a copy every month to the civil administration.

He completed these measures of government by the creation of a council of state, to which he assigned as duties the drafting of laws and regulations and the administrative judgment of disputed claims, and all questions concerning the responsibility of the great functionaries which should be submitted to it by the emperor.

The composition of this council bore the mark of Maximilian's inclinations; that is to say, the councillors were taken as much from the clericals as from the liberals. Above all it bore the mark of the tendencies of those immediately about the emperor, in that nearly all these councillors were hostile to France. These selections were so much the less justified in that, if Maximilian's government had the time to legislate and create a council of state, it was precisely to the arms of France that they owed it. Every fresh day of success ought to have reminded them of it.

The French victories, whilst they witnessed to the bravery of the French army and the services it was rendering to the empire, showed only too plainly how little the country was really pacified, and what need there still was for our military co-operation. When, therefore, in the last two months of this year of 1864, the marshal, in obedience to the desire so often expressed by Napoleon III, sent back to France the troops that had first arrived in Mexico with General Lorencez, the battery of the garde imperiale, the 2nd zouaves, the 99th regiment of the line, and the 1st battalion of foot chasseurs, the Mexican government felt nothing but regret at the measure. The arrival of the Belgian legion did not seem enough to make up for this withdrawal.

The empress Charlotte echoed this impression in a letter addressed to Europe: "We must have troops; the Austrians and Belgians are very well in times of calm, but let the tempest come and there is nothing but red panta-

[1865-1867 A.D.]

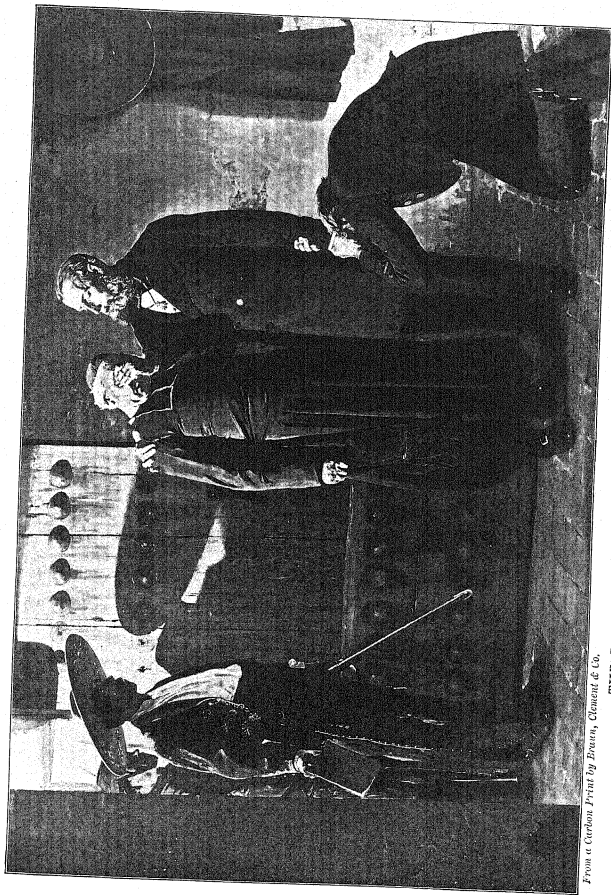
loons. If I may be allowed to say all I think, I believe that it will be very difficult for us to get through the first vital crisis if the country is not better occupied than at present. The troops are all very scattered, and it seems to me that instead of recalling any they ought to have been increased. I greatly fear lest the marshal may repent not having written what we asked him in the month of October; he feared the discontent in France, and has, I think, exchanged a slight unpleasantness for a greater one."

This letter reflects the impression that many had at the time—and that many have still—that Marshal Bazaine was absolute master, to do as he would, and to him was attributed the initiative in all the acts of his administration. This error is explained by the ignorance, which has existed till this day, of the secret correspondence that Napoleon III and Marshal Randon never ceased to carry on with him. Napoleon III had indeed declared in one of his letters that he gave him *carte blanche*; but it is none the less certain that in every circumstance the marshal obeyed orders from Paris, and, as regards the special case with which we are dealing, here is an extract from a letter of Marshal Randon (October 31st) which abundantly proves that, if he sent back troops, it was because he could not do otherwise: "I thank you for the assurance you give me that the home-coming of the troops you have designated for return to France will suffer no delay, for, if it had been otherwise, the question of the war budget would have been compromised, and it would have been difficult to make it understood why, after the repeated successes which our troops obtain at all points, and in view of the arrival of these nine thousand Belgians and Germans, the convention agreed upon with Maximilian should be delayed in its execution."

The marshal had, besides, an excellent motive for diminishing the French army of occupation; the Belgians and Austrians who came to Mexico were not so much to be despised as the empress Charlotte appeared to think, and they showed in several encounters that they were "very well" at other times than "times of calm."

The American Civil War ended in the spring of 1865, and a strong popular feeling was at once manifested in favour of asserting the Monroe Doctrine against Maximilian's government. In the summer there were threatening movements of United States troops towards the Rio Grande; early in 1866 Napoleon III announced to the French chambers his intention of withdrawing his forces; in response to a note of Seward, the United States secretary of state, of February 12th, 1866, he was induced to promise their return by three instalments at specific dates (November, 1866; March and November, 1867). Maximilian now turned for support to the Mexican clericals; meditated abdication, but was dissuaded by his wife Charlotte ("the better man of the two," as he had once jestingly said), who went to intercede for him with the emperor of the French. Finding him obdurate, she went on to appeal to the pope; on her way, at Bozen, she went mad (end of September, 1866).

Maximilian had meanwhile drawn nearer to the clericals and further from the French, and, to protect French interests, Napoleon III had decided to send out General Castelnau to supersede Bazaine, arrange for the withdrawal of the French forces in one body, and restore the republic under Ortega, who had quarrelled with Juarez, and was, therefore, of all republicans, least unacceptable to the clericals. But fearing the prospect, they induced Maximilian, who had retired to Orizaba for his health, to remain. Father Fischer, a German-American by extraction, was specially influential here.



From a Carbon Print by Evans, Clement & Co.

THE LAST MOMENTS OF MAXIMILIAN, EMPEROR OF MEXICO

(From the painting by Jean Paul Laurens)



[1867 A.D.]

A conference of eighteen representative Mexicans was summoned, and refused his offer to retire, by ten votes to eight. He yielded on condition that a congress of all parties should be summoned to decide the fate of the empire. Hereupon he returned to the capital; the Juarist dominion extended rapidly; the French troops left (in one body) on February 5th, 1867, ignoring and ignored by the imperial government, and shortly after Maximilian took command of the army at Queretaro. Here, with Miramon, he was besieged by the Juarists under Escobedo, and the garrison, when about to make a last attempt to break out and seek refuge in the fastnesses of the Sierra Gorda, was betrayed by Colonel Lopez to the besiegers (May 15th, 1867). Maximilian, with the Mexican generals Miramon and Mejia, was tried (fairly enough) by court-martial, and, refusing (or neglecting) to avail himself of various opportunities of escape, was convicted on charges which may be summarised as rebellion, murder, and brigandage, on June 14th, and executed with Miramon and Mejia on June 19th, 1867.^h

BANCROFT¹ ON THE EMPIRE OF MAXIMILIAN

The empire was undoubtedly a huge mistake. It can hardly be termed illegal, for all international law is based upon the right of might. The assembly which issued the plan and nomination may be challenged, but the country cannot repudiate the immense vote which lent confirmation, whatever the insincerity and reservation underlying that vote. The plea of compulsion affected only a part. It was but natural to suppose that a nation so long torn by revolutions and attendant maladministration would hail a stable government; and Napoleon and Maximilian hugged the belief only too eagerly, the latter influenced not a little by the glitter of an imperial crown. Unfortunately, their views were framed by European standards, and by the expressions of a comparatively small party in Mexico. The rest of the people they failed to understand or to fully consider. There was little to fear from the passive Indian, but everything from the middle race, the mestizos, that mixture of activity and indolence, of brightness and dreaminess, insincerity and selfishness, in whose ever-growing strength rests the future of the country. Although reckless and improvident by nature, the mestizo had tired for a while of war, and yielded with the substantial classes to the effort for a peaceful rule. But soon his jealousy was roused by the growth of foreign influence and the preference accorded to assuming officials from beyond the ocean. The gleam of foreign bayonets supporting the throne now flashed wider, and his restive independence of spirit took alarm, fostered by conservative discontent. The very strength of the invader became a source of weakness.

The liberal policy of Maximilian was based on apparently good grounds, seeking as it did to conciliate factions which formed the worst foe to unity and progress, and making an effort to reach the people itself. If in a sense he turned traitor to the principles of the party to whom he stood bound, and consequently lost a certain support, he did so in search of advancement and in the hope of greater gains. He meant well. Noble ideas ever filled his mind with grand and humanitarian schemes, but he lacked strength and energy to carry them out. He might have done well in a settled country like Lombardy, where he gained so much approval, but Mexico needed a creative reformer, and this he was not.ⁱ

[¹ Taken with permission from the edition of 1882, copyrighted by H. H. Bancroft.]

JUAREZ PRESIDENT

Meanwhile Porfirio Diaz had captured Puebla (April 2nd) and besieged Mexico City, which fell June 21st. The republican government behaved with comparative leniency, though Juarez and Diaz were to some extent forced on by their followers, who rejected a general amnesty. The last anti-Juarist stronghold submitted on July 20th, 1867. A good deal of discontent was caused among the republican rank and file, partly by the reduction of the army, and partly by a proposal to allow priests to vote, which came to nothing, and in the result Juarez's election in October to the presidency was opposed by Diaz, or rather Diaz's friends, but without success. But so soon as Juarez was elected, insurrections broke out in various states, and brigandage prevailed throughout the following year. There were unsuccessful insurrections also in 1869 (clerical) and 1870 (republican), but an amnesty, passed October 13th, 1870, helped to restore peace; trouble again arose, however, at the 1871 election, at which the candidates were Juarez, Lerdo de Tejada, and Diaz. Juarez's continued re-election was regarded as unconstitutional, and, no party obtaining a clear majority, the matter was thrown into congress, which elected him. Diaz's supporters refused to recognise him, and a revolution broke out which went on sporadically till Juarez's death on July 18th, 1872. Lerdo de Tejada, as president of the supreme court, succeeded him, and amnestied the rebels, but made no further concessions.^h

Juarez with his death bequeathed to his country the boon of peace. Opponents in arms laid them down and placed themselves under the constitutional flag. He had ever an unfaltering faith in his mission. Old traditions he ignored; petty wrangles and temporising policies he despised. Heeding only the dictates of duty, he opposed an iron will to the torrent of personal ambitions and party strife, to the wicked envoy of a triumphant reaction as well as of a foreign invasion. He saved the constitution of 1857 by taking into his hands the reins of government at the time that the allied clergy and army were endeavouring to destroy it. Without him the liberal party would have found itself without a leader, or even a cause to fight for. What would have been the fate of the republic, we might ask, if Juarez, the chief magistrate, without soldiers or resources, had faltered? Who would have taken up the struggle had he abandoned it? Indeed, in vain may we search history for a more wonderful example of human greatness and success—a poor ignorant Indian boy, emerging from the wild mountains of Oajaca to link his name to some of the most radical reforms the American continent ever witnessed.ⁱ

In the next year, however, laws were passed repeating in a stronger form the attacks of 1857 on the supremacy of the church, and prohibiting the monastic orders or monastic life. The first day of 1873 was marked by the opening of the Vera Cruz and Mexico railway. For the next two years there were only local disturbances, chiefly in Yucatan, and an Indian rising in Michoacan. Protestant missions established themselves (with some opposition) in the country, and diplomatic relations were renewed with France and Spain (1874). But towards the close of Lerdo de Tejada's term as president he was suspected of aiming at a dictatorship, and Diaz made preparations for a rising, then retiring to Brownsville. At the beginning of 1875 the revolution broke out in Oajaca, with the Plan of Tuxtepec, which was adopted by Diaz and proclaimed as the Plan of Palo Alto (March 22nd). Diaz's attempt to raise the north, however, failed, and, trying to reach Vera Cruz by sea, he was recognised on the steamer, recaptured while attempting a four-mile

[1875-1896 A.D.]

swim ashore, concealed by the purser for some days, generally inside one of the saloon sofas, and helped to get ashore in disguise at Vera Cruz. Lerdo was declared re-elected, but was overthrown and forced into exile (January, 1877), and Diaz, who had assumed the provisional presidency, was declared constitutional president on May 2nd, 1877. A law forbidding the re-election of a president till four years had elapsed from his retirement from office, the outcome of the republican opposition to Juarez and Lerdo, was passed in the autumn of that year (but so modified as to enable Diaz to be re-elected indefinitely in 1887 and 1892).

Diaz's first presidency (1877-1880) was marked by some unsuccessful attempts at revolution, notably by Escobedo from Texas; by the resumption of diplomatic relations with Spain, Germany, Italy, and some South American states (1877), and France (1880); by some frontier difficulties with the United States, whose soldiery had occasionally followed brigands into Mexican territory, and with Guatemala, which revived a claim, dropped since 1858, to a portion of the state of Chiapas; and by considerable internal progress, aided by a too liberal policy of subsidies to railways. The boundary questions were settled under President Gonzales (1880-1884); relations with Great Britain were renewed in 1883. The claims of the railways, however, necessitated retrenchment on official salaries, and the president's plan for conversion of the debt roused unexpected opposition in an ordinarily subservient congress. It was attacked with great force and eloquence by the youngest member of the house, Señor Miron; Señor Guillermo Prieto, a noted poet and ex-minister, added the weight of his authority to the attack; the students demonstrated against the bill in the streets; and finally it was rejected, on the ground that the expenses of conversion were too heavy and the burden on Mexico too great. At the end of 1884 Porfirio Diaz was again elected president, and was continually re-elected, the constitution being twice modified expressly to allow him to continue in office (1887, 1892).

The history of Mexico from 1884 to 1902 is almost void of political strife. President Diaz's policy was to keep down disorder with a strong hand; to enforce the law; to foster railway development and economic progress; to develop native manufactures by protective tariffs; to introduce new industries, *e.g.*, the production of silk and wine, of coca and quinine; to promote forestry; to improve elementary and higher education—for all which purposes the Ministerio del Fomento is a potent engine; to encourage colonisation, and, above all, to place the national credit on a sound basis. The first step in this process was a settlement of the British debt by direct arrangement with the bondholders, who were induced to exchange their outstanding bonds (at a discount of about 85 per cent.) for 6 per cent. bonds secured on one-fifth of the import and export duties and the product of certain direct taxes (1887-1888). In 1890 the Spanish bondholders' claims were satisfactorily arranged also. In 1891 the tariff was made more protectionist. In 1893 the depreciation of silver, Mexico's currency and principal article of export, necessitated stringent retrenchment in the diplomatic service and reduction of official salaries; but the budget balanced for the first time during many years, the floating debt was converted, and a loan raised for the completion of the Tehuantepec railway. After 1896 there were substantial annual surpluses, which were spent in reducing taxation and in the extinction of debt. In 1895 the 6 per cent. external debt was converted into a 5 per cent. debt, the bonds of which were in 1902 at a premium; in 1896 the alcabalas or interstate customs and municipal *octrois* were abolished, and replaced in part by direct taxation and increased stamp duties.

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Georg Winter, born at Breslau, February 8rd, 1856, is prominent among modern German historians. His individual works are already numerous and valuable, and having been an assistant of Ranke in the preparation of the *Weltgeschichte*, he became one of the editors of the volumes uncompleted at the death of that great historian.

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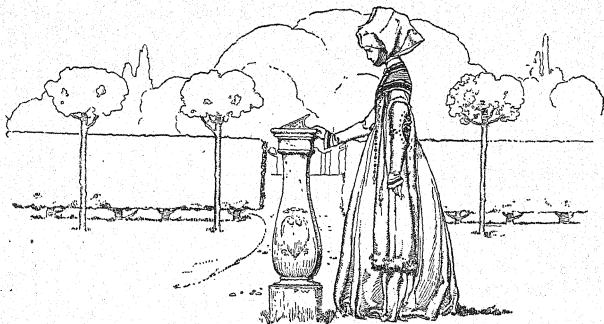
Adam Wolf, a noted Austrian historian, was born at Eger in Bohemia, July 12th, 1822. He studied at Prague and Vienna, becoming a lecturer on history in the University of Vienna in 1850. Appointed professor at Pest in 1852, he was for some years tutor to the daughter of Archduke Albert and in 1865 became professor at the University of Gratz, where he remained until his death, October 25th, 1883. A profound student of Austrian history, especially of the times of Maria Theresa, he wrote a number of important treatises, besides valuable biographies of Francis I and the archduchess Marie Christine.

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Éduard Zeller was born at Kleinbottwar in Württemberg, January 22nd, 1814. He studied at Tübingen and Berlin, and in 1840 became a lecturer on theology at Tübingen. His advanced views caused bitter opposition to his appointment to a professorship at Berne in 1847, and in 1849 he accepted a call to Marburg, where he remained until his appointment as professor of philosophy at Heidelberg in 1862. In 1872 he became professor at Berlin University, but at the age of eighty years retired from active life and settled at Stuttgart. Zeller ranks among the most noted German historians of philosophy and his publications are marked by original thought and profound erudition.

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HISTORY OF THE GERMANIC EMPIRES

A CHRONOLOGICAL SUMMARY OF THE HISTORY OF THE GERMANIC EMPIRES FROM THE TIME OF THE HOHENSTAUFENS TO THE PRESENT

[1138-1904 A.D.]

THE TWELFTH CENTURY

- 1138 **Conrad III** elected king of Germany over his rival, Henry Guelf (the Proud), duke of Bavaria. Conrad fears Henry and puts him under the ban, giving Saxony to Albert the Bear, and Bavaria to Leopold IV, markgraf of Austria.
- 1139 Death of Henry the Proud.
- 1140 His brother Welf asserts rights to Bavaria and is defeated by Conrad at Weinsberg.
- 1141 On death of Leopold of Austria, Bavaria falls to Henry Jasomirgott, brother of Henry the Proud. Conrad restores Saxony to Henry the Lion, son of Henry the Proud. Albert the Bear gives up claim to Saxony and his former possessions are restored to him.
- 1147 Conrad joins the Second Crusade.
- 1149 Return of Conrad renews strife with Welf of Bavaria. Conrad prepares to go to Rome to claim imperial crown.
- 1151 Death of Conrad's eldest son Henry, already crowned king of Germany.
- 1152 Death of Conrad. He has enjoined the electors to make his nephew, **Frederick (I) Barbarossa** emperor, which they do. The king of Denmark acknowledges himself Frederick's vassal.
- 1154 Frederick starts for Italy to restore the imperial authority there.
- 1155 He takes some small towns in northern Italy—is crowned king of Italy at Pavia and emperor by Adrian IV at Rome. Execution of Arnold of Brescia.
- 1156 Frederick undertakes to settle the Guelf and Ghibelline question. Bavaria restored to Henry the Lion. Henry Jasomirgott made duke of Austria. Welf receives Tuscany, Spoleto, and some of the countess Matilda's possessions. The Guelf power is once more fully established.
- 1157 Nearly all the western princes do homage to the emperor at the Diet of Würzburg. Frederick bestows the crown of Bohemia upon Wladislaw. Rupture between pope and emperor on account of the former's confirmation of William II of Sicily.
- 1158 Frederick goes again to Italy. The Diet of Roncaglia defines rights of emperor against the Lombard cities. Revolt of Milan.
- 1160 Siege and destruction of Crema. Schism in the church.
- 1162 Siege and surrender of Milan. The city burned.

- 1167 Siege of Ancona. Formation of the Lombard League. Union of Guelfs and Ghibellines. Second coronation of Frederick by the anti-pope Paschal III.
- 1168 Plague nearly annihilates Frederick's army and he returns to Germany with difficulty. The Diet of Bamberg ends a feud between Henry the Lion and his foes.
- 1169 Frederick's son Henry chosen king of the Romans. Rebuilding of Milan. The new city of Alessandria built.
- 1174 Fifth expedition of Frederick to Italy.
- 1175 Unsuccessful siege of Alessandria.
- 1176 Disastrous defeat of Frederick by the Lombards at Legnano. He makes an armistice with the pope and the Lombards.
- 1177 Reconciliation of Pope Alexander III and Frederick at Venice.
- 1178 End of the schism in the church.
- 1182 Submission of Henry the Lion. Division of the duchy of Saxony.
- 1183 Peace of Constance. The Lombard cities gain their independence, recognising the overlordship of Frederick, which however they may redeem by annual payment.
- 1186 Frederick visits Italy for the sixth time. He attempts to repress the growing energy of the Lombard and Tuscan cities. Marriage of Henry to Constance, daughter of Roger II of Sicily.
- 1188 Frederick joins the Third Crusade. Henry made vice-regent. He goes to war with Henry the Lion. Death of William II of Sicily. Henry by virtue of his marriage claims the kingdom, but it is secured by Tancred.
- 1190 Henry comes to an understanding with Henry the Lion. Death of Frederick while bathing in a stream in Cilicia. **Henry VI** succeeds.
- 1191 Coronation of Henry as emperor. He abandons Tusculum. Siege of Naples in war with Tancred.
- 1194 End of a two years' war with Henry the Lion and liberation of Richard Cœur de Lion, his brother-in-law.
- 1195 Henry subjugates the kingdom of Sicily which he treats in merciless fashion. William III resigns the crown to Henry. End of the Norman dynasty, Germany's most dangerous rival in Italy.
- 1196 Henry's eldest son Frederick elected king of the Romans.
- 1197 Rebellion in Sicily crushed. Henry makes great plans for conquest of the Eastern Empire, but dies suddenly.
- 1198 Some of the German princes elect **Philip of Swabia**, Henry's brother, king. Others bestow the title upon **Otto IV**, son of Henry the Lion. A war for the crown between the Guelfs and Hohenstaufens begins. Pope Innocent III recognises Otto. The name Guelf applied to partisans of the pope. Defeat of Otto and restriction of his power.

THE THIRTEENTH CENTURY

- 1208 Murder of Philip. Otto universally hailed as sovereign.
- 1209 Coronation of Otto as emperor. He abandons the estates of Matilda to the pope.
- 1212 In consequence of quarrels between Otto and the pope, the latter makes **Frederick II**, grandson of Barbarossa, king of Germany.
- 1214 Battle of Bouvines. Otto in alliance with King John of England and others defeated by Philip Augustus of France. He withdraws to the Harzburg.
- 1215 Coronation of Frederick as king of Germany. He promises to undertake a crusade.
- 1218 Death of Otto IV.
- 1220 Frederick's young son, Henry, to whom Swabia has been given, is elected king of Rome. Coronation of Frederick as emperor upon renewing his promises to the papal see by Honorius III.
- 1222 Coronation of Henry as king at Aachen (Aix-la-Chapelle).
- 1226 Quarrels with the Lombard cities.
- 1227 Abortive attempt of Frederick to conduct a crusade. He is excommunicated for not fulfilling his promise. Defeat of the Danish king, Valdemar II, at Bornhöved.
- 1228 Frederick sails for the East on his crusade. The pope excommunicates him for starting without absolution.
- 1229 The pope's army ravages Apulia. Frederick concludes a ten years' truce with the Saracens, receives Jerusalem and other places, and returns to Italy. He is excommunicated a third time for coming back. Frederick drives the papal troops from his territories.
- 1230 Peace made with the pope. Absolution of Frederick.
- 1234 Revolt of Frederick's son Henry in lower Germany. He is subdued and sent to Italy. Public peace enacted at Mainz. The laws first published both in Latin and German.
- 1236 Victories over the Lombard cities.
- 1237 Frederick seizes Austria, and deposes Duke Frederick the Warlike. The empress' second

- son, Conrad, elected king of the Romans. In Lombardy Frederick wins a decisive victory over the Lombard cities at Cortenuova. The smaller cities hasten to make peace. Milan holds out.
- 1238 Siege of Brescia. Frederick retires to Cremona. Frederick's natural son, Enzo, assumes title of king of Sardinia, which offends the pope.
- 1239 Beginning of war with the papacy. Excommunication of Frederick. Enzo captures Ancona.
- 1240 Frederick appears before Rome, but returns to Naples.
- 1241 Sea victory of Enzo at Elba. In Germany Duke Henry the Pious, of Liegnitz, fights a battle at Wahlstatt with the Mongols, who have invaded the country. Although victorious, the Mongols turn back.
- 1245 Innocent IV, having escaped from Frederick, summons council at Lyons and declares Frederick deposed. All subjects of the emperor are ordered to revolt, and a new election is called for.
- 1246 **Henry Raspe**, landgraf of Thuringia, is elected. He is defeated at Ulm by Conrad
- 1247 Death of Henry. **William of Holland** elected to succeed him.
- 1248 Defeat of Frederick at Padua. He retreats to Naples.
- 1249 Victory at Fossalta for the Lombard cities. Capture of Enzo.
- 1250 Frederick dies at Fiorentino. His son, **Conrad IV**, succeeds. Germany torn by factions. Conrad stays in Italy. The pope refuses to recognize him as emperor. Conrad is by Frederick's will king of Sicily also. He and his brother Manfred recover Naples and Capua from the pope.
- 1252 The pope offers the crown of Sicily to Richard, earl of Cornwall, and to Charles, count of Anjou, in return for an alliance against Conrad and Manfred. Neither accepts.
- 1254 Death of Conrad, said to be caused by Manfred's ambitions. Manfred becomes regent in Sicily for Conrad's son Conradin.
- 1256 Death of William. *Interregnum* in Germany.
- 1257 Double election of **Richard of Cornwall** and **Alfonso of Castile** to the German kingdom. The former is crowned at Aachen, but is recognised only in the Rhine valley. The latter never comes to Germany.
- 1258 Manfred states that Conradin is dead and has himself crowned king of Sicily. The pope refuses to recognise him.
- 1264 Pope Urban IV offers the crown of Sicily to Charles of Anjou, who accepts.
- 1265 Coronation of Charles as king of Sicily. He proceeds against Manfred.
- 1266 Death of Manfred in battle of Benevento.
- 1267 Expedition of **Conradin** into Italy to recover his hereditary rights.
- 1268 Defeat of Conradin at Tagliacozzo. He is captured and executed.
- 1272 Death of Richard of Cornwall. The pope threatens to appoint an emperor if the electors do not choose one. A new era for the empire begins. Italy has been lost to it. The house of Anjou is established in southern Italy. The Gueft triumphs in the north have put an end to imperial authority. The ecclesiastical power has entirely overshadowed that of the emperor. The title continues only in name. The electors become a distinct element in the state.
- 1273 Diet at Frankfort, assembled to elect a successor to Richard, king of the Romans, passes over the chief candidates, Ottocar king of Bohemia and Alfonso the Learned of Castile, and chooses **Rudolf of Habsburg**. He conciliates the papacy by making ample concessions.
- 1276 Vienna taken by Rudolf from the Bohemian king, who resigns Austria, Styria, Carinthia, etc., to Rudolf. Rudolf restores order in the realm.
- 1278 Ottocar defeated by Rudolf at the battle of Marchfeld. Death of Ottocar. His successor, Wenceslaus II, marries Rudolf's daughter.
- 1291 Rudolf dies.
- 1292 **Adolphus of Nassau** elected German king to the exclusion of Albert, Rudolf's son. Civil war.
- 1298 **Albert I** elected. He defeats and slays Adolphus at Gölheim, subdues Theobald of Pfirt, and makes peace with the electors.
- 1299 Treaty with Philip the Fair of France.
- 1300 A campaign undertaken by Albert to assert his claims to the domains of the deceased count of Holland fails. He puts down internal enemies.

THE FOURTEENTH CENTURY

- 1301 Charles Martel, son of Charles II of Naples, made king of Hungary by the pope. The Hungarians choose the son of Wenceslaus of Bohemia.
- 1303 Albert exchanges the alliance of Philip of France for that of Pope Boniface VIII. War with Wenceslaus II of Bohemia.
- 1306 Albert seizes the Bohemian kingdom on the death of Wenceslaus III and makes his own son Rudolf king.
- 1307 Battle of Lucka. Albert's troops defeated by the Thuringian princes. Death of Rudolf

- of Bohemia. The Bohemians elect Duke Henry of Carinthia king. Albert invades Bohemia.
- 1308 Albert murdered by his nephew, John the Parricide. **Henry VII of Luxemburg** elected German king at Rhense. Waldemar, the powerful markgraf of Brandenburg, begins his rule.
- 1309 Henry makes a compact with the excluded princes of the house of Habsburg.
- 1310 Henry of Carinthia is expelled from the Bohemian throne and the crown transferred to John, son of Henry of Luxemburg. Henry of Luxemburg assembles an army to assert the imperial supremacy over Italy. He enters Lombardy and is crowned with the iron crown at Milan. He favours the Ghibellines. Guelf rising against him. Unsuccessful siege of Brescia. The Genoese welcome Henry.
- 1312 Henry VII receives the imperial crown at Rome and attacks Florence. Waldemar of Brandenburg defeats Frederick of Thuringia at Grossenhain. War between Ludwig of Bavaria (the Bavarian) of the house of Wittelsbach and Frederick the Handsome of Austria.
- 1313 Henry prepares to oppose Robert king of Naples. Death of Henry VII. Battle of Gammelsdorf: Ludwig of Bavaria defeats Frederick the Handsome.
- 1314 **Ludwig (IV) the Bavarian** elected German king at Frankfort, and **Frederick the Handsome** at Sachsenhausen. The cities support Ludwig. General anarchy and war between the Habsburgs and Wittelsbachs.
- 1315 Battle of Morgarten. Duke Leopold of Austria, brother of Frederick, defeated by the Swiss confederates.
- 1316 Waldemar of Brandenburg defeats a league of Poland, Denmark, Sweden, and Norway at Granson.
- 1322 Ludwig the Bavarian defeats and captures Frederick at Mühldorf.
- 1323 Brandenburg, left vacant by the extinction of Waldemar's family, conferred on Ludwig, son of Ludwig the Bavarian.
- 1324 Pope John XXII declares Ludwig deposed and his followers excommunicate. The electors refuse to acknowledge the sentence.
- 1325 Ludwig and Frederick agree to reign conjointly.
- 1326 Death of Leopold of Austria.
- 1327 Ludwig goes to Milan and receives the crown of Lombardy.
- 1328 Ludwig seizes Pisa. He is crowned emperor at Rome, and sets up an anti-pope, but finds himself surrounded by enemies and returns home.
- 1330 Death of Frederick the Handsome. His surviving brothers make peace with Ludwig. King John of Bohemia secures the inheritance of Henry of Carinthia by marrying his son, John Henry, to Henry's daughter, Margarete Maultasch, and makes a successful expedition into Italy.
- 1331 Ludwig fails in an attempt to reconcile himself with the pope. The Swabian League formed by the cities to resist oppression by the nobles.
- 1333 John of Bohemia forced to evacuate Italy.
- 1336 Division of the dominions of Henry of Carinthia. John of Bohemia takes Tyrol and the Habsburgs Carinthia and Carniola.
- 1337 Ludwig makes alliance with England against France.
- 1338 Diet of Frankfort. The estates of the empire declare John XXII's interdict against Ludwig to be null and void. The electors declare the choice of an emperor to rest with them independently of the pope's sanction.
- 1340 Ludwig abandons the English alliance for that of France.
- 1341 Lower Bavaria is united to Ludwig's dominions on extinction of the ducal house. Louis the Great, son of Charles Martel, becomes king of Hungary.
- 1342 Tyrol acquired for the house of Wittelsbach by the marriage of Margarete Maultasch with Ludwig of Brandenburg.
- 1346 Ludwig takes possession of Holland, Zealand, and Friesland in right of his wife. Clement VI excommunicates Ludwig and declares him deposed. **Charles (IV) of Luxemburg**, son of King John of Bohemia, elected German king. The cities refuse to receive him. He flees to France.
- 1347 Death of John of Bohemia at Crécy. Charles succeeds him. Death of Ludwig. Louis of Hungary invades Naples to avenge the death of his brother, King Andrew.
- 1348 Charles IV supports the claim of the false Waldemar to Brandenburg. Charles founds the University of Prague.
- 1349 Günther, Count of Schwarzenburg, made German king by the supporters of the house of Wittelsbach, rivals of the false Waldemar. Günther resigns his claims for a money payment.
- 1350 Charles abandons Waldemar's cause.
- 1353 The count palatine resigns half the upper Palatinate to the Bohemian crown.
- 1354 Charles crowned at Milan with the iron crown of Lombardy.
- 1355 The Bohemian laws modified at Charles' suggestion. He negotiates a peace between the Visconti and the Lombard League and is crowned emperor at Rome. Charles attacked in Pisa. He returns home.

- 1856 The Golden Bull, agreed to by the diet at Nuremberg, regulates the method of the election of German emperors.
- 1858 Alliance between Rudolf IV of Austria and the counts of Württemberg against Charles. Louis the Great of Hungary conquers Dalmatia from Venice.
- 1860 Charles detaches the counts of Württemberg from Rudolf IV.
- 1864 By the Treaty of Brunn, between Rudolf and Charles, the houses of Habsburg and Luxemburg conclude a perpetual alliance by which on the extinction of the one house the other becomes its heir.
- 1866 Battle at the Iron Gates between the Hungarians and Turks.
- 1868 Charles leads an army into Italy against the Visconti and gains their promise not to make alliances against the pope. Charles again goes to Rome.
- 1870 Louis of Hungary makes himself king of Poland.
- 1872 Battle of Altheim. The Swabian League defeated by the count of Württemberg.
- 1873 The Treaty of Fürstenwald. The house of Wittelsbach resigns the mark of Brandenburg to Charles IV. Pomerania and Mecklenburg acknowledge Charles' suzerainty.
- 1876 Charles' son Wenceslaus chosen emperor in his father's lifetime. Ulm, Constance, and other cities unite to defend their liberties and refuse to do homage to Wenceslaus.
- 1877 Battle of Reutlingen. The troops of the cities defeat those of Württemberg. Charles confirms the liberties of the cities in return for their homage to Wenceslaus. The cities in the Swabian League increased to thirty-two. Charles divides his territories among his sons.
- 1878 Death of Charles IV. Wenceslaus succeeds.
- 1879 The dukes of Bavaria, the counts palatine, and the markgraf of Baden join the Swabian League. Leagues of the sword, crown, lion, etc., formed by the knights to counterbalance the Swabian League. Wars between the towns and knightly leagues.
- 1882 In the league of Ehingen, the Swabian League and the knightly leagues unite to preserve order. Death of Louis of Hungary. His daughter Mary, wife of Wenceslaus' brother Sigismund, succeeds him.
- 1884 Wenceslaus elected head of the leagues.
- 1885 Five Swiss towns join the league of cities.
- 1886 Duke Leopold of Austria defeated and slain by the Swiss at Sempach.
- 1887 War between the princes and the Swabian League. Sigismund, markgraf of Brandenburg, brother of Wenceslaus, crowned king of Hungary.
- 1888 Battle of Nüfels. An Austrian army defeated by the Swiss Confederation. Battle of Döflingen. The princes defeat the Swabian League.
- 1889 Diet of Eger. Wenceslaus persuades the princes and many of the towns to agree to a *Landfriede* or "king's peace" for six years. Massacre of Jews in Prague.
- 1893 Conflict between Wenceslaus and the Bohemian clergy. The Bohemian nobles form a noble league (*Herrenbund*) against Wenceslaus. They are joined by Sigismund of Hungary, Jobst of Moravia, and other princes.
- 1894 Wenceslaus imprisoned by the Bohemian nobles. John, duke of Görlitz, brother of Wenceslaus, defeats the Bohemian rebels.
- 1895 Wenceslaus makes Galeazzo Visconti hereditary duke of Milan.
- 1896 Battle of Nikopoli; the Turks defeat Sigismund of Hungary.
- 1897 The diets of Temesvár (1897) and Buda (1405) organise the Hungarian chambers of peers and representatives.
- 1400 Wenceslaus deposed by the electors.

THE FIFTEENTH CENTURY

- 1401 They choose Rupert Clem, the count palatine, Roman king. Rupert makes alliance with the *Herrenbund*. He leads an army into Italy, but returns to Germany unsuccessful.
- 1402 Sigismund of Hungary rules Bohemia for Wenceslaus. He imprisons Wenceslaus.
- 1403 Wenceslaus escapes. The Hungarians make Ladislaus of Naples king. Sigismund propitiates the Hungarians and Ladislaus withdraws.
- 1405 League of Marbach. The archbishop of Mainz, the markgraf of Baden, the count of Württemberg, and seventeen Swabian cities unite against Rupert.
- 1400 The archbishop of Prague commands Wycliffe's writings to be publicly burned.
- 1410 John Huss laid under the ban of the church for heresy. Death of Rupert. Sigismund of Hungary chosen emperor. Another party elect Jobst of Moravia.
- 1411 Jobst dies. Agreement between Sigismund and Wenceslaus. Sigismund again elected. Frederick von Hohenzollern becomes administrator of Brandenburg.
- 1412 Hussite disturbances in Prague.
- 1414 Council of Constance meets to end the papal schism and deal with the Bohemian heresy and with church reform. Sigismund attends it.
- 1415 John Huss burned at the stake by order of the council. The majority of the Bohemian nobles form an alliance to support Hussite doctrines.
- 1416 Jerome of Prague burned.

- 1419 Revolt of the Taborites, a branch of the Hussites in Prague. Wenceslaus murdered. Churches and cloisters attacked by the Hussites. They take arms and led by Zizka capture the citadel of Prague.
- 1420 Crusade declared against the Hussites. The Hussites institute a regular government under Nicholas of Hus and Zizka and it is supported by the main portion of the Bohemian nation. Sigismund's troops defeated before Prague. The Calixtines, or Utraquists, the moderate Hussite party, embody their doctrines in the Four Articles.
- 1421 The Hussites take many cities and ravage the country.
- 1422 Battle of Deutsch-Brod. Sigismund defeated by Zizka. Dissensions among the Hussites.
- 1424 Zizka dies.
- 1426 The Hussites defeat the imperials at Aussig and make raids into the empire.
- 1428 The Hussites invade Silesia and Hungary.
- 1431 Hussite victory at Taus. Sigismund receives the Lombard crown at Milan. Council of Bâle meets and negotiates with the Hussites.
- 1433 Sigismund recognises Eugenius IV as pope and is crowned emperor at Rome. The council of Bâle offers the Hussites concessions known as the Compactata, granting the administration of the cup in both kinds and consecration of Utraquist priests. The Hussites refuse the terms offered.
- 1434 The nobles in Bohemia unite to restore order and defeat the Hussites at Lipan. Order restored in Bohemia.
- 1436 Sigismund concedes the Bohemians' demands in favour of the independence of the church in Bohemia. The Compactata are accepted and Sigismund is received in Prague as king of Bohemia.
- 1437 Sigismund dies and the house of Luxemburg becomes extinct.
- 1438 Duke Albert of Austria elected German king as **Albert II.**
- 1439 Albert dies in a war with the Turks.
- 1440 With the election of Frederick III (IV) the empire returns to the house of Habsburg. Wladislaw Jagello of Poland chosen king of Hungary.
- 1442 Hungarians under John Hunyady defeat the Turks at Szent-Imre and the Iron Gates.
- 1443 Hunyady beats the Turks at Nish and crosses the Balkans.
- 1444 At Frederick's suggestion a force of Armagnacs invades Switzerland. It is defeated at Sankt Jakob. Battle of Varna. The Turks defeat Hunyady and kill Wladislaw Jagello. Wladislaw the Posthumous, king of Bohemia, son of Albert II, chosen king of Hungary. John Hunyady appointed governor in his absence. George Podiebrad becomes leader of the Utraquist party of Hussites, now the dominant one in Bohemia.
- 1445 Hunyady besieges Vienna to compel Frederick to release Wladislaw the Posthumous.
- 1446 Treaty between Frederick and Pope Eugenius IV. Two electors deposed. The electors league against the pope. War between Elector Frederick of Saxony and Duke William of Thuringia.
- 1447 Through the efforts of Æneas Sylvius the obedience of the German princes is restored to the pope.
- 1448 Battle of Kosovo. Hunyady defeated by the Turks. George Podiebrad takes Prague. War between Hussites and Catholics in Bohemia.
- 1449 The Markgrafs War of Albert Achilles of Brandenburg and other princes against Nuremberg. Several German princes combine to replace Frederick by George Podiebrad, but fail of their object.
- 1451 Frederick III recognises the authority of George Podiebrad in Bohemia. Podiebrad finally suppresses the Taborite sect of Hussites.
- 1452 Frederick crowned emperor at Rome. (This was the last occasion on which a German emperor was crowned at Rome.)
- 1453 Frederick permits Wladislaw the Posthumous to assume government of Hungary. Hungary threatened by the Turks after the fall of Constantinople.
- 1456 Hunyady defeats the Turks in a great battle at Belgrade. He dies.
- 1457 Lower Austria falls to Frederick on the death of Wladislaw the Posthumous. The crown of Hungary falls to Matthias Corvinus, son of Hunyady; that of Bohemia to George Podiebrad.
- 1462 Battle of Säckingen; Frederick, count palatine, defeats Ulrich of Würtemberg and his allies. Rising in Vienna under Frederick III's brother Albert.
- 1463 The death of Albert puts Frederick in possession of Upper Austria.
- 1468 The pope refuses to confirm the Bohemian Compactata, excommunicates George Podiebrad, and incites Matthias Corvinus to war with him.
- 1469 Matthias is crowned king of Bohemia, but is soon after expelled thence.
- 1471 On the death of George Podiebrad, Wladislaw Jagello of Poland becomes king of Bohemia. Matthias continues the war with Bohemia.
- 1474 Charles the Bold of Burgundy besieges Neuss.
- 1475 Frederick relieves Neuss.
- 1477 Maximilian, son of Frederick III, marries Mary of Burgundy, heiress of Charles the Bold.

- 1479 By the Treaty of Olmütz, Wladislaw of Bohemia abandons Silesia, Moravia, and Lusatia to Matthias Corvinus. Battle of Guinegate. Maximilian defeats the French. The Hungarians defeat the Turks at Kenyer-mesö.
- 1482 Death of Mary of Burgundy; Maximilian rules the Netherlands for their son Philip. Revolts against him. Peace of Arras. Maximilian resigns Burgundy and Artois to France.
- 1485 Matthias Corvinus conquers Austria and forces Frederick to acknowledge his rights in Silesia. He makes Vienna his capital.
- 1486 Maximilian chosen king of the Romans.
- 1488 Great Swabian League of the archduke Sigismund of Austria, twenty-two Swabian cities, etc., to maintain order. Frederick III invades the Netherlands to release Maximilian, kept prisoner at Bruges.
- 1489 Frederick defeats the Flemings at Bertborg.
- 1490 Frederick abandons the government to Maximilian. Wladislaw, king of Bohemia, becomes king of Hungary on the death of Matthias Corvinus. Maximilian attacks Wladislaw and recovers Austria.
- 1491 By the Treaty of Pressburg Wladislaw promises Maximilian the succession to Hungary if he himself should die without heirs.
- 1492 Charles VIII of France marries Maximilian's betrothed, Anne of Brittany; England and Spain unite with Maximilian against France.
- 1493 Peace made with Charles VIII, who surrenders Franche-Comté and Artois to Maximilian. Death of Frederick III. Maximilian succeeds him, Maximilian repels an invasion of the Turks.
- 1494 Maximilian surrenders the government of the Netherlands to his son Philip.
- 1495 Maximilian joins the league of Venice for the expulsion of the French from Italy. Diet of Worms. Permanent peace within the empire agreed upon. Imperial chamber formed to settle quarrels between the princes. The tax called "common penny" imposed to support it.
- 1499 Failure of Maximilian's expedition into Italy. His son Philip marries Juana of Spain.
- 1490 War with the Swiss Confederation. Imperials are defeated at Dorneck. Maximilian makes alliance with Frederick of Naples against France. Diet of Augsburg. Imperial council of regency appointed for six years.

THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY

- 1501 Part of the imperial chamber's jurisdiction transferred to the Aulic council. Treaty with Louis XII of France, whom Maximilian promises to invest with the Milanese.
- 1502 Electoral union formed at Gelnhausen. The electors agree to act in imperial affairs only by mutual consent and to maintain their privileges against the emperor.
- 1504 Maximilian joins in the Bavaria-Landshut war of succession and wins the victory of Ratisbon. Treaty of Blois. Maximilian promises Louis XII the investiture of Milan.
- 1508 Unsuccessful invasion of Venetia by Maximilian. The Venetians conquer and retain Trieste and Fiume. Maximilian forms the league of Cambray with France, Spain, and the pope for the partition of Venice.
- 1509 Successful expedition of Louis XII into Italy. Maximilian's expedition unsuccessful.
- 1510 The pope abandons the league.
- 1512 French victory at Ravenna. Maximilian abandons the cause of the French, and they are expelled from Italy. The empire divided into administrative circles.
- 1513 Battle of Guinegate, or the Spurs; Maximilian with English troops defeats the French.
- 1514 Peasant insurrection in Hungary known as that of the *Kurucs* or Crusaders. The peasants under Dosza defeated at Temesvár and punished with great cruelty. Verböczy's codification of the laws called *Tripartitum Opus Juris Regni Hungaræ* adopted by the Hungarian diet.
- 1515 On the death of Wladislaw of Hungary his son, Louis II, succeeds him.
- 1516 Expedition of Maximilian to Italy. He makes peace with France.
- 1517 Luther begins his attack on the sale of indulgences.
- 1518 Luther summoned to Rome to answer the charge of heresy.
- 1519 Luther appeals to a general council. Death of Maximilian. Charles V, grandson of Maximilian, elected emperor.
- 1520 A papal bull declares Luther a heretic and excommunicates him. Charles crowned at Aachen (Aix-la-Chapelle). Luther burns the bull of excommunication.
- 1521 Diet of Worms. By the Edict of Worms Luther is laid under the ban of the empire. He is concealed in the castle of Wartburg. His doctrines spread. The prince of Anhalt adopts them. The imperial chamber re-established. Belgrade captured by the Turks. Charles cedes Austria, Styria, Carinthia, and Carniola to his brother Ferdinand. The emperor's troops drive the French from the Milanese.
- 1522 Charles cedes the Tyrol to Ferdinand. The French fail in an attempt to recover the Milanese. League between Charles, the pope, Venice, and other Italian cities against France. Bremen accepts the Reformation. It is preached in Silesia. Franz von

Sickingen, at the head of troops of the Swabian League and the Rhenish League of Knights, attempts to introduce a reformation of the church by force. He besieges Treves unsuccessfully.

1523 Sickingen's castle of Landstuhl taken and himself slain.

1524 The diet of Nuremberg recommends the summoning of a council to settle the religious disputes. The Catholic princes of Germany unite in the league of Ratisbon to enforce the Edict of Worms. Magdeburg accepts the Reformation. Appearance of the fanatical sect of anabaptists. They rouse the peasants to rebel against their lords.

1525 A savage peasant war is repressed with equal barbarism. Charles V defeats Francis I at Pavia. John the Constant, elector of Saxony, espouses Luther's cause. Albert of Brandenburg, grandmaster of the Teutonic order of knighthood, adopts Lutheranism, converts East Prussia into an hereditary dukedom, and makes alliance with John the Constant. Luther, having abjured his monastic vows, marries a nun. The reformed doctrines are adopted by Philip, landgraf of Hesse Cassel, and by the city of Nuremberg.

1526 Treaty of Madrid. Francis renounces his claims on Milan and Naples and promises to restore Burgundy to Charles. Alliance of Torgau between the Protestant princes. The pope forms the Holy League of Cognac with Francis I against Charles. The diet of Speier effects a compromise with Luther's followers. Great Turkish victory over the Hungarians at Mohács. Death of Louis II of Hungary. Buda and Pest surrender to the Turks. Ferdinand, brother of Charles V, becomes king of Bohemia. John Zápolya, voivode of Transylvania, crowned king of Hungary. Ferdinand becomes king and expels John Zápolya.

1527 Charles's troops ravage the papal territories and take Rome. Sack of Rome. The pope a prisoner.

1528 The reformed doctrines accepted by the city of Brunswick and established in Brandenburg.

1529 The second diet of Speier issues a decree unfavourable to the reformers. The Lutherans protest and hence acquire the name of Protestants. Hamburg and Strasburg accept the Reformation. Charles signs the Treaty of Cambray with Francis I. The Turks, having overrun Hungary in support of John Zápolya, lay siege to Vienna.

1530 Charles receives the iron crown of Lombardy and is crowned emperor by the pope. He summons a diet at Augsburg. The Protestants draw up the Confession of Augsburg (it was subscribed to by the elector of Saxony, the markgraf of Brandenburg, Ernest, duke of Lüneburg, the landgraf of Hesse, the prince of Anhalt, the cities of Nuremberg, Reutlingen, Kempten, Windsheim, Heilbronn, and Weissenburg). Charles publishes a decree condemning Protestant doctrines and laying the Protestants under the ban of the empire. The Protestant princes unite in the Smalkaldic League (it included the elector of Saxony, the landgraf of Hesse, the prince of Anhalt, the dukes of Brunswick-Lüneburg, the counts of Mansfeld, the cities of Magdeburg, Bremen, Lübeck, Strasburg, Lindau, Constance, Memmingen, Biberach, Isny, Reutlingen, and Ulm).

1531 Ferdinand chosen Roman king. Göttingen adopts the Reformation.

1532 The "Carolina" ordinance regulating the punishment of crime in Germany promulgated. By the religious peace of Nuremberg, Charles agrees to leave the Protestants unmolested till the summons of a general council. Charles leads a great army to the relief of the little Hungarian city of Gunz besieged by a formidable Turkish force. The Turks retire.

1534 Peace of Nuremberg renewed. The Anabaptist commonwealth in Münster commits terrible excesses. Bugenhagen introduces the Reformation into Pomerania.

1535 The anabaptists in Münster put down. Charles V makes an expedition to Tunis, expels the usurper Barbarossa, and restores the king Mulei Hassan. Francis I seizes the occasion to renew the war.

1536 Francis I occupies Piedmont. Charles invades Provence, but finds it already desolated by the French and retreats in disorder.

1538 Treaty of Grosswardein between Ferdinand and John Zápolya; John to retain for life the part of Hungary actually in his possession. Ten years' truce with France (Truce of Nice). Mutiny amongst Charles' troops in Milan, Sicily, and Africa; their generals borrow money to pacify them.

1539 The Reformation established in Frankfort-on-the-Oder.

1540 Death of John Zápolya. His widow, aided by Martinuzzi, bishop of Grosswardein, asserts the claims of her son John Sigismund to Hungary.

1541 Expedition led by Charles against the pirates of Algiers. Great part of the fleet destroyed in a storm. The army returns, having accomplished nothing. Ferdinand's troops besiege John Sigismund in Buda. Buda is relieved by the Turks under Suleiman the Magnificent, who then takes possession of John Sigismund's Hungarian domains for himself.

1542 Hermann, archbishop of Cologne, adopts Protestantism.

1544 Battle of Cerisole in Piedmont. Imperial troops defeated by the French. Charles in-

- vades France in conjunction with Henry VIII. Peace of Crespy. Charles renounces his claims to Burgundy and Francis I his to Naples, Flanders, and Artois.
- 1545 The Smalkaldic League captures the Catholic duke, Henry of Brunswick, after having driven him from his dominions. The council of Trent assembles to consider the question of reform.
- 1546 Charles makes a secret treaty with the Protestant duke, Maurice of Saxony, and concludes a league with the pope. The princes of the Smalkaldic League renounce their allegiance to Charles. Maurice occupies the electorate of Saxony. Charles subdues all the members of the league except John Frederick, elector of Saxony, and the landgraf of Hesse. The elector of Saxony recovers his dominions.
- 1547 The pope transfers the seat of the general council from Trent to Bologna. The German members continue to sit at Trent. The Bohemians demand the restoration of their liberties and make alliance with the elector of Saxony. At the battle of Mülberg Charles crushes the forces of the elector of Saxony. The landgraf of Hesse submits and is imprisoned by Charles. The Saxon electoral dignity transferred to Maurice. Ferdinand suppresses the Bohemian revolution and restricts the liberties of the towns. He holds the "Bloody Diet" and executes the ringleaders of the revolution.
- 1548 Charles promulgates the Augsburg Interim, which concedes the communion in both kinds, but upholds the Roman Catholic doctrine in general and fails to satisfy the Protestants. The imperial cities refuse to recognise the Interim. Charles compels most of them to submit.
- 1549 The Jesuits settle in Bavaria.
- 1550 Transylvania and the Hungarian possessions of John Sigismund surrendered to Ferdinand in exchange for territories in Silesia.
- 1551 Magdeburg taken by Maurice of Saxony after ten months' siege and compelled to accept the Interim. Maurice makes a secret alliance with Henry II of France.
- 1552 Maurice declares for the Protestants. The French capture Metz, Verdun, and Toul. The Swabian cities join Maurice. He defeats the imperial troops at Reuti and captures Ehrenberg. Flight of Charles V from Innsbruck. By the Peace of Passau, Charles concedes religious liberty to the Protestants. Maurice leads his army against the Turks. Charles besieges Metz. Canisius founds a Jesuit college at Vienna.
- 1553 Charles retires from Metz. Albert of Brandenburg carries on a predatory war against the Catholic princes till he is defeated at Sieveshausen by Maurice of Saxony, who is there mortally wounded.
- 1555 Religious peace of Augsburg agreed to by the diet presided over by Ferdinand; religious liberty granted to the Protestants of the Augsburg Confession; toleration in individual states dependent on the rulers; in a clause known as the Ecclesiastical Reservation, ecclesiastics converted to Protestantism are required to vacate their benefices; the Protestants reject this clause. Ferdinand's declaration granting liberty of conscience to Protestants of the Augsburg Confession being subject to ecclesiastical princes, is rejected by the Catholics.
- 1556 Charles resigns the empire to his brother Ferdinand I. The family of Zápolya re-established in Transylvania. Pope Paul IV refuses to recognise Ferdinand as emperor. The papal coronation of the emperor is declared unnecessary. A Jesuit college founded at Prague. The University of Ingolstadt handed over to the Jesuits by the duke of Bavaria.
- 1558 Ferdinand crowned at Frankfurt.
- 1559 The Aulic council reorganised by Ferdinand.
- 1560 Pope Pius IV reconvenes the council of Trent. The diet of princes at Naumburg declares the emperor to be alone capable of summoning a general council.
- 1561 The elector palatine, Frederick III, becomes a convert to Calvinism and attempts to establish it in the Palatinate.
- 1563 The council of Trent confirms the existing dogmas of the Roman Catholic Church.
- 1564 Ferdinand dies and is succeeded in the empire by his son Maximilian II. Maximilian's troops invade the territories of John Sigismund Zápolya.
- 1566 Suleiman the Magnificent invades Hungary and dies at the siege of Sziget.
- 1567 Maximilian makes concessions to the Protestants of Bohemia. The Elector Augustus of Saxony takes Gotha, where the freebooter, William von Grumbach, is sheltered by the duke. The duke of Gotha imprisoned for life.
- 1568 German troops sent to aid the prince of Orange are defeated by the duke of Alva at Jemgum. Maximilian commissions David Chytraeus to organise the Protestant church in Austria and Styria.
- 1571 Death of John Sigismund Zápolya. Maximilian succeeds to his Hungarian dominions. Stephen Báthori becomes voivode of Transylvania.
- 1575 The diet of Ratisbon elects Maximilian's son Rudolf king of the Romans.
- 1576 Death of Maximilian. His son succeeds as Rudolf II and begins to put restrictions on the Protestants in his Austrian dominions. The elector palatine, Ludwig VI, expels the Calvinist preachers from the Palatinate.
- 1580 The Lutheran princes and cities issue the *Book of Concord*, embodying the Lutheran as

- opposed to the Calvinistic doctrines, and require its acceptance by priests and teachers. Schism between the Lutherans and Calvinists finally effected.
- 1582 Gebhard, archbishop and elector of Cologne, embraces Calvinism. The emperor and pope depose Gebhard, who resists the sentence. Civil war in Cologne. The Lutheran princes decline to support Gebhard.
- 1583 On the succession of Frederick IV to the Palatinate the Lutherans are expelled.
- 1584 Ernest of Bavaria establishes himself as elector of Cologne by expelling Gebhard and prohibits Protestant worship.
- 1591 Turks invade Hungary.
- 1592 The Strasburg Protestant canons choose John George, markgraf of Brandenburg, as their bishop. The Catholic minority elect Charles, cardinal archbishop of Mainz. War between the rival bishops.
- 1594 League between the elector palatine, the duke of Württemberg, and other Protestant princes to withhold aid for the Turkish war until their grievances are settled; they complain of imperial and papal encroachment on their religious and civil jurisdiction and of the attempted introduction of the Gregorian calendar.
- 1595 Peasant disturbances in Austria. Rudolf makes alliance with Sigismund Báthori, voivode of Transylvania, against the Turks.
- 1596 The Turks capture Erlau and defeat an Austrian army at Kereztes.

THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY

- 1604 John George, markgraf of Brandenburg, resigns the Strasburg bishopric to the archbishop of Mainz for a money payment. Revolt of Stephen Bocskay and the Protestants of upper Hungary against government persecution. They are joined by the Transylvanian exiles under Bethlen Gábor. Bocskay with the aid of the Turks makes himself prince of Transylvania and master of upper Hungary.
- 1605 Rudolf II orders the decrees of the council of Trent to be accepted in Bohemia.
- 1606 Rudolf's brother Matthias concludes the Peace of Vienna with Stephen Bocskay; the laws of Hungary are confirmed, freedom of religious worship is granted her, and the appointment of only native officials promised; Bocskay is recognised as prince of Transylvania and East Hungary. Matthias concludes a truce with the Turks at Zsitvatorok. Bocskay dies.
- 1607 Sigismund Rákóczy succeeds Bocskay.
- 1608 Diet of Ratisbon. The Protestants demand the abolition of the illegal jurisdiction of the Aulic council and the retention by their party of the ecclesiastical property belonging to it in accordance with the Peace of Passau. A Protestant union formed at Ahausen by the elector palatine, Christian of Anhalt, the duke of Württemberg, markgrafs of Ansbach, Kulmbach, and Baden, and the count palatine of Neuburg. Matthias wins over the Hungarians by confirming their privileges. He invades Bohemia with Austrian and Hungarian troops and forces Rudolf to cede to him Hungary, Austria, and Moravia.
- 1609 The elector of Brandenburg, the landgraf of Hesse, with Strasburg, Ulm, Nuremberg, and other imperial cities join the Protestant Union. The estates of Hungary, Austria, and Moravia compel Matthias to restore their religious privileges. The Protestant Union demands religious and administrative reforms. Various princes lay claim to the vacant duchy of Jülich and Cleves. John Sigismund, elector of Brandenburg, and the count palatine of Neuburg by the Treaty of Dortmund agree to take joint possession. Rudolf refuses to recognise them and appoints the archduke Leopold administrator. Civil war in Jülich. The Bohemian Protestants extort from Rudolf full toleration of religious worship and independent church and school government. Maximilian, duke of Bavaria, unites the Catholic princes in a Catholic league.
- 1610 The Protestant Union renewed, the members agreeing to support the Treaty of Dortmund. Rudolf confers Jülich on the elector of Saxony. Henry IV of France prepares to come to the aid of the union, which negotiates with the United Provinces and other Protestant powers. Death of Henry IV. The Protestants invade Alsace. Maximilian of Bavaria makes peace with the union.
- 1611 The Bohemians transfer their crown to Matthias.
- 1612 Death of Rudolf II. Interregnum. Matthias elected emperor.
- 1613 Bethlen Gábor, assisted by the Turks, makes himself prince of Transylvania.
- 1614 The count palatine of Neuburg goes over to Catholicism and quarrels with John Sigismund of Brandenburg. The prince of Orange comes to the aid of John Sigismund, and Spanish troops under Spinola support Neuburg. The peace of Xanten arranges a division of the Jülich territories between Brandenburg and Neuburg. The Dutch and Spanish refuse to leave the country.
- 1616 Ferdinand of Styria, cousin of Matthias, crowned king of Bohemia.
- 1618 Ferdinand orders the Protestant churches in Bohemia to be destroyed. The people petition Matthias, who supports Ferdinand. The delegates of the Bohemian estates invade a meeting of the council of regency in Prague and fling two of the members

- from the window. This act gives the signal for the Thirty Years' War. The Bohemian estates organise a government under thirty directors. Matthias endeavours to make peace. The Bohemian insurrection spreads. Matthias persuades the Catholics to dissolve their league. The Protestants renew the union and send an army under Mansfeld to assist the Bohemians. The Austrians and the Catholics of the empire refuse to assist Matthias.
- 1619 Matthias dies. Protestants in Austria withhold their allegiance from Ferdinand. The Bohemian insurgents refuse his terms, the Moravians join them, and the allied armies under Thurn march on Vienna. Spanish troops under Boucquoi defeat Mansfeld. The Bohemians withdraw from Vienna. Ferdinand elected emperor as **Ferdinand II**. Bohemia, Moravia, Silesia, and Lusatia form a confederacy with Austrian Protestants and Hungarian malcontents against Ferdinand, depose him, and bestow the Bohemian crown on Frederick V of the Palatinate. Bethlen Gábor of Transylvania invades Hungary, taking many fortresses, including Pressburg. He summons the Hungarian estates which join the confederacy against Ferdinand. Bethlen and Thurn defeat Boucquoi and threaten Vienna. Boucquoi defeats the Hungarians at Hainburg. The Catholic League arms for Ferdinand.
- 1620 The elector of Saxony and other Lutheran princes side with Ferdinand. A Spanish force under Spinola sent against the Palatinate. The Protestant Union agrees not to support Frederick's claims to Bohemia, and the league not to attack the Palatinate. The Austrian Protestants submit to Ferdinand. Bethlen Gábor elected king of Hungary. The forces of the league capture Pisek. Other towns in Bohemia submit. Battle of the White Mountain. Frederick is defeated and flees to Berlin. The Bohemians submit to Ferdinand.
- 1621 Pressburg and other Hungarian cities recovered by the imperials. Boucquoi killed at the siege of Neuhäusel. His troops retire. Bethlen Gábor wins successes. Ferdinand punishes the Bohemian insurgents by executions and confiscations and lays Frederick under the ban of the empire. The Protestant Union promises neutrality. The duke of Bavaria reduces the upper Palatinate. Mansfeld relieves Frankenthal and devastates the bishoprics of Speier and Strasburg. Christian of Brunswick raises an army for Frederick V and plunders the districts on the Main.
- 1622 By the Treaty of Nikolsburg Ferdinand II surrenders Bethlen Gábor seven Hungarian provinces with the principalities of Ratibor and Oppeln, and Bethlen resigns the crown of Hungary. The forces of the league under Tilly defeated by Mansfeld at Wiesloch. Tilly defeats the markgraf of Baden-Durlach at Wimpfen and Christian of Brunswick at Höchst and drives Christian and Mansfeld into Alsace. Frederick disavows Mansfeld and Christian, who pass into Holland. The conquest of the Palatinate completed by Tilly. Mansfeld invades East Friesland. Christian raises an army in lower Saxony.
- 1623 Ferdinand transfers the electorship of the Palatinate from Frederick V to Maximilian of Bavaria. Christian of Brunswick invades Westphalia and is defeated by Tilly at Stadtlohn.
- 1624 Mansfeld retires to Holland. Catholicism restored in Bohemia. The peasant resistance repressed with great cruelty. Wholesale emigrations from Bohemia.
- 1625 Protestant League formed under Christian IV of Denmark. Tilly invades Calenberg and Brunswick. The emperor accepts Wallenstein's offer to raise an army at his own expense.
- 1626 Bethlen Gábor allied with Christian of Denmark. Tilly defeats Christian IV at Lutter am Barenberge. Wallenstein repulses Mansfeld at the bridge of Dessau. Mansfeld invades Silesia, wins the battle of Oppeln, and invades Moravia. He joins Bethlen Gábor in Hungary. Bethlen Gábor makes peace with Wallenstein. Pappenheim crushes a peasant rising in Upper Austria. Death of Mansfeld.
- 1627 Wallenstein and Tilly invade Denmark. Ferdinand abolishes the Bohemian liberties and renders the Bohemian government purely monarchical, hereditary, and Catholic, and cruelly persecutes the Protestants, banishing large numbers.
- 1628 The dukes of Mecklenburg laid under the ban of the empire and their territories transferred to Wallenstein, who assembles a fleet, invades Pomerania, and unsuccessfully besieges Stralsund. Ferdinand suppresses Lutheranism in Austria. Christian IV destroys Wallenstein's fleet.
- 1629 Ferdinand publishes the Edict of Restitution, commanding the restoration of ecclesiastical property secularised since the Peace of Passau. Peace between the emperor and Christian IV. The latter's dominions are restored and he abandons his allies.
- 1630 Ferdinand sends an army which expels the duke of Mantua from his dominions. A diet at Ratisbon demands and obtains Wallenstein's dismissal. Gustavus Adolphus lands in Germany, occupies Stettin, and makes alliance with the duke of Pomerania. He expels the imperials from Pomerania and invades Brandenburg.
- 1631 Gustavus Adolphus concludes the Treaty of Birwalde, which promises him a subsidy. Peace of Oherasco between Ferdinand and Richelieu. Ferdinand restores Mantua to its duke. Gustavus takes Frankfort and Landsburg. Tilly takes and sacks Magde-

- burg. The Swedes conquer Mecklenburg and reinstate its dukes. The landgraf of Hesse and the elector of Saxony join Gustavus. Gustavus defeats Tilly at Breitenfeld and captures the fortresses on the Main and Rhine.
- 1632 The Swedes universally successful. Prague taken by the Saxons and Lutheranism restored. Tilly defeated and slain at Rain. Wallenstein is restored to his command and raises a fresh army. He drives the Saxons from Bohemia and threatens Nuremberg. Gustavus fails to dislodge Wallenstein from his position. Battle of Lützen. The Swedes defeat Wallenstein. Gustavus slain.
- 1633 Oxenstierna, the Swedish chancellor, renews the alliances of Gustavus in the union of Heilbronn and is appointed director of the evangelical alliance. Charles Ludwig, the son of Frederick V, restored to the Palatinate. Bernhard of Saxe-Weimar commands the Swedes and obtains many successes. Wallenstein makes conquests in Silesia and Brandenburg.
- 1634 Wallenstein disgraced and murdered. The emperor's son, Ferdinand, king of Hungary, succeeds Wallenstein. He captures Ratisbon and wins the battle of Nördlingen. The imperials invade the Palatinate and take Heilbronn.
- 1635 Peace of Prague between the emperor and the elector of Saxony settles the questions concerning ecclesiastical property and toleration, which is not to be exercised in Ferdinand's hereditary dominions. The union of Heilbronn dissolves; imperials under Piccolomini are sent to the Netherlands. They compel the French to raise the siege of Louvain and invade France.
- 1636 By the Treaty of Wismar France engages to carry on the war on her side of the Rhine and Sweden in Silesia and Bohemia. The Swedes victorious at Wittstock. Zabern in Alsace taken by Bernhard of Saxe-Weimar.
- 1637 Death of Ferdinand II. Ferdinand of Hungary succeeds as Ferdinand III. Death of Duke Bogislaw of Pomerania. The elector of Brandenburg claims his territories and joins the imperials in invading them. Bernhard of Saxe-Weimar defeats the duke of Lorraine.
- 1638 Bernhard captures Säckingen, Laufenburg, and Waldshut, defeats Johann von Werth at Rheinfelden and Götz at Wittenweier. The sons of Frederick V attempt to recover the Palatinate and are defeated at Minden. Bernhard takes Breisach.
- 1639 The Swedes drive the imperials from Pomerania and invade Bohemia. Death of Bernhard of Saxe-Weimar.
- 1640 The Swedes expelled from Bohemia.
- 1641 The Swedes threaten Ratisbon where the diet is assembled.
- 1642 Imperials defeated at Kempen. Swedes under Torstenson invade Silesia and Moravia and rout the imperials at Breitenfeld.
- 1643 Negotiations for a general peace opened at Münster and Osnabrück. Torstenson overruns the Danish territories. The imperials and Bavarians defeat the French at Tuttlingen.
- 1644 George Rákóczy, prince of Transylvania, invades the Habsburg territory. Swedish victory at Jüterbog. Torstenson invades Bohemia.
- 1645 Torstenson defeats the imperials at Jankau and approaches Vienna. Rákóczy invades Hungary. French victory at Allerheim. Peace of Linz between Ferdinand and George Rákóczy.
- 1646 Swedes under Wrangel invade Bavaria, but are driven out by the archduke Leopold.
- 1647 The elector of Bavaria concludes a separate armistice with France and Sweden, but soon after breaks it. Ferdinand grants privileges to the Hungarian Protestants in order to secure the Hungarian crown for his son.
- 1648 Turenne and Wrangel defeat the imperials at Zusmarshausen and overrun Bavaria, but are checked by Piccolomini. The Swedes surprise the Kleinsie of Prague and besiege the old town. A general peace (the Peace of Westphalia) signed at Münster and Osnabrück; France retains Metz, Toul, and Verdun; Sweden, upper Pomerania, Rügen and Wollin, and Wismar; the lower Palatinate restored to Charles Ludwig, son of Frederick V; the Swiss confederacy's independence recognised; the religious differences adjusted and privileges extended to the Calvinists; the emperor's prerogatives greatly diminished; he surrenders Alsace to France.
- 1651 Frederick William, the Great Elector of Brandenburg, invades Berg to assist the persecuted Protestants. He is compelled to make a peace with the duke of Neuburg by which liberty of conscience is secured to the Protestants.
- 1654 Dispute between Sweden and the empire for the sovereignty of Bremen temporarily adjusted through Dutch mediation.
- 1656 The Great Elector as a vassal of Poland for East Prussia, being involved in the war between Poland and Charles X of Sweden, is forced to transfer his allegiance from Poland to Sweden by the treaty of Königsberg. The troops of the elector and Charles X defeat the Poles at Warsaw. By the Treaty of Labiau, Charles X acknowledges the independent sovereignty of Brandenburg over East Prussia.
- 1657 Alliance between Poland and the emperor. Ferdinand III dies. The king of Denmark and the Great Elector join the Polish alliance. The imperials expel Sweden's ally,

- George (II) Rákóczy of Transylvania, from Poland. By the treaty of Wehlau Poland recognises the Great Elector's independent sovereignty in the dukedom of Prussia. The Great Elector makes alliance with Poland. The Turks depose Rákóczy.
- 1658 **Leopold I**, son of Ferdinand III, elected emperor. The Rhenish Alliance formed between Mainz, Cologne, Treves, Münster, Sweden, Neuburg, Hesse-Cassel, and Lüneburg to maintain their rights under the peace of Westphalia. Louis XIV of France joins the alliance. Charles X invades Denmark.
- 1659 The allies invade Pomerania. England and France send fleets to aid the Swedes. The allies defeat Charles X at Nyborg.
- 1660 Peace of Oliva ends the war between Sweden and Poland and confirms the independent sovereignty of East Prussia to the Great Elector. Battle of Klausenburg. Rákóczy defeated by the Turks. Leopold sends aid to the Transylvanians. The Turks take Grosswardein.
- 1662 The battle of Nagy-Szöllos establishes Michael Abafi as prince of Transylvania under Turkish protection.
- 1663 The Turks under Ahmed Köprili invade Austrian territory. Abafi attacks Croatia. Leopold summons a diet at Ratisbon. The diet becomes permanent.
- 1664 The German states, aided by foreign powers, collect forces against the Turks. Imperials under Montecuculi rout Turks at St. Gotthard on the Raab. Leopold concludes a twenty years' truce with the Turks; Abafi acknowledged as independent prince of Transylvania; the Turks retain Grosswardein.
- 1670 Thirteen Hungarian comitats join with Francis, son of George (II) Rákóczy, in an association against Leopold.
- 1671 Rákóczy defeated and the other leaders executed. Leopold quarters troops on the Hungarians.
- 1672 Leopold and the Great Elector conclude an alliance with the Dutch against France and send troops.
- 1673 Leopold establishes a new form of government in Hungary under a president and council and institutes a cruel persecution of the Protestants. The Great Elector concludes the truce of Vossem, by which he agrees not to fight against France. Leopold makes an alliance with Spain. Imperial troops under Montecuculi repel a French invasion of Franconia and the allied troops take Bonn.
- 1674 The diet of Ratisbon declares war on France. The Great Elector joins the imperials.
- 1675 The Great Elector defeats the Swedes at the battle of Fehrbellin, and takes Rügen, Usedom, and Wolgast.
- 1677 Stettin taken by the Great Elector.
- 1678 Stralsund and Greifswald taken by the Great Elector. He occupies all Pomerania. The Dutch conclude a separate peace with France at Nimeguen. Hungarian rebels under Tököly make irruptions into Hungary and Austria from Transylvania.
- 1679 Leopold makes peace with France and Sweden. The Great Elector obliged to abandon his conquests in the Treaty of St. Germain.
- 1680 Louis XIV establishes *chambres de réunion*, through which he unearths the claims of France to imperial fiefs, which he proceeds to "reunite" to France.
- 1681 The Great Elector makes alliance with France. Louis XIV seizes Strasburg. Leopold makes alliances with Brunswick-Lüneburg, Bavaria, Sweden, Spain, and the United Provinces. The Hungarian constitution restored.
- 1682 Tököly is installed as prince of upper Hungary by the Turks, and captures several cities.
- 1683 Great Turkish invasion of Hungary. Leopold makes alliance with John Sobieski, king of Poland. The Turks drive back the imperial troops and besiege Vienna. Tököly defeated at Pressburg. John Sobieski relieves Vienna and defeats the Turks at Parkány.
- 1684 The emperor and Spain conclude the truce of Ratisbon with France; Louis is confirmed in possession of Strasburg, Kehl, and places reunited before August, 1683, and is conceded supreme right over Alsace.
- 1685 Death of Charles, elector palatine. Philip William of Neuburg succeeds. Louis XIV supports the claims of the duchess of Orleans.
- 1686 The Great Elector joins with the emperor and the United Provinces against France. In the league of Augsburg, the emperor, the United Provinces, Sweden, Spain, Bavaria, Saxony, and the Palatinate unite against France.
- 1687 Louis conquers the Palatinate. The imperials under Charles of Lorraine defeat the Turks at Mohács. The emperor's general, Caraffa, punishes an alleged conspiracy by tortures, proscriptions, and executions on a spot known as the Bloody Theatre of Eperies. Leopold abolishes the Hungarian rights to elect and resist the sovereign. The Hungarian diet consents to render the crown hereditary in the male Habsburg line. Erlau recovered from the Turks.
- 1688 The Great Elector dies. Belgrade and Munkács taken by the imperials.
- 1689 The French waste the Palatinate and withdraw. Mainz and Bonn taken by the imperials. Leopold, the United Provinces, England, Bavaria, and Savoy join in the Grand Alliance against France.

- 1690 The French defeat the allies at Fleurus. The Turks take Belgrade and win other successes. Tököly invades Transylvania and is made its prince by the Turks, but is expelled by the imperials.
- 1691 The Turks defeated at Slankamen.
- 1693 The allies defeated by the French at Steenkerke.
- 1693 Allies defeated at Neerwinden and Marsaglia.
- 1696 Turks defeat the imperials at Lugos. Indecisive battle of Olasch between the Turks and the imperials under Augustus of Saxony.
- 1697 Imperials under Prince Eugene of Savoy defeat the Turks at Zenta and invade Bosnia. Peace of Ryswick. Strasburg ceded to France. France resigns her claims on towns in the empire except in Alsace.
- 1699 Peace of Karlowitz. Austria, Russia, Venice, and Poland make peace with Turkey. Transylvania and Hungary between the Theiss and Danube secured to Austria.
- 1700 Death of Charles II of Spain. Philip, duke of Anjou, grandson of Louis XIV, succeeds as Philip V. Leopold prepares to assert the claims of his son, the archduke Charles, to the Spanish succession. The elector of Brandenburg promises his aid.

THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

- 1701 The elector of Brandenburg crowned king of Prussia as **Frederick I.** Imperials under Eugene invade Italy and defeat the French at Carpi and Chiari.
- 1703 Grand Alliance between the emperor, the United Provinces, and Great Britain. The circles of Franconia, Swabia, and Upper and Lower Rhine join the Grand Alliance, which declares war on France. The allies take Kaiserswerth and Landau. Drawn battle between Eugene and the French and Spaniards at Luzzara. The elector of Bavaria joins France.
- 1703 Portugal accedes to the Grand Alliance. The French invade Baden and join the elector of Bavaria, who invades the Tyrol but is expelled thence. The duke of Savoy joins the Grand Alliance. Rebellion in Hungary under Francis Rákóczy II.
- 1704 Allies under Marlborough and Eugene defeat the French at Blenheim, invade Alsace, and conquer Bavaria.
- 1705 Leopold dies and is succeeded by his son, **Joseph I.** Eugene defeated at Cassano. Peasant rebellion in Bavaria repressed with severity. Rákóczy institutes a Hungarian confederacy of which he is proclaimed *dux*. The confederates win successes and overrun Transylvania. Imperials recover Transylvania.
- 1706 Marlborough wins the battle of Ramillies, which gives the allies command over almost the whole Spanish Netherlands. French successes on the Rhine. Eugene wins the battle of Turin and is appointed governor of the Milanese. Charles XII of Sweden having invaded Saxony forces the elector (Augustus II of Poland) to sign the Peace of Altranstadt.
- 1707 The allies fail in an attempt to take Toulon.
- 1708 Allies are successful at Oudenarde and take Lille and Ghent. Joseph annexes Mantua. Rákóczy defeated at Trebitschin. Minorca, Majorca, and Sardinia conquered by the allies.
- 1709 Fruitless peace negotiations with France. Battle of Malplaquet won by the allies.
- 1710 Hungarian insurgents defeated at Zadok. Imperials defeated at Villaviciosa.
- 1711 By the Treaty of Szatmár the emperor amnesties the Hungarian confederates and confirms Hungarian liberties and freedom of worship. Death of Joseph I. The archduke Charles elected emperor as **Charles IV.**
- 1712 French successes in the Netherlands.
- 1713 **Frederick William I** becomes king of Prussia. Treaty of Utrecht. The Grand Alliance, the emperor excepted, makes peace with France, recognising Philip V as king of Spain; the Spanish Netherlands, Sardinia, the Milanese, and Naples to belong to Austria.
- 1714 Treaties of Rastatt and Baden between the emperor and France; Naples, Milan, Mantua, Sardinia, and the Netherlands secured to Charles VI. He reinstates the elector of Bavaria. Prussia declares war on Sweden and occupies Rügen and Stralsund.
- 1715 Treaty of Westminster; the emperor makes alliance with England and recognises the claims of George I to Bremen, Lauenburg, and Verden. The Barrier Treaty arranges the surrender to Charles by the Dutch of the Netherlands provinces formerly belonging to Charles II of Spain.
- 1716 Eugene defeats the Turks at Peterwardein and takes Temesvár.
- 1717 Triple alliance between England, France, and Holland. Eugene defeats the Turks at Belgrade. The Spaniards conquer Sardinia and invade Sicily.
- 1718 Austria and Venice agree to the Peace of Passarowitz with Turkey; part of Bosnia, Wallachia, and Servia, and the Banat of Temesvár ceded to Austria. Quadruple alliance between Great Britain, France, and the emperor (afterwards joined by United Provinces); Sicily to be ceded to the emperor in exchange for Sardinia. By the Pragmatic Sanction Charles VI makes his daughter Maria Theresa his heirress.

- 1719 Peace of Stockholm. Sweden resigns Bremen and Verden to Hanover.
- 1720 Spain joins the Quadruple Alliance. Peace of Stockholm between Prussia and Sweden; Usedom and Wollin, and the country between the Oder and the Peene ceded to Prussia.
- 1725 Alliance between the emperor and Spain. Treaty of Hanover between Great Britain, France, and Prussia.
- 1726 Russia makes alliance with Charles VI and guarantees the Pragmatic Sanction. By the Treaty of Wusterhausen Prussia guarantees the Pragmatic Sanction.
- 1727 Charles VI concludes an armistice with England, France, and the United Provinces.
- 1729 By the Treaty of Seville, Spain breaks with the emperor and makes alliance with France and Great Britain.
- 1731 Alliance between Great Britain and the emperor in the Treaty of Vienna; the emperor promises to abolish the Ostend Company, Great Britain guarantees the Pragmatic Sanction. Spain and the United Provinces guarantee the Pragmatic Sanction.
- 1732 The German princes, except the Bavarian, Saxon, and palatine electors, guarantee the Pragmatic Sanction.
- 1733 Charles VI supports the elector of Saxony's candidature to the Polish throne and so involves him in war with France. The Milanese overrun by the troops of France, Spain, and Sardinia. Kehl taken by the French.
- 1734 The Spaniards conquer Naples, defeating the imperials at Bitonto. The Spaniards subdue Sicily. Indecisive battle of Parma between the French and imperials. French successes on the Rhine.
- 1735 The imperials relieve Mantua. Preliminaries of Vienna. France and Sardinia make peace with the emperor.
- 1737 Unsuccessful campaign against the Turks.
- 1738 Fresh Turkish successes. Definitive Treaty of Vienna between France and the emperor.
- 1739 Philip of Spain and his son Charles accede to the Treaty of Vienna, Charles retaining the Two Sicilies. The Turks defeat the imperials at Kozka. Peace of Belgrade; the emperor surrenders Servia with Belgrade and Austrian Wallachia to the Turks.
- 1740 **Frederick (II) the Great** becomes king of Prussia. Charles VI dies. **Maria Theresa** succeeds to his Austrian dominions. Charles Albert, elector of Bavaria, disputes her claims. Frederick II occupies Silesia and begins the First Silesian War.
- 1741 The Prussians defeat the Austrians at Mollwitz. France, Prussia, Spain, and Saxony unite against Maria Theresa for the War of the Austrian Succession. England, Holland, and Russia declare for Maria Theresa. The elector of Bavaria, aided by French troops, takes Linz and invades Bohemia. Maria Theresa appeals to the Hungarians. The tribes rally to her standard. Charles Albert takes Prague and is crowned king of Bohemia.
- 1742 Charles Albert elected emperor as **Charles VII**. The Austrians recover Linz and invade Bavaria. Frederick invades Moravia and Bohemia and defeats the Austrians at Chotusitz. Peace of Breslau; Austria cedes Silesia to Prussia. The Austrians besiege the French and Bavarians in Prague. Great Britain sends succour to Maria Theresa. The king of Sardinia espouses her cause. French attempt to relieve Prague frustrated. French retreat from Prague. The elector of Saxony (Augustus III, king of Poland) goes over to Maria Theresa.
- 1743 Austrian victory over the Spaniards at Campo Santo. Maria Theresa crowned at Prague. Austrians conquer Bavaria. "Pragmatic army," Austria's British, Dutch, Hessian, and Hanoverian allies, under George II of England, defeats the French at Dettingen. Maria Theresa makes alliance with Great Britain and the king of Sardinia at Worms, ceding Sardinia various Italian possessions.
- 1744 The French invade the Austrian Netherlands. Austrians occupy Alsace. Frankfort Union between Prussia, the emperor, France, Sweden, Hesse-Cassel, and the elector palatine formed against England and Maria Theresa for the Second Silesian War. East Friesland lapses to Prussia. Frederick occupies Bohemia. His allies reinstate Charles VII in Bavaria. Successful Austrian expedition against Naples. King of Sardinia defeated at Cuneo. Hungarians rise to defend Maria Theresa. Frederick expelled from Bohemia.
- 1745 Charles VII dies. Treaty of Füssen; the new elector of Bavaria renounces his Austrian claims. French victory at Fontenoy. The Spaniards overrun the Milanese. Alliance between Austria, Augustus of Poland and Saxony, and the maritime powers concluded at Leipsic. The Prussians defeat the Austrians and Saxons at Hohenfriedberg. Great Britain makes peace with Prussia. Austrians severely defeated by Frederick at Soor. The duke of Lorraine, husband of Maria Theresa, elected emperor as **Francis I**. Prussians defeat the Austrians at Hengersdorf and the Saxons at Kesseldorf. Peace of Dresden; Maria Theresa confirms Frederick's possession of Silesia.
- 1746 Austrian Netherlands occupied by the French. They defeat the Austrians at Rocoux. Austrian successes in Italy. The imperials defeat the French and Spaniards at Piacenza.
- 1747 French defeat the allies at Lawfeld and storm Bergen-op-Zoom. The increase of ecclesiastical property forbidden in the Austrian dominions and many festivals abolished.

- 1748 Peace of Aix-la-Chapelle, agreed to by France, England, Holland, Spain, Maria Theresa, and Sardinia, closes the War of the Austrian Succession. Austrian Netherlands restored to Maria Theresa; Silesia secured to Frederick; Parma, Piacenza, and Guastalla ceded to Don Philip of Spain.
- 1749 The Codex Fridericianus drawn up by the Prussian grand chancellor, von Cocceji. The administration of justice separated from the legislative and executive in Austrian dominions.
- 1753 Count Kaunitz becomes chief administrator of Austrian affairs.
- 1756 Prussia concludes a convention of neutrality with England (Treaty of Westminster). Maria Theresa makes alliance with France by the Treaty of Versailles. Frederick the Great opens the Seven Years' War by invading Saxony. Austrians come to the aid of the Saxons, but are defeated at Lobositz and the Saxon army capitulates at Pirna.
- 1757 The empire, Sweden, and Russia declare against Prussia. Prussian invasion of Bohemia and victory at Prague. Prague besieged. At Kolin Austrians under Daun defeat Frederick, who evacuates Bohemia. The French defeat the duke of Cumberland at Hastenbeck and force him to sign the convention of Closter-Seven engaging to break up his army. The Swedes invade Prussian Pomerania. The Russians take Memel, invade Prussia, and win the battle of Grossjägerdorf. Austrians invade Brandenburg. Frederick defeats French and Austrians at Rossbach and Leuthen.
- 1758 Frederick takes Schweidnitz. He concludes a subsidy treaty with England. French defeated at Crefeld. Frederick besieges Olmütz. Daun raises the siege. Frederick defeats the Russians at Zorndorf and is defeated by Daun at Hochkirch. Second treaty of Versailles confirms the Franco-Austrian alliance.
- 1759 Battle of Züllichau; the Russians defeat the Prussians. The French defeated at Minden. Frederick defeats the Austrians at Gubern and is totally defeated by an Austro-Russian army at Kunersdorf. The imperials overrun Saxony and take Dresden. A Prussian force surrenders to Daun at Maxen.
- 1760 Landeshut captured by the Austrians. Frederick defeats the Austrians at Liegnitz. The Austrians and Russians enter Berlin. French victory at Kloster Camp. Frederick victorious at Torgau.
- 1761 Austrians invade Silesia and capture Schweidnitz. Russians take Kolberg.
- 1762 Peter III succeeds to the Russian throne and concludes an alliance with Frederick. Armistice between Prussia and Sweden. The French defeated at Wilhelmsthal. Catherine II makes herself empress of Russia and declares against Frederick. Frederick drives Daun from Burkersdorf. French defeated at Lutterberg. Frederick captures Schweidnitz. The Prussians defeat the imperials at Freiberg and overrun Bohemia and Saxony.
- 1763 France makes a separate peace with England. The Peace of Hubertusburg between Austria, Prussia, and Saxony closes the Seven Years' War.
- 1764 Maria Theresa's son, the archduke Joseph, chosen king of the Romans.
- 1765 Death of Francis I. Joseph succeeds as **Joseph II** and becomes co-regent with Maria Theresa in the Austrian monarchy. Maria Theresa introduces into Hungary the reforms called *Urbarium*, regulating the relations of serfs and landowners.
- 1766 Commission of instruction and press-censorship founded for Austrian dominions. *Hof-commercialsrath*, or Board of Trade, established in Austria.
- 1768 *Constitutio criminalis Theresiana*, a uniform code of criminal law for the Austrian dominions, published.
- 1770 Elementary state schools founded by Maria Theresa.
- 1772 Russia and Prussia agree to the First Partition of Poland. Maria Theresa accedes to the scheme. The three powers extort the consent of the Polish king and nobles and impose a constitution on the relics of Poland. The county of Zips, part of the governments of Cracow and Sandomir, Lemberg, Halicz, Belz, and part of Podolia assigned to Austria; the greater part of the modern Polish Prussia to Prussia. Conscription ordered for Bohemia, Austria, Moravia, Carniola, Carinthia, Galicia.
- 1773 Jesuit order suppressed.
- 1775 Bukovina surrendered to Austria by Turkey.
- 1777 Death of the elector of Bavaria without direct heirs. Maria Theresa and Joseph claim his dominions.
- 1778 The elector palatine protests and is bought off. Frederick the Great defends the rights of the presumptive heir, the duke of Zweibrücken. War between Austria and Prussia (War of the Bavarian succession). The Prussians invade Bohemia. Catherine of Russia declares for Frederick.
- 1779 War of the Bavarian Succession terminated by the Peace of Teschen. The elector palatine receives Bavaria, minus the Innviertel, assigned to Austria. Duke Charles of Zweibrücken acknowledged as heir to the elector palatine.
- 1780 Meeting of Joseph and the empress Catherine at Mohileff. Death of Maria Theresa. Joseph introduces extensive and premature administrative reforms. His edict regulating the taxes abolishes serfdom.
- 1781 The Tolerance Edict grants liberty of worship to Protestants and Greek Christians, de-

- clares all Christians capable of holding office, and confers privileges on the Jews. Joseph orders the demolition of almost all the fortresses of the Austrian Netherlands, insists on the withdrawal of the Dutch garrisons.
- 1782 Pius VI visits Joseph and protests in vain against the religious innovations.
- 1784 The Porte grants Joseph the free navigation of the Danube, the Black Sea, and the Dardanelles. Joseph demands the opening of the navigation of the Schelde; the Dutch resist. Joseph's customs duties introduce a protective system. Foreign imports prohibited.
- 1785 Russia proposes to the duke of Zweibrücken, heir to Bavaria, an exchange of Bavarian dominions for the Austrian Netherlands. Europe is alarmed at the proposed increase of Austrian power and the project is abandoned. Frederick the Great forms a "league of princes" (the *Fürstenbund*) with the electors of Hanover and Saxony, ostensibly to preserve the constitution of the empire and really to resist Austrian aggression. Many princes join it. Freemasonry recognised in Austria. By the treaty of Fontainebleau Joseph renounces his claims respecting the Schelde.
- 1786 Frederick the Great dies and is succeeded by his nephew, **Frederick William II**. Joseph II's innovations in the Austrian Netherlands excite tumults.
- 1787 The troops of Frederick William II restore the prince of Orange to the Stadholdership in Holland. The Austrians make an unsuccessful attack on Belgrade.
- 1788 Defensive alliance between Prussia, England, and Holland. Joseph II declares war on Turkey. Religious edict in Prussia, restricting the liberty of preachers. Turkish successes. Austrians defeat the Turks at Dubica and take Dubica, Novi, and Chotin. Troops under Joseph forced to retreat. An edict of censorship curtails the liberty of the press in Prussia.
- 1789 The estates of Brabant protest against the withdrawal of their constitution. Joseph abolishes the constitutions of Hainault and Brabant (Statute of Joyous Entry). Austrians defeat the Turks at Fokshani and Rimmik and take Belgrade and the Turkish border fortresses. Revolt of the Austrian Netherlands. The Hungarians protest against Joseph's innovations. The French national assembly, by abolishing ecclesiastical and territorial rights in France, encroaches on German rights in Alsace, Franche-Comté, and Lorraine guaranteed by the Peace of Westphalia.
- 1790 Prussia makes alliance with the Turks. Joseph restores the Hungarian constitution. Death of Joseph. His brother Leopold succeeds. He restores the old system of taxation and abolishes Joseph's extreme reforms. He permits the Illyrians to form a national diet at Temesvár. Austrians repulsed by the Turks at Giurgevo. Leopold conciliates the maritime powers. By the Convention of Reichenbach Leopold promises Prussia to conclude an armistice with the Turks. Armistice concluded. Leopold chosen king of the Romans and crowned emperor as **Leopold II**. The Hungarians exhibit a rebellious spirit, but are conciliated by Leopold at his coronation. Leopold demands from France the restoration of the rights of German princes in Alsace, Lorraine, and Franche-Comté, and is refused.
- 1791 The diet of Ratisbon determines to enforce the demands of the princes on France. The Prussians invade Poland and take Dantzic and Thorn. Peace of Sistova between Austria and Turkey. By the Convention of Pillnitz Leopold II, Frederick William II of Prussia, and the count d'Artois agree to a declaration, which they issue, announcing their intention to rescue the king of France. Leopold subdues the rebels in the Low Countries. By a convention concluded at the Hague, England, Holland, and Prussia guarantee Leopold in possession of the Austrian Netherlands. Ansbach and Bayreuth incorporated with Prussia.
- 1792 Alliance between the emperor and Prussia against France. Leopold dies. France declares war against Leopold's successor, **Francis II**. French invasion of Flanders repulsed. The duke of Brunswick, commander of the allied armies, issues a manifesto summoning the French to submit to their king. The French depose Louis XVI. The allies invade France. Drawn battle at Valmy. The French take Mainz and defeat the Austrians at Jemmapes.
- 1793 Russia and Prussia agree to the second partition of Poland. Louis XVI executed. England, Holland, and Sardinia join Austria and Prussia in the First Coalition. The French besetge Maestricht and are defeated at Neerwinden and Louvain. Prussians recover Mainz. Austrians take Condé and Valenciennes. Russia and Prussia occupy Poland; the governments of Posen, Kalish, Sieradz and Plock, Dantzic and Thorn, and half the government of Brzesc fall to Prussia. The English defeated at Hondchoote. Indecisive battle of Wattignies between the French and Austrians. French defeated by Brunswick at Kaiserslautern and by Wurmser at Weissenburg. Allies defeated at Wörth and Fröschweiler.
- 1794 Kosciuszko begins a fight for liberty in Poland. Austrians defeated at Fleurus, English at Breda. Holland conquered by the French. Allies successful at Kaiserslautern and in Belgium. Kosciuszko defeated at Maciejowice. Austria annexes the palatinates of Lublin and Sandomir in Galicia.
- 1795 The king of Prussia concludes at Bâle a separate peace with the French, by which the

- latter are confirmed in possession of the Rhine's left bank, the Austrian Netherlands, Holland, and Jülich. Hanover, Hesse-Cassel, Spain, and Portugal acquiesce in the treaty. Third partition of Poland. Warsaw and part of the modern Russian Poland fall to Prussia and part to Austria. Russia absorbs the remainder of Poland. Masséna defeats the Austrians at Loano. Austrian victories at Kreuznach, Mannheim, and Mainz.
- 1796 Armistice between Austria and France. Bonaparte defeats the Austrians at Montenotte, Millesimo, Dego, and Lodi, and occupies Milan. Austrians defeated at Lonato, Castiglione, Roveredo, Bassano. Austrian victories at Amberg and Würzburg. French under Moreau invade Bavaria, but are forced to retreat. Bonaparte, defeated at Lavis and Caldiero, is victorious at Arcola and Rivoli.
- 1797 The imperialists take Kehl. The French capture Mantua. Bonaparte invades the dominions of Austria and compels her to agree to the Preliminaries of Leoben. Peace of Campo-Formio, by which Francis II resigns the left bank of the Rhine, Flanders, and his provinces in Lombardy, and receives the Venetian territories, the see of Salzburg, and part of Bavaria. A congress summoned to Rastatt to adjust other questions. Frederick William II of Prussia dies and is succeeded by his son, **Frederick William III**, who abolishes the Religious Edict.
- 1799 Failure of the Rastatt congress to reach an agreement. Austria joins England and Russia in a Second Coalition against France. Archduke Charles defeats Jourdan at Stockach. Armed attack on French envoys at Rastatt. The allies drive the French from Switzerland, defeat them at Magnano and Novi, and expel them from Italy. The French defeat the Russian, Korsakoff, at Zurich. English defeated at Bergen-op-Zoom. Austrian victory at Possano. The Russian troops are withdrawn.
- 1800 Moreau defeats the Austrians at Stockach. Bonaparte defeats the Austrian, Melas, at Marengo and recovers Italy. Austrians defeated at Hohenlinden with heavy loss.

THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

- 1801 Peace of Lunéville signed by Francis II in behalf of Austria and the empire; Tuscany and Modena ceded to the Cisalpine Republic.
- 1803 A decree of the diet of Ratisbon sanctions territorial changes; the ecclesiastical principalities abolished; Baden, Württemberg, Hesse-Cassel, and Salzburg made electorates; the liberties of the imperial cities abolished except in six cases; Prussia receives the bishoprics of Hildesheim and Paderborn, the greater part of Münster, the Thuringian territories of the Mainz electorate, Erfurt, the Eichsfeld, and the imperial cities of Mühlhausen, Nordhausen, and Goslar; Bavaria acquires the ecclesiastical territories of Würzburg, Bamberg, Freising, Augsburg, part of Passau and Eichstätt, twelve abbeys and seventeen imperial cities and towns, including Ulm, Nördlingen, Memmingen, Kempten, and Schweinfurt, with a population of 864,000. To Austria fall the ecclesiastical principalities of Trent and Brixen. The French conquer Hanover. On Napoleon declaring himself emperor of the French, Francis II assumes the title of Emperor of Austria and makes it hereditary in his family.
- 1805 Austria joins England, Russia, Sweden, and Naples in the Third Coalition against France. Napoleon has for allies Hesse, Nassau, Baden, Württemberg, and Bavaria; the latter is invaded by the Austrians. Austrians defeated at Elchingen. Capitulation of Ulm; the Austrian, Mack, surrenders with all his army. The Tyrol bravely but uselessly defended by the peasants. The emperor of Russia goes to Berlin and in the Treaty of Potsdam obtains from the king of Prussia a promise to join the coalition. Napoleon occupies Linz. Russians defeated at Amstetten and Austrians at Mariazell. French checked at Dürrenstein. Napoleon enters Vienna and defeats the allied armies in the great Battle of the Three Emperors at Austerlitz. Peace of Pressburg; Austria cedes her south German provinces with the Tyrol to Bavaria, Württemberg, and Baden and Venetia and Dalmatia to the kingdom of Italy, and receives Würzburg and Berchtesgaden. Württemberg and Bavaria made kingdoms. Prussia agrees to abandon Ansbach to Bavaria, and Cleves and Neuchâtel to France in exchange for Hanover.
- 1806 Napoleon forms the Confederation of the Rhine under his suzerainty and consisting of Bavaria, Württemberg, Baden, Hesse-Darmstadt, Nassau-Usingen, Nassau-Weilburg, Hohenzollern-Sigmaringen, Arenberg, and eight other states. Napoleon declares the German empire dissolved. Francis II resigns the dignity of German emperor and is henceforth known as **Francis I**, emperor of Austria. Prussian districts of Elten, Essen, and Werden annexed by the grand duke of Berg (Murat). Prussia summons Napoleon to evacuate south Germany and recognise the formation of a North German Confederation. Saxony and Weimar make alliance with Prussia. Prussians defeated by Napoleon at Saalfeld, Jena, Auerstädt, Halle, and Lübeck. The Prussian fortresses surrender. Napoleon enters Berlin. Prussian armies capitulate at Prenzlau and Ratkau. Napoleon in Berlin decrees the Continental System, declaring the British

- Isles in a state of blockade, the British excluded from all intercourse with Europe, and all merchandise belonging to British subjects lawful prize.
- 1807 Indecisive battle of Eylau between Napoleon and the Russians and Prussians. Obstinate resistance to the French in Silesia and at Kolberg in Pomerania. Russia and Prussia join in the Fourth Coalition, supported by England and Sweden. Dantzic surrenders to the French. Allies defeated at Friedland. Russia concludes a separate peace. By the Peace of Tilsit Prussia cedes her territory west of the Elbe to Napoleon; her gains in the second and third partitions of Poland become the grand duchy of Warsaw. Napoleon forms the kingdom of Westphalia from Brunswick, Hanover, Hesse-Cassel, parts of Saxony, and Prussia. Abolition of serfdom and compulsory labour in Prussian domains. Prussian army reorganised.
- 1808 Austria institutes the *Landwehr* or militia. Napoleon engages to evacuate Prussia, exacting a large indemnity and retaining garrisons in Stettin, Küstrin, and Glogau. The Prussian town ordinance restores self-government to the boroughs. The Prussian constitution altered; a state council with five ministers instituted. France compels the resignation of the Prussian reforming minister Stein.
- 1809 Fifth Coalition between Austria and England. Austria renews the war. The Tyrol revolts. Archduke John defeats Eugène de Beauharnais at Sacile. Austrians defeated at Thann, Abensberg, Landshut, Eckmühl, and Ratisbon. Eugène defeats Archduke John at the Piave. Linz and Vienna capitulate. Archduke Charles defeats Napoleon at Aspern. The Tyrolese defeat the French at the Brenner Pass. The Prussian free-lance Schill defeated by the French at Stralsund and his officers executed. Eugène defeats Archduke John at Raab. French victory at Wagram. The armistice of Znaim ends the war. Treaty of Schönbrunn; Austria resigns the Tyrol, Salzburg, Berchtesgaden, the Innviertel, and part of the Hausruckviertel to Bavaria; and Carinthia, part of Carniola, Istria, Trieste, Görz, and Gradiska to Napoleon, who forms them into the Illyrian Provinces. The French subdue the Tyrol. Count Metternich becomes chief minister in Austria.
- 1810 Napoleon marries the archduchess Marie Louise. Cloisters and other ecclesiastical foundations in Prussia made state property. New educational system organised in Prussia. Lübeck, Bremen, and Hamburg incorporated with France.
- 1811 State bankruptcy in Austria. Notes reduced to one-fifth their nominal value. Freedom of trade proclaimed throughout Prussia.
- 1812 The civil code of 1811 given effect throughout the Austrian empire except in Hungary and Transylvania. Emancipation of the Jews in Prussia. Austria obtains neutrality for her own territories in the Franco-Russian war, but has to supply Napoleon with a contingent. Prussia concludes a treaty with Napoleon, leaving her fortresses in French hands. Napoleon's disastrous Russian expedition. By the Convention of Tauroggen, the Prussian auxiliaries suspend hostilities.
- 1813 The Prussian king summons his people to arms. Enthusiastic response. Russia and Prussia form the Sixth Coalition at Kalish. The French abandon Berlin and retreat to the Elbe. The Prussian militia forces of the *Landwehr* and *Landsturm* formed. The war of Liberation begins. The Prussians take Lüneburg. The confederation of the Rhine sides with Napoleon. Napoleon defeats the allies at Lützen. The king of Saxony declares for France. Napoleon defeats the allies at Bautzen. Armistice. Austria joins the Coalition. Allies victorious at Grossbeeren and the Katzbach, and defeated at Dresden. Allies victorious at Dennewitz. The Treaty of Ried detaches Bavaria from Napoleon. Napoleon defeated in the Battle of the Nations at Leipsic. Napoleon withdraws to France. Dissolution of the kingdom of Westphalia. The legitimate rulers of Hesse, Oldenburg, and Brunswick return to their sovereignties. The French expelled from Minden, Münster, and East Friesland. Three allied armies converge on France from Holland, Coblenz, and Switzerland.
- 1814 The French surrender Dantzic and other Prussian fortresses. The allies enter France. Indecisive battle of Brienne. Napoleon defeated at La Rothière. Peace congress at Châtillon. Napoleon wins successes at Champaubert, Montmirail, Chateau Thierry, Etoges, Vauxchamps, Montereau. Allies victorious at Bar-sur-Aube. Congress of Châtillon fails. Allied forces of Bülow and Blücher join hands at Soissons. Napoleon defeats Blücher at Craonne and the Prussians at St. Priest, but is checked by Schwarzenberg at Arcis-sur-Aube. Allies march on Paris, defeating the French at La Fère Champenoise. Fight before Paris. Allies enter the city. Napoleon surrenders and is sent to Elba. The Bourbons restored. First Peace of Paris ends the war; France is allowed her boundaries of 1793 with some additions. The congress of Vienna meets to readjust the territorial divisions of Europe.
- 1815 Napoleon returns to France. Europe unites against him. Murat, king of Naples, declares for him. A British army under Wellington lands in the Netherlands, and is joined by troops from the Netherlands, Nassau, Hanover, and Brunswick. Prussians under Blücher sent to the Netherlands. Murat defeated at Tolentino by the Austrians, who occupy Naples and restore Ferdinand IV. An Austrian force enters Alsace. Final act of the Vienna Congress passed. Germany recognised as an alliance of thirty-

- nine sovereign states, under the name of the German Confederation (*Deutscher Bund*), with a diet (*Bundestag*) at Frankfort-on-the-Main under the presidency of Austria.
- 1815 In a secret treaty between Austria and Ferdinand of Naples, king of the Two Sicilies, Ferdinand pledges himself against liberal innovations.
- 1817 Union of the Lutheran and Reformed churches in Prussia. Riot at the Wartburg festival in Eisenach.
- 1818 Prussian Customs law (*Zollgesetz*) abolishes internal customs and establishes a general frontier tariff. Conferences of representatives of Russia, England, Austria, Prussia, and France at Aix-la-Chapelle (Aachen) lead to the evacuation of France by the allies; France agrees to co-operate with the allies in maintaining the peace of Europe. Bavaria, Baden, and Nassau receive constitutions.
- 1819 Murder of the anti-nationalist editor Kotzebue. Ministers of Austria, Prussia, and several minor German states confer at Karlsbad and pass the Karlsbad Decrees, declaring for an extraordinary commission at Mainz to investigate secret societies, government inspection of the universities, and a strict censorship of the press. The diet of the confederation confirms the decrees. Constitutions introduced into Württemberg and Hanover. Schwarzburg-Sondershausen joins the Prussian customs system.
- 1820 Constitutions granted to Brunswick and Hesse. Conference of ministers of different states agree to the Supplementary Act of Vienna altering the laws of the German Confederation and limiting the force of constitutions in German states. Humboldt and other liberal Prussian ministers resign. Congress of Troppau between the czar, the Austrian emperor, and the Prussian king; they formulate the principle of the right of sovereigns to interfere in foreign countries to suppress resistance to authority; England protests.
- 1821 An Austrian army restores despotic power to Ferdinand of Naples. Insurrection in Lombardy, supported by Piedmontese rebels, suppressed by Austria.
- 1822 Death of the Prussian chancellor, Hardenberg; the king becomes his own minister. Congress of Verona attended by representatives of Russia, Austria, Prussia, England, France, Two Sicilies, and Sardinia results in a permission to France to interfere in Spanish affairs. Schwarzburg-Rudolstadt joins the Prussian customs system.
- 1823 Provincial estates with advisory power established in Prussia. Saxe-Weimar and Anhalt-Bernburg join the Prussian customs system.
- 1824 Prussian province of the Lower Rhine with Jülich, Cleves, and Berg formed into the Rhine province or Rhenish Prussia.
- 1825 Attempt of the Prussian government to introduce a new ritual into the Prussian church excites eager opposition.
- 1826 Lippe-Detmold and Mecklenburg-Schwerin, Anhalt-Dessau, and Anhalt-Cöthen join the Prussian customs system.
- 1828 Austria and England intervene to prevent Russia's occupying Constantinople. Customs union between Prussia and the grand duchy of Hesse. South German Customs Union (*Süddeutscher Zollverein*) formed between Württemberg, Bavaria, and the Hohenzollern principalities. Central German commercial union (*Mitteldeutscher Handelsverein*) formed between Hanover, the electorate of Hesse, Saxony, Brunswick, Nassau, the principalities of Schwarzburg and Reuss, and Frankfurt and Bremen.
- 1829 Commercial treaty of Prussia and Hesse with the South German Union.
- 1830 Revolutionary movement in the Bavarian Palatinate.
- 1831 Austrian troops suppress insurrection in Rome and restore Pope Gregory XVI. The electorate of Hesse joins the Prusso-Hessian customs alliance. Constitution granted to Saxony.
- 1832 A second insurrection in Rome suppressed by Austrian troops. France asserts her power in central Italy. Revolutionary agitation and repressive measures throughout Germany.
- 1833 Frankfurter Attentat fails and is severely punished. Customs agreement between the Prusso-Hessian and south German customs unions. The kingdom of Saxony and the Thuringian states acquiesce in the customs agreement. Reforms in Hungary releasing the peasants from most of their burdens. The Magyar language introduced into debate.
- 1834 The *Deutscher Zoll- und Handelsverein* (German Customs Commercial Union) results from the customs agreement. A separate customs alliance called *Steuerverein* formed by Hanover, Brunswick, Oldenburg, and Schaumburg-Lippe.
- 1835 Death of Emperor Francis. His son, Ferdinand I, emperor of Austria, succeeds. The *Staatskonferenz* formed to act as a regency.
- 1836 Baden, Nassau, Homburg, and Frankfort-on-the-Main join the German *Zoll- und Handelsverein*.
- 1837 The king of Hanover refuses to recognise the Hanoverian constitution.
- 1838 Commercial treaty between Austria and England.
- 1840 Frederick William III of Prussia dies and is succeeded by **Frederick William IV**. The king of Hanover forces a constitution of his own on the people. England, France,

- Russia, Austria, and Prussia interfere in the war between Turkey and the pasha of Egypt. Acre taken by the British, Austrian, and Turkish fleets.
- 1842 Brunswick, Lippe, and Luxemburg join the German *Zoll- und Handelsverein*. Legal and political literary club founded in Austria.
- 1846 Revolt in Galicia suppressed and Cracow annexed to Austria.
- 1847 Frederick William IV convokes the united diet of his kingdom. He decrees that the diet shall meet only for certain defined purposes, and that a committee shall meet once in four years.
- 1848 The Hungarian diet ordains the exclusive use of the Magyar language in all branches of the administration and in schools, with certain exceptions in favour of Croatia and Slavonia. Revolution in France echoed in Germany. The confederation diet promises a change in the constitution. The Viennese compel the dismissal of Metternich and the grant of a constitution. The Hungarians obtain a responsible ministry and various reforms; Croatia, Slavonia, Temesvár, and Transylvania revolt against the Magyar predominance. The Berlin mob forces the Prussian king to appoint a liberal ministry. Revolutions in Hesse, Nassau, Saxony, and Hanover. Lombardy and Venice revolt against Austria. Preliminary Parliament meets at Frankfurt to revise the constitution of the German Confederation. Troops of the confederation sent to aid Schleswig-Holstein against Denmark. Prussia suppresses a rebellion in Poland. German national assembly meets. Archduke John of Austria becomes Reichsverweser (imperial vicar) of the German Empire with a responsible ministry. Insurrection in Prague suppressed. The Austrians defeat the Sardinians at Custoza. Truce of Malmö suspends the Schleswig-Holstein War. Jellachich, ban of Croatia, invades Hungary; Kossuth forms a committee of national defence in Hungary. Hungarians defeat Jellachich. Murder of two conservative deputies. The Viennese government determines on war with Hungary and appoints Jellachich commander-in-chief. Revolution in Vienna. The Austrian emperor flees to Olmütz and his forces reduce Vienna. The Austrian emperor resigns his crown to **Francis Joseph I.** Prussian national assembly dissolved. Frederick William IV grants a Prussian constitution.
- 1849 Hungarian diet transferred to Debreczen. Budapest occupied by the Austrians. Hungarians defeated at Kápolna, successful in Transylvania. Austrians victorious at Novara; Venice capitulates. The Hungarian diet deposes the Habsburgs. The Schleswig-Holstein War renewed. New constitution in Austria. The imperial crown offered to the king of Prussia and refused by him. Dreikönigsbündniss, an alliance between Prussia, Hanover, and Saxony, formed. Hungarians recover Pest. Popular insurrections in Saxony, Bavaria, and Baden suppressed by Prussia. Danish victory at Fredericia. German national assembly dissolved. Russia sends Austria help against the Hungarians. Hungarian main army surrenders at Világos. Komárom capitulates to the Austrians. Hungary placed under martial law and subordinated to the Viennese government. Administration of the German Confederation confided to a commission. Radetzky's campaign against Sardinia. Sardinians are repulsed at Mortara and Vigevano. Battle of Novara.
- 1850 The Union Parliament meets in Erfurt in accordance with an imperial constitution drawn up by the members of the Dreikönigsbündniss and accepted by many of the states. The parliament recognises the constitution. College of princes formed to exercise provisionally the central power. Prussia and Germany make peace with Denmark, which subdues Schleswig and Holstein. Hanover, Saxony, Bavaria, and Württemberg join Austria in sending representatives to a new confederation diet. Disturbances in Hesse. Prussia arms to maintain the union and the Hessian constitution. Olmütz conference between Prussian and Austrian ministers. The union dissolved. Dresden ministerial conferences to discuss a German constitution.
- 1851 The old German Confederation restored. Bismarck appointed Prussian envoy to the confederation. On the reconstitution of the Zollverein, Austria fails to supplant Prussia as its guiding spirit.
- 1852 Austrian constitution of March, 1849, is abolished and an attempt made to Germanise the various provinces. The confederation diet recognises a reactionary constitution in Hesse. London Protocol; England, Austria, France, Russia, and Sweden guarantee the succession of Prince Christian of Glücksburg to the whole Danish monarchy.
- 1853 Commercial treaty between Austria and Prussia. Prussia acquires from Oldenburg a site for the construction of a harbour. Beginning of difficulties in the Crimea.
- 1854 The *Steuerverein* united with the German *Zoll- und Handelsverein*. Hungary released from the reign of martial law.
- 1855 Concordat between Austria and Rome gives the Roman clergy control over public instruction, and exempts the bishops from the jurisdiction of the courts of law, giving them a measure of judicial power. Battle of Sebastopol.
- 1856 Peace of Paris.
- 1858 William, prince of Prussia, becomes regent of Prussia and appoints a liberal ministry. Radetzky dies and is succeeded by Archduke Maximilian. Convention signed for free navigation of the Danube. Diplomatic war in Piedmont.

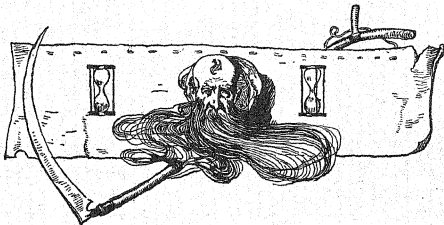
- 1859 The Austrians invade Sardinian territory and are defeated at Magenta and Solferino. By the Preliminaries of Villafranca, confirmed in the Peace of Zurich, Austria resigns Lombardy. National languages permitted in Hungarian schools.
- 1860 The Austrian emperor issues the October diploma or constitution.
- 1861 The Prussian regent becomes king as William I. The February patent completes the October diploma and increases centralisation; dissatisfaction of the various nationalities in the Austrian Empire.
- 1862 Bismarck becomes first minister in Prussia. Prussia, in the name of the *Zollverein*, concludes a commercial treaty with France; the minor states protest.
- 1863 Francis Joseph summons an assembly to Frankfurt to deliberate on the reform of the confederation; the Prussian king refuses to appear. Christian IX succeeds to the Danish throne and occupies Holstein. The prince of Augustenburg disputes his claims to Schleswig-Holstein. The Polish insurrection.
- 1864 Prussian and Austrian armies occupy the duchies. Düppel taken from the Danes and Jutland occupied. By the Peace of Vienna, Denmark surrenders Schleswig, Holstein, and Lauenburg to Austria and Prussia. The German states agree to the commercial treaty with France.
- 1865 February patent suspended; Hungarian demand for a responsible ministry refused. In the convention of Gastein, Austria cedes Lauenburg to Prussia for a money payment.
- 1866 Prussia proposes a scheme for the reform of the confederation. Alliance concluded between Italy and Prussia. European congress proposed. Austria refers the Schleswig-Holstein question to the confederation diet and convokes the Holstein estates. Prussia declares the Gastein convention violated and occupies Holstein. Austria persuades the confederation diet to mobilise its forces. Prussia declares the confederation dissolved. "Seven weeks' war" between Prussia and Austria. Most of the German states side with Austria. The Prussians occupy Saxony. The Hanoverians defeat the Prussians at Langensalza, but are surrounded and capitulate. Prussian victories at Nachod and Skalitz. Austrian victory at Custozza. Austrians defeated by the Prussians at Königgrätz (or Sadowa). Francis Joseph hands over Venice to Napoleon III. Prussians defeat the Bavarians at Kissingen and Hummelburg. Austrians defeated at Aschaffenburg. The Austrians defeat the Italians at Lissa. Truce of Nikolsburg mediated by Napoleon. Peace of Prague; Austria surrenders Venetia to Italy, recognises the dissolution of the German Confederation, consents to the reconstitution of Germany without Austria. Schleswig-Holstein, Hanover, Nassau, the electorate of Hesse, and Frankfurt-on-the-Main incorporated with Prussia.
- 1867 A responsible ministry appointed in Hungary. Beust succeeds Belcredi as Austrian minister-president. Transylvania incorporated with Hungary. The provincial diets of the Austrian empire ordered to elect a Reichsrath according to the February constitution. The constituent imperial diet meets at Berlin and promulgates the constitution of the north German Confederation. The command of the military forces and the direction of diplomacy confided to Prussia. Prussia prevents the proposed annexation of Luxemburg by France. Francis Joseph crowned king of Hungary; amnesty to Hungarian outlaws. Bismarck concludes a customs treaty with the south German states, by which they agree to send representatives to the diet of the North German Confederation, thus converted into a *Zollparlament* for matters concerning the customs. Financial agreement (*Ausgleich*) between Austria and Hungary. Parliamentary government established in Cisleithania; "Bürgerministerium" appointed.
- 1868 The Austrian Reichsrath passes laws abrogating the concordat of 1855. Bohemian declaration demanding autonomy for the Bohemian kingdom. The Galician resolution sets forth a claim for greater independence of the central government. Disturbances in Bohemia and Moravia.
- 1869 A federal supreme commercial court erected at Leipsic. The Austrian emperor agrees to support Napoleon III if Prussia should disturb the *status quo* agreed on at the Treaty of Prague. Insurrection of the Bocchese.
- 1870 Failure of the attempt of the Austrian minister Potocki to reconcile the Czechs. France protests against the candidature of Prince Leopold of Hohenzollern to the Spanish throne. Prince Leopold withdraws his candidature. France requires the king of Prussia to declare that no Hohenzollern shall ever be allowed to become a candidate for the Spanish throne; the king refuses. War between France and Prussia. The south German princes join forces with Prussia. French victory at Saarbrücken. The French driven from Weissenburg. French defeated at Wörth and Spicheren. Strasburg besieged by the Germans. French checked at Colombey-Neuilly. Battle of Vionville. The French army under Bazaine defeated at Gravelotte and St. Privat and shut up in Metz. Fights at Buzancy and at Nouart. German victory at Beaumont. An attempt to break out of Metz prevented in the battle of Noisseville. Battle of Sedan and surrender of Napoleon III and 84,580 French. French defeated at Seeaux. Paris besieged. Vitry and Strasburg surrender to the Germans. German victories at Artenay and Orleans. Soissons surrenders. The Germans take Château-

- dun and Chartres. Schlestadt surrenders. Metz capitulates. Dijon taken. French victory at Coulmiers. The Germans evacuate Orleans. Baden and Hesse-Darmstadt enter the North German Confederation. Germans, victorious at Châteauneuf, occupy Nogent-le-Rotrou. Thionville capitulates. French under Garibaldi repulsed at Dijon. Bavaria and Württemberg join the North German Confederation. German victories at Beaune-la-Rolande and Amiens. French success at Villepion. Battle of Champigny. French defeated at Loigny, Poupny, Orleans. French defeated at Beaugency and Nuits. Bombardment of Paris begins. French defeated at the Hallue and Vendome.
- 1871 Mézières surrenders. German victories at Bapaume, Corneille, and Le Mans. Rocroi surrenders. German victory at St. Quentin. French sortie from Mont Valérien fails. Battle of Belfort. The king of Prussia proclaimed German emperor as William I. Longwy surrenders. Capitulation of Paris and armistice concluded at Versailles. French army, defeated at Pontarlier, withdraws to Switzerland, where it is disbanded. Belfort surrenders. Preliminaries of Versailles. First German imperial diet meets at Berlin. Peace of Frankfurt. France gives up part of Lorraine with Metz and Thionville and Alsace except Belfort to Germany and pays a large indemnity. The *Kanzel-paragraph* provides for the punishment of clerical agitators in the German Empire. The Viennese government recognises Bohemia as a separate kingdom; the Czechs draw up the Bohemian constitution called the Fundamental Articles; the emperor's refusal to recognise it produces the resignation of the Hohenwart ministry. Beust dismissed.
- 1872 Jesuits and similar orders excluded from German territory. League of the Three Emperors (of Russia, Germany, and Austria).
- 1873 The right of election to the Austrian Reichsrath transferred from the provincial diets to the people. Universal exhibition in Vienna. The Vienna *Krachs*, or financial crisis. Prussian May laws requiring secular university training for the clergy and establishing a royal tribunal for ecclesiastical matters; Catholic resistance severely punished.
- 1874 Septennial law concerning the peace establishment in Germany.
- 1876 Death of Deák. The Andrassy note drawn up by the ministers of Austria, Russia, and Germany demands from the Porte reforms in the revolted Turkish provinces of Bosnia and Herzegovina. The Saxon districts of Transylvania deprived of their privileges.
- 1877 Disputes in the Hungarian diet concerning the renewal of the Ausgleich. New tariff agreement between Austria and Hungary.
- 1878 William I wounded by a would-be assassin; temporary regency. Congress of Berlin settles the affairs of the Balkan peninsula. Austria commissioned to occupy Bosnia and Herzegovina. The occupation takes place in spite of the resistance of the Mohammedan population, who are subdued after heavy fighting. Socialistic law passed by the German diet. William I resumes the government.
- 1879 Count Taaffe makes a compromise with the Czechs. Alliance between Germany and Austria against Russia. Imperial customs tariff accepted by the German diet.
- 1880 Diplomatic relations between the papacy and Germany renewed. Government offices and law courts in Bohemia and Moravia ordered to transact business in the language in which it is introduced. The Germans in Austria establish a German school union to aid German schools.
- 1881 Prussian May laws ameliorated. The Austrian Germans join together as the United Left. Revolt in Dalmatia extends to Herzegovina.
- 1882 Revolt in Dalmatia and Herzegovina finally put down. The clerical party in Austria founds the Clerical Club. Attempt on the life of Francis Joseph by Irredentists.
- 1883 The Triple Alliance formed between Germany, Austria, and Italy. Anti-Jewish riots in Hungary.
- 1884 Society of German Colonisation founded. Workmen's accident insurance law passed for Germany. Angra Pequena, Togoland, Kamerun, and Bismarck Archipelago taken under German protectorate.
- 1885 General act of the Berlin Conference concerning European occupation of East Africa signed by fourteen European powers. Dispute between Germany and Spain over the Caroline Islands settled by the pope's arbitration. In Austria the United Left separates into the German Austrian and German clubs. Reform of the Hungarian house of magnates.
- 1886 Solomon Islands taken under German protectorate. Agreement with England concerning Zanzibar.
- 1887 German protectorate proclaimed over Witu. Germans involved in civil war in Samoa.
- 1888 Death of the emperor William. His son, Frederick III, succeeds. Frederick dies and is succeeded by William II. Rising in East Africa; agreement with England to suppress it. In Austria the German Austrian and German clubs join as the United German Left.
- 1889 Death of the crown prince Rudolf, only son of Francis Joseph. Germans carry on a successful war in East Africa. Riots in Pest apropos of the army bill. Berlin Treaty between Germany, Great Britain, United States, and Samoa to guarantee Samoa's neutrality.

- 1890 Bismarck dismissed. Boundaries of German Southwest Africa defined. Germany recognises the British protectorate over Zanzibar; Helgoland ceded to Germany. The socialist law abrogated.
- 1891 Triple Alliance renewed. Germany makes commercial treaties with Austria-Hungary, Italy, Switzerland, and Belgium. Negotiations for an Ausgleich between the Viennese government and Bohemia fail.
- 1892 Reform of the Austrian currency.
- 1893 War in German Southwest Africa with the chief Witboi. Failure of Taaffe's reform bill and his resignation.
- 1894 Agreement between France and Germany concerning Kamerun. Rumanians prosecuted for protesting against their grievances.
- 1895 The Jewish religion recognised and freedom of worship sanctioned in Hungary.
- 1896 Millennium exhibition in Buda. Badeni's reform bill carried through the Austrian Reichsrath.
- 1897 Badeni's language ordinances introduced into Bohemia. Disgraceful scenes in the Reichsrath over the discussions on the renewal of the Ausgleich with Hungary; disorders in Vienna. Badeni resigns. Bohemian language ordinances revised; riots in Prague. Kiau-chau, China, is seized by a German fleet as a result of the murder of two German missionaries. Lease of a German zone at Kiau-chau for ninety-nine years secured.
- 1898 Kiau-chau is declared a German protectorate. The prolongation of the Ausgleich proclaimed by imperial warrant. Assassination of the empress-queen Elizabeth by an anarchist.
- 1899 Compromise with Hungary concerning the Ausgleich; the bank charter renewed till 1910, the customs union provisionally renewed till 1907; the Reichsrath refuses to confirm the compromise which is proclaimed by imperial warrant.
- 1900 Berlin treaty concerning Samoa abrogated; Great Britain receives compensation elsewhere, the Germans retain certain of the islands as a crown colony, the United States assuming sovereignty over others. Murder of the German minister in China; a German field-marshal appointed commander-in-chief of the forces of the powers in China. Anglo-German or "Yangtse" agreement concerning China. Chancellor Hohenlohe resigns. He is succeeded by Count von Bülow. Celebration of the bicentenary of the Prussian monarchy.

THE TWENTIETH CENTURY

- 1902 Revival of the strife of nationalities in the Austrian Reichsrath. The Brussels convention and the sugar bill accepted by the German diet. The fleets of Germany and England blockade the Venezuelan ports. Triple Alliance renewed to 1915. Renewal of the Austro-Hungarian Ausgleich.
- 1904 Prohibition to Jesuits to settle in Germany removed. The Hungarian nationalists abandon their demand for the exclusive use of the Magyar language in the Hungarian army.
- 1905 Agitation for universal suffrage in Hungary and Austria. Germany quarrels with France over Morocco.
- 1906 International Conference at Algeiras; adjudication of Franco-German disagreement over Morocco.
- 1907 The elections favour the Government; Prince von Bülow declares that "the German nation is now in the saddle and will ride down all its adversaries."



MODERN GERMANY, AND AUSTRIA

showing the Principal Accessions

SCALE OF MILES
0 50 100 200 300

